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THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Quarterly Review.

Πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.—*Matt.* xvi. 18.

VOL. XX.

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AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

MDCCCXLVI.

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JULY, MDCCCXLVI.

ART. I.—*Justification. Eight Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year* 1845, *at the Lecture founded by the late Canon Bampton.* By C. A. HEURTLEY, B.D. London: Rivingtons. 1846.

WHEN the Church was young her faith was simple, and, as in the case of Philip with the eunuch—as in the case of Paul with the jailer at Phillippi—a single article sufficed to express it: belief in the Lord Jesus comprehended the faith of the Church. But this one article involved and implied a great deal, for it was well known how ample and how precise the claims of Jesus had been to be both Lord and Christ; and the belief in him admitted the truth of all those claims, and believed in him as the Son of God and as the only Saviour of mankind. This faith implied further that we were in such a lost condition that none but God could help us, and that it was an extremity worthy of his interposition—"*dignus vindice nodus*;" therefore that the Son of God came, and came to die, because nothing short of such an atonement could restore us to life and to the favour of God.

While the faith of the Church remained steadfast in the all-sufficiency of Christ, and while she repudiated the idea of adding to, or detracting from, the efficacy of his meritorious sufferings and intercession, no addition was made to the articles of faith: the true Church needed no other articles, and on her own account would never have made them. But when heresies or mistakes arose, and she was assailed from without, or had

been troubled in her own members, by doubts concerning Christ on the one hand, and fancies concerning human merit on the other, then it became necessary to declare the true faith on all those points which were questioned, and to assert, in the plainest terms, that salvation was not of works, but was by faith alone.

The additions to, or rather the successive expansions of the creed of the Church, may not be ascribed to a love of speculation on her part, or to a desire of imposing greater burdens upon the consciences of men; but they have arisen from the unhallowed speculations or demoralizing practices of men who opposed themselves to the truth, which assaults it was necessary to meet, not only in order to defend the truth, but also to prevent the simple and unsuspicious members of the Church from being ensnared by errors which have commonly some specious shew of truth. Thus, though belief in the Lord Jesus might still be professed in word, it became necessary to define what these words meant, lest men should be deceiving themselves by using the words in an Arian, or Nestorian, or Eutychian sense, and might be supposing that they were believing in Christ when they were trusting only to their own imaginations; and when men were truly acknowledging Christ as their God and Redeemer, they needed also to be guarded against the many temptations which arose tending to supersede or eke out his work by the law, or human merit, or the intercession of others.

On two former occasions it was necessary, to the preservation of the Church, that the true doctrine concerning our justification in the sight of God should be cleared from mistake, and asserted fully, explicitly, and pointedly; and at the present time it would seem to be as important to the security of the Church of England, from the popular errors of the day, that this great fundamental truth should be clearly held and sedulously inculcated, as the only sufficient counteraction to that undue exaltation of external and ritual observances, which, though differing in its type and form of development, is notwithstanding a disease of the same kind and springs from the same noxious humours which Paul had to correct in the Galatians, and Luther contended against at the Reformation. —a substitution of human merits in place of the merits of Christ.

St. Paul regards the Galatians as under a species of infatuation in endeavouring to perfect, by means of the flesh, a work which had been begun in the Spirit; saying, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you? are ye so foolish? having

begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh? Behold, I, Paul, say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect to you, whosoever of you are justified by the law: ye are fallen from grace." The Galatians expected additional blessings, and blessings of the same kind, from combining the ceremonial observances of the law with faith in Christ. St. Paul shews them that this is a delusion, and that the two things are incompatible: he shews them that it is folly to expect that the Gospel which was an ulterior work, and was the end and accomplishment of the law, would be carried on and perfected by returning to those elementary and imperfect shadows; and, moreover, that if they persisted in hunting after these vain shadows they would be led astray, and would inevitably lose the substance and the reality.

That generation of the Church with which St. Paul had to deal, being the first generation, was simple in its faith; and having just been emancipated from the law, which was clearly divine in its origin, and had been imperative upon all the people of God up to the very time of the bringing in of the Gospel—this early Church, both from the simplicity of its faith and from the recent abolition of the law, was in continual danger of mixing the two dispensations together—either from feeling their new faith to be cold and naked in comparison with the varied pomp and splendour of the divinely ordered ceremonial of the temple, or from the influence still possessed over them by the Levitical priesthood, whom, before the higher claims of the Church came in, it had been their paramount duty to obey in all things, and whom, after they had become Christians, they were enjoined to reverence in their places, and wherever it was not inconsistent with the new faith of the Gospel. The case was much the same even with those converts who had been gathered from among the heathen; for they also knew the divine origin of the Mosaic ritual; and, though free from the partialities of early association or long habit, were from these very circumstances less able to draw a line of distinction between the law and the Gospel, and in greater danger of corrupting the simplicity of faith by adding the incompatible legal ceremonial.

From the frequent warnings against such a corruption of the Gospel in all the writings of St. Paul, both to Jew and Gentile, it is evident that the tendency is common to all mankind; that all men desire such a religion as will require them to do something towards rendering them acceptable in

the sight of God, and give them something upon which they may pride themselves on the one hand, while on the other they will, in the same degree, undervalue the full salvation provided for us in Jesus Christ, and lower the standard of that perfect holiness which was brought in by the New Testament, which is emphatically, and in one sense exclusively, the dispensation of the Holy Spirit; by whose gracious aid alone it is that men can apprehend or attain to the standard presented in Christ Jesus, our example, to be followed by the members of his body, the Church. The tendency to rely on human merit, instead of the sole merits of Christ, is common to all mankind: the form which it takes is accidental—dependent upon the circumstances of the time—and the principle is the same when men rely on the good works of other men as when they rely on their own: the merits of saints are in a subtle sense our own, as belonging to our species; and intercessions of any creature come under the same though a more enlarged category. All tend to place the seat of mercy and the place of supplication elsewhere than in God—all turn the eyes to some other saviour, or other channel of salvation, than Christ Jesus—all are such corruptions of the Gospel as St. Paul especially denounces in his Epistle to the Galatians.

At the time of the Reformation the same evil tendency, which at the beginning was resisted by the great apostle of the Gentiles, had leavened the Gentile Church, and had corrupted the faith of the Romanists to such a degree, that works done by men were regarded not only as sufficing to accomplish their own salvation but as having a merit beyond this—capable of being carried to account, as a joint-stock capital; so as to be drawn upon by the priests for the pardon of sins or the procuring of blessings to any, who, by paying a certain price, secured a certain amount of their good offices, as dispensers of the treasures contained in this depository of the works of supererogation.

Whensoever the zeal, or if you will the excesses, of the Reformers are spoken of, we should keep in mind the excessive provocation which was given in the monstrous doctrines concerning indulgences which were promulgated by the highest authorities in the Church, and were practically rendered, at the same time, ridiculous and intolerable, in the indulgences being hawked about from town to town by low-minded men, whose language and demeanour can only be compared to the arts which are practiced by mountebanks at a fair, and when all men knew that the money thus shamefully acquired was not destined to any holy or ecclesiastical purpose, but ministered

only to illegitimate and often to reprehensible or sinful extravagance.

If Luther had been an ordinary man he might have been satisfied with counteracting the immediate evil, and guarding those committed to his care against being deluded by the imposture; but this would have left his flock liable to another assault or another similar imposture, and Luther was not an ordinary man: he struck, therefore, at the root of the evil and the false doctrine on which the imposture was grounded: and, thereby, so far as in him lay, delivered that generation from all future assaults of the same kind. And not only so, but he demolished the whole system of indulgences root and branch; so that although, in the immutability of Rome, the name may continue, the thing itself is annihilated; the doctrine, *as then maintained*, received its death-blow from Luther, and was never afterwards revived.

It was from the Epistle to the Galatians that Luther derived the doctrines and arguments wherewith to oppose the falsehoods which had been propagated by the Romanists respecting indulgences. The Galatians in the first century were attaching importance to the works of the law, deeming such works necessary to carry on or complete the salvation which had been begun by Jesus Christ. St. Paul refutes their error by showing that, if they do not regard the work of Christ as every thing, it will be nothing to them; for they will have failed of apprehending it at all. The Romanists in the sixteenth century were making void the work of Christ, by substituting in like manner the works of men in its stead. But the error in the last instance was far more culpable in itself, and far more deadly in its consequences than in the first case, because it was professedly a substitution of human merits in place of Christ, while the Galatians only professed a desire to retain the law as well as the Gospel. And the law, which the Galatians thus endeavoured to carry on beyond its proper period into the Christian dispensation, had been an appointment of God, and was imperatively binding up to the time of its abrogation: whereas the Roman doctrine of human merit was pure fiction, and never had the least sanction from the word of God—never had been the doctrine or practice of the Church—and was as pernicious and anti-social in its immoral tendencies, as it was dishonourable to God and Christ Jesus by the subversion of every right view of man's salvation. The decencies of life, and men's instinctive feelings of right and wrong, were outraged on the one hand; while all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were found to be also

denied or subverted: and thus, reformation was called for by every right-hearted man among the people as much as by every theologian who knew and believed in the word of God: and we owe the Reformation, not so much to the exertions of Luther and his coadjutors, as to the crying evils which had rendered those exertions necessary. Outraged humanity and insulted Christianity demanded a reformation, and would have enforced their demands through some other leaders if these had not come forward; and without such a support, Luther's exertions would have been vain. Yet every contemplative Christian derives encouragement from remarking that, whensoever God has a purpose to accomplish, the minds of men are prepared, and suitable instruments are also raised up for accomplishing the work.

Those who are accustomed to study mankind in the triple aspect of body, soul, and spirit, which constitute the being of man, will find that every erroneous principle may manifest itself in three forms, according as the state of society may have a fleshly or intellectual or spiritual tendency: either of these constituents being exaggerated, man is thrown off his balance, and becomes both more liable to errors of the same tendency, and gives to whatever errors have arisen the form and colour which his own character has assumed. The coming of Christ was the commencement of a spiritual dispensation in contradistinction to the literal dispensation of the law; and it was in this sense that the first Christians were warned against the carnality of the law, as, by resting in visible things they would be falling short of invisible or spiritual things, and were warned also against spiritual delusions; because we wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers, with spiritual wickedness in high places, and therefore need the whole armour of God. Hence it came to pass that both the errors on the one hand, and the assaults on the other, to which the early Church was liable, had chiefly to do with spiritual things, either through not discerning the spirituality of their Christian calling, or from being deluded by falsehoods which should assume, or really possess, a spiritual character; but that not of the Holy Spirit—not of the Spirit of God, but from a spirit of delusion. The errors arising from forsaking the spirit of Christianity, to follow the letter of the law, are those combatted in St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: the delusions of false spirits are those manifested by the Gnostics and other early heretics like themselves, and in a less palpable and subtle form by the Montanists and many of the Platonizing fathers, as may be detected in some of the writings

of Origen, and which infected the whole Eastern Church down to the time of John Damascene.

The errors which rendered a reformation necessary in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were of a fleshly character, being grounded upon ignorance of the grossest and deepest kind, which had lain for centuries upon western Europe, debasing and brutalizing the people and clergy almost to the same degree, and tempting the latter, as a body, to use the slight advantages they possessed of retaining some little remnant of knowledge to abuse these advantages; thereby to practice the more successfully upon the total ignorance of the people by base arts which the majority of the clergy and laity could not detect, or had an interest in promoting, and which the few who thought or felt aright, dared not, as a feeble minority, expose or withstand. It has been the fashion to palliate, and some have altogether denied, the ignorance and vice which pervaded western Europe at that time, and at length issued in the Reformation. That there have been good and learned men at every period, and wherever the Church has subsisted, we may not deny, since we may not cut off the continuity of the faith; and that they have been more numerous than may appear we can well believe, just as God knew of seven thousand true worshippers in Israel when Elijah thought that he stood alone, and that all men sought to slay him. But the facts of general ignorance and universal corruption stand out in characters too strong and in stations too conspicuous to be mistaken: the facts can only be denied on grounds which would render suspicious the whole tenor of history. If such men as Alexander the Sixth could occupy the highest place in the Church—if the accusations against him and his children, which have rendered the name of Borgia proverbial for infamy, could have been thought of merely, not to say entertained, not to say credited, by his contemporaries—if these thoughts could arise in the minds of men, it proves that the age was accustomed to such kind of things, and could believe a Pope to be capable of the blackest and most unnatural crimes upon record. And almost as disgraceful a neglect of the qualifications necessary for rightly discharging the duties of the Church may be inferred from the fact that Leo the Tenth, though he proved an enlightened man and made a good Pope, had been ordained a priest at seven years of age, and was a cardinal at seventeen; which, that any man should be, fully establishes the universality of the corruption and abuse, when preferment depends thus upon interest alone, without the smallest regard to qualification. To counteract these gross fleshly forms of corruption, the

doctrine of justification by faith and all its concomitant truths were brought forward in the sixteenth century; and the defence of the truth requires that its champions should adapt their weapons to the form which the error has put on at that very time.

We live three hundred years later in the Church's history, and during those three centuries knowledge of every kind has been uninterruptedly advancing, and pervading more and more all classes of society throughout Christendom. But an enlightened age has its own peculiar temptations—its own peculiar errors; and, as under apparent diversity of form truth is one, because there is unity in the principles on which it rests, so also the various obliquities of error may be traced to a much smaller number of false principles than is generally supposed, the radical meaning of error being "to miss the mark:" the point of truth has been aimed at but has been missed, by going beyond or falling short—by diverging to the right hand or to the left. The peculiar temptations of an enlightened age arise from what man has really acquired in the way of knowledge, and what we have already accomplished thereby. Looking at the wonders which have been wrought, we scarcely allow any thing to be impossible to science; and we are tempted to suppose that the miracles on record may have been accomplished by art, and that things which are at the present time deemed miraculous may be brought within the domain of art, and grace the triumph of some future achievement of science; and its peculiar errors consist in assuming that there are more ways of salvation than one.

God looks upon all men as equal—all lying under one common condemnation—all powerless to help themselves—all alike needing, and needing to the same extent, the salvation which He has provided: the ignorant do not need it one whit more—the enlightened not one whit less; with God there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither male nor female, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; all are regarded as in the same condition—all dead in trespasses and sins. And each, being thus unable to save himself, is of course unable to procure salvation for other men: "none of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him." All are shut up to faith in Christ alone as the only Saviour, who is given to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and without whom no one individual of the fallen race can attain to the kingdom of heaven.

But men of science, feeling their intellectual superiority, can scarcely believe themselves to be, in a moral point of view,

on a level with the ignorant and the vulgar portion of mankind: much less can they believe what is no less true, and which in proportion as they know the truth they will be more and more constrained to acknowledge, that the very science on which they pride themselves is of the nature of an impediment; and, so far from tending to facilitate the acquisition of vital truth, raises obstacles by generating a state of mind which is unfavourable to its reception. The wisdom of the Greeks, with which the Corinthians were enamoured, rendered it difficult for St. Paul to obtain admission into their hearts of the simple faith of the Gospel; and, until he could make good this point, he determined to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ and him crucified. Yet he, at the same time, informs them that there is a right place for the wisdom on which they relied as for every other faculty which God has given to man; and the setting every thing in its true place, and keeping all things in due subordination to the glory of God, is the perfection and the glory of man—"Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect: even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world unto our glory." And so it is with science: being put into its true place it will give a grace and ornament to religion—will enlarge the sphere of piety—will dignify our profession, and enhance the knowledge of God.

But religion rests upon faith—science rests upon demonstration; and these are contrary the one to the other. Faith presupposes revelation—demonstration pre-supposes facts. Faith is an exercise of the will, reposing trust in another—demonstration is an exercise of the understanding and refuses to take anything on trust. Faith lays hold of a future unknown reality—it is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen: but demonstration must have something already known to work upon, and rests on past facts, not on future expectations. And these distinctions apply to all the pursuits of a reasoning and intellectual age. When all men are occupied or interested in the pursuits of science religion itself is in danger of being entertained only as a speculation to exercise the understanding, instead of being received as a new principle to change the heart; and so to give a new direction to the thoughts, and a higher end to all our pursuits.

Religion consists in our being brought back to God, from whom man is by nature estranged; but not a step can be taken by man towards this reunion, without the previous conviction that he is really disunited and estranged from his Creator. The greatest proof of man's total estrangement from

God is that he is naturally unconscious of it, and needs a revelation from God, and usually some stroke of Providence to arrest his attention, before he will listen to the admonition or receive it in all its reality and importance. This gives the true explanation of the fact, which without it would seem inexplicable, and often be open to question, that the class of notorious sinners affords more frequent instances of complete conversion, followed by consistent holiness of life, than the class of decently moral but irreligious men. Notorious sinners know that they are at enmity with God—this lesson they have learnt by experience; and they are prepared to receive, as glad tidings indeed, God's own announcement that salvation for sinners is provided in his Son—that he is made sin for us who knew no sin, that we might become the righteousness of God in him. The decently moral but irreligious man has two lessons to learn, and the first, of his estrangement, is the harder lesson of the two: moreover, such men are often of a cold calm temperament, and every act of religion should be the warm effusion of a grateful heart.

But if religion be strictly re-ligation, and is the knitting again of that tie between God and man which was broken at the fall, then it is obvious that none are religious in the full sense of the word, save those who receive in simplicity of faith both parts of the divine announcement; viz., that we are by nature wholly estranged, and that the reconciliation is made solely and entirely by Jesus Christ. Yet we cannot go the length of calling all men irreligious who come not up to this standard of faith; especially when we remember that they are often unconsciously defective from having been surrounded by defective systems, and that these defects often arise from exaggerations of things that are in themselves good, which, being stretched beyond their proportion, have usurped the place of other things, and are not always traceable to a set purpose of excluding these parts of revelation. And here again it is to be observed, that, as systematic theology is only an exercise of the understanding, but faith has to do with the higher faculty—with the spirit of a man—so systematic theology itself may be so exaggerated, or so exclusively pursued, as to mislead or quench the spirit of a man, if he be not first stedfastly established in the faith, and that faith not a deduction of reason but trust in the word of God.

Justification by faith is a doctrine the importance of which cannot be overrated; because it is the fundamental doctrine, and because no other doctrine can be truly held if this foundation be not truly laid. Until men know that they are sin-

ners, and that they are unable to save themselves, and need justification from another, they will not heartily turn to Christ the Saviour; and until they believe that complete and entire justification is to be found in Christ Jesus, and is the privilege of all those who believe in him, they have not discovered truly his character and work, nor appropriated to themselves that full and free salvation which is provided in the Gospel; and while these preliminaries of the work are unadjusted, the work itself cannot make progress.

Mr. Heurtley, therefore, conducts his argument in the only sufficient, the only satisfactory way, by showing, first, that man has fallen in Adam; secondly, that man is restored in Christ; thirdly, that this restoration consists in Christ's righteousness being imputed to man, in consequence of man's sin being imputed to Christ; and lastly, that it becomes not only imputed but also inherent righteousness to those who, through faith and obedience, become members of his body, the Church; man being rendered thereby a new creature, and continuing in faith and obedience by communion, and pressing on to the mark of the prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus; and holding fast in order that he may attain, and that no man may take his crown.

"One thing might reasonably have been concluded, even if we had no light from Revelation, that the condition of man was not originally what it is now. It is contrary to all our notions of the wisdom and goodness of God to believe that any of his works, much less the greatest which this lower world affords, should have been sent forth from his hands *imperfect*. It is contrary to all our notions to believe that God should have created, and not have endued the creature which he had made with ability to fulfil the laws of the nature with which he had framed him. However it came to pass that the laws of that nature were transgressed, the transgression of them must have been contrary to the purpose which God had in view in creation. He must have designed the keeping of those laws, and have endued the creature with power to keep them, though, as the event hath proved, he must have left it to him to use that power or not as he would. God could not have made man with a heart such as naturally we find all men's hearts now, averse from himself, and prone to sin, with lusts and passions ever ready to rise in rebellion against that higher power which he has set over them to controul and regulate them. Reason, therefore, if we had no other guide to follow, would lead us to the conclusion that man's original condition was very different from what it is now" (5, 6).

But we are shown that the sure declarations of Scripture are in accordance with the deductions of reason, and prove beyond question that all things were created *very good;* and that man especially, being made in the image of God, whose

chief attribute is goodness, was that creature which of all God's works should have pre-eminently manifested God's chief attribute, and should have been pre-eminently good. The image of God in man consists in that "nobler part, spoken of in the New Testament as his *spirit;*" and in this, the distinctive attribute of man, we find the strongest evidences of man's alienation from God. He doubtless knew God, "whom to know is life eternal." He loved God, and love is the spring and safeguard of obedience. "He had the *idem velle, idem nolle* —the entire conformity of his will to the will of God, which was fitted to be the basis of a lasting union between himself and God, and of his own true happiness." But all the animals remain true to their several instincts: and even in man the natural instincts which he shares in common with the animals, for the most part, remain unimpaired. It is in the spirit of man that the fall is most conspicuously manifested, and the diabolical propensities of his nobler faculties, where God should have been seen as in a glass, stand out in terrible contrast, not only to what man ought to have been, but to what man himself often is in the kindliness of his lower affections, and what the whole inferior creation is in its provision for, and care of, its offspring, and its many other amiable, yea, pious instincts.

In forming a judgment concerning the nature and consequences of the fall of man, we must bear in mind what was the act which formed the turning point, and determined its moral guilt. The act began before the fruit was eaten: it began in the mind of man: it was an act of belief in the false assertion of the tempter, so as to disbelieve the declarations of God. And it is important to keep this in mind, because the restoration of man must be the reversal of the fall, and so the two processes of declension and recovery must exhibit some degree of parallelism in their opposite tendencies. Belief in another, so as to disbelieve God, occasioned the fall: faith in God, so as to trust no other, is the only means of our recovery.

And since in creating Adam the human species was created, and no individual of mankind had any other source, so the fall of Adam was the fall of the whole race, and whatsoever penalty he incurred by sin, of alienation from God, or spiritual incapacity and hardness of heart, this, we his descendants, necessarily inherit from him. Man became subject to death in his person, with all the pains and sorrows which lead to it; he was cast out of paradise for his sin: the ground was cursed for his sake and would yield him sustenance only through the sweat of his brow: and all these outward and visible things

are only the exponents of greater moral degradation, wrought by sin, in that unseen moral world within the spirit of man. It was in that invisible region that the fall began: it was in the moral pollution of our whole race that its consequences were most direly experienced; yet this is the only condition we could inherit from fallen Adam—a corrupted nature in the midst of a groaning creation.

Scripture represents all mankind as dead in trespasses and sins (Eph. ii.): by nature children of wrath. And every one in a state of unbelief is regarded as *condemned already* (John iii. 18), as one who shall not see life, but the wrath of God *abideth* on him (36). Therefore man does not come into the world in a *neutral* condition, but *under condemnation*, and prone to further aggravation of his misery by his actual sins. And he needs deliverance both from inherent and actual sin—a deliverance which God only could provide, in whose image man was created, and who alone knows how far it has been marred, and how it may be renewed; and a means must be found not only to atone for and cancel past guilt, but to furnish power, not before possessed by man, of keeping God's commandments for the time to come, and not incurring a second similar fall. The whole creation had fallen—it could furnish no atonement: man himself had fallen, and his powers were inadequate to recover his former position, much less to maintain it impregnable. The second Person of the Godhead came, therefore, to make the atonement, and the third Person was given, first, to empower man to lay hold on the salvation which God had wrought, and then to give grace for persevering therein, so as to demonstrate that the end and purpose of God is accomplished, through man's willing obedience to His just and holy law.

The condition of man evidently required three things to be done for him; a redemption or ransom to be provided for him—this ransom to be accepted by his offended God—and a power to avail himself of, and stand fast in the salvation which has been provided and accepted. But all this is *assured* to us because GOD has done it for us. The love of the Father prompted him to send the Son; GOD commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. The love of the Son brought him down from heaven; who, though he was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with GOD, yet made himself of no reputation, and took upon himself the form of a servant, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross. And the love of God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the

Son, applies to the hearts of men that meritorious work of Christ which was accepted in heaven, when at his ascension he returned unto the Father; the *evidence* of which was the giving of the Holy Ghost, and the abiding *consequence* of which is seen in the members of Christ's body, the Church, renewed after the image of HIM that created us in righteousness and true holiness; and whose office towards them that are without is to reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment.

And the glory of God evidently required that this salvation should not be merely an arbitrary appointment; but that it should be also a vindication of the sufficiency of the creation to accomplish the purposes for which it was designed, and should show that the obedience required of man was reasonable, and that the judgment denounced against sin was not an idle threat, but had really taken effect. For these ends it was necessary that in the *nature* which had sinned an atonement for sin should be made, but be made by a *person* who had no fellowship with sinners; and, therefore, the nature assumed was ours, but the person assuming it was the Son of God: and we thus, being sinners by nature, are made sons of God by adoption and grace. All creation, with man at its head, was a doomed thing on account of sin; nature therefore in itself could yield no remedy, furnish no atonement: but being taken up by the Son of God, and being incorporated with his person, he could both atone for the sin of man, and accomplish in the creature that holiness which God required. Cancelling the sin, in order that God may be able to look upon man who had sinned as though he had never sinned, is the first step; this is justification, or imputed righteousness. Empowering those who have been justified to overcome sin for the time to come, increasing more and more in love and all good works, is the second step of salvation; this is sanctification, or inherent righteousness.

It is manifest that as the act of justification could not be wrought by us, but must needs have been wrought by another, and that other one who was both God and man, so it follows as a necessary consequence that the benefits to be derived from the act can only become ours by faith in him who hath thus wrought out salvation for us. But faith itself is not natural to man; unbelief was a cause of the fall; and all who are under the fall are in unbelief still. Therefore the grace of God is needed to give man faith—even to believe in that Saviour whom God hath provided—so utterly destitute are we of all power to help ourselves. Yet the faith itself is not the

salvation—is not even the justification; but faith is the grace whereby we are enabled so to lay hold on Jesus Christ, who is the Saviour, that the work wrought by him for us is appropriated by us, so as to become virtually ours in the assurance of pardon and the peace it brings; and we thus stand prepared for the further work of sanctification to be wrought in us, through the Holy Spirit, who is given to all who believe, and prove that they do thus believe by obeying the injunctions of their Saviour. It is written, "by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast." Again, "whom he did foreknow he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first born among many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified."

God, and man—the image of God—bear such relation to each other that each must be contemplated aright in order to understand the other, and each must be kept distinct, in order to discern the place and attributes of the other. If we do not rightly apprehend the attributes of God, how can we comprehend what is meant by the image of God? And if we do not understand the duties and responsibilities of man, how shall we render due honour and glory to God? To secure both these points we are taught that our salvation depends not on mere arbitrary appointments of God, irrespective of the conduct of man; but that certain provisions are made corresponding with the relative positions of God and the creature, by availing ourselves of which we may both give a practical and sure evidence of our faith, and gain further supplies of that grace by which the image of God in man is renewed and perfected.

Christ said to his followers, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" and, "If any man do his will he shall know of the doctrine." That is, true faith will not only believe in the personal character and recorded acts of the Lord, but will be anxious to comply with everything that he has enjoined. Of these injunctions the sacraments are the chief: Baptism, by which the benefits of Christ's death are specifically imparted, through an ordained channel, to each individual; and the Lord's Supper, by which those who have been made partakers of the new life, resulting from the death and resurrection of Christ, are fed with the bread from heaven, and grow up into him in all things, as living members of that body of which he is the head. So that the doctrine of justifi-

cation by faith is not a mere abstraction, as though salvation were accomplished by assent to the terms of a proposition, or even belief of an act performed by Jesus Christ, without any corresponding act on our part; but it is such faith in him as leads to the performance of the things which he has commanded—the things on which he has told us that our salvation depends. Christ hath said, "He that *believeth* and is *baptized* shall be saved:" both parts of the announcement are essential to justification by faith. He hath also said, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood ye have no life in you:" the second sacrament, therefore, becomes the necessary sequel for carrying on and perfecting that which was begun by the first.

And it follows that nothing is a sacrament—nothing can be truly and properly sacramental—which is not commanded by Christ, and was not established in the Church from the very beginning. The faith of the Church is one from first to last; and it rests solely and entirely upon Christ; and is wrought in the Church by the Holy Spirit. The Church has no power to ordain sacraments, because this would destroy the unity of faith in differencing between the faith of one age and the faith of another; and such a pretension would really amount to the absurdity of making the Church an object of faith to herself, which is next door to a man believing in himself, and being his own Saviour; and it hath the arrogance of presuming that man can command the Holy Ghost, and can at pleasure constitute a sacrament—that is, a channel whereby grace can be communicated to the spirit of man. All means of grace, as well as the grace itself, are in the hands of God; God in Christ is the efficient cause of all; God by the Holy Ghost is the energizing power, or the means whereby the work of Christ is applied and rendered effectual. The power of man, or of the Church, can no more substitute or amplify the work of the Holy Spirit in the sacraments of the Church, which apply the sacrifice of Christ, than the blood of man, or of bulls and goats, could supersede or in any way add unto the vicarious sacrifice of the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.

It has been well remarked by Barrow and the other writers on the apostles' creed, that, in that earliest symbol of the faith of the Church, we are required to believe *in* the Father, *in* the Son, and *in* the Holy Ghost, as objects of faith in whom we rest for our salvation: but we do not profess belief *in* the Catholic Church, and communion of saints, and other Christian verities, although we receive and acknowledge them as

certain and indisputable facts. The difference of our faith consists in this—that we believe *in* those things on which our salvation depends, and without which we cannot be saved; but we also *believe*, though we do not *believe in*, many other things which are legitimate, though not equally essential articles of faith, and are rather consequences than necessary constituents of saving faith.

Justification by faith does not mean that we are justified by something which we may choose to call faith; but it means that we are justified by that specific kind of faith which has Christ for its object and trusts to him alone; but trusting to him as the end we trust to him for the means, and rely on none but those which are appointed by him who is the way and the truth and the life, and who leadeth unto the Father. But confusion has been brought in by confounding symbolical and sacramental things which really belong to different dispensations and cannot properly coexist; for symbols foreshadow those realities which are embodied in the sacraments, and to allow the existence of symbols is to deny the reality of sacraments. St. Paul makes this point clear in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where he shows that the law was one great system of symbols, having its apex or culminating point in the sacrifice of the day of atonement; but this only prefigured the sacrifice of Christ, and, having been accomplished in him, the symbolical things ceased to have a meaning and necessarily passed away. "For the law having a shadow of good things to come," and not the very image of the things, can never, with those sacrifices which they offered, year by year continually, make the comers thereunto perfect. "Then, said he, lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He *taketh away* the first that he may *establish* the second; by the which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all: for by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." In the sacrifice of Christ *the new covenant* was ratified, and therefore the priesthood itself is also *new*; and the new dispensation, consisting of the realities which the law foreshadowed, all these shadows or symbols necessarily passed away. The former priests served as the examples and shadow of heavenly things; but we have a high priest in the heavens, who "hath obtained a more excellent ministry; by how much, also, he is the mediator of a better covenant, which was established on better promises: in that he saith a new covenant, he hath made the first old. Now, that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away."

The work of creation, advancing from lifeless matter to ve-

getable forms and living beings, may furnish an apt illustration of the progress of the new creation, from the dead symbols of the law to the sacraments of the Christian Church, and that eternal life which shall be attained in the kingdom of heaven. The law, which revealed transgression, was like a preparation of the soil of the good and honest heart in which the Son of Man might sow the good seed of the kingdom: and the Church is called a vine and God's husbandry, and its members are called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord. But as the *life* of the plant was not derived from the soil, but is in the plant itself, although it is supported and nourished by the soil, so the sacraments have a life and power of the Holy Ghost beyond anything contained in the symbols of the law, though the baptism of John prepared the way for the first sacrament, and the passover prepared the way for the second Christian sacrament. Then, as the corn and oil and wine are meant for the use of man, yet the seed would be sown and the trees would be planted in vain, unless living men succeed to reap the produce, and prepare it for use, and partake of the refreshment, and yet the life is in the men, and not in the corn and oil and wine on which they feed—so the sacraments, though means of grace, are profitable to those only to whom the grace of God is given; they afford an earnest and foretaste of the kingdom to those who have the kingdom of heaven within them: as it is written, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God: I am the living bread which came down from heaven: it is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." As in natural things life is presupposed in order to partake of the food which sustains it, so in spiritual things God implants grace in the heart, in order to our participation of all the blessings poured forth from him through the means of grace; and it is ever to be borne in mind that God himself is the source of the blessing, and, unless we regard the sacraments as means of approaching him, and not as themselves the end, we shall fail of the blessing. And faith itself is expansive; it grows and enlarges; we go on from faith to faith, from strength to strength. It is indicated in the first commission—"Go, teach all nations, baptizing them, teaching them." Every fresh attainment becomes a call for another exercise of faith, and prepares for further and higher attainments in spiritual things.

Believing thus in Christ, and thus evidencing the faith by acts of obedience to him, man truly becomes reunited to God, and is again able to manifest the purpose for which he was

brought into being, when made in the image of God; for man will then truly know God, and will give equal honour to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The truth, holiness, and love of the Father will be honoured in acknowledging his righteous indignation against sin; combined with adoration of that stupendous act of love which could devise the means of saving sinners and converting them into saints: the obedience and condescension and all sufficiency of the Son will be honoured in receiving him as accomplishing the will of the Father, and himself dying in order that we may live for ever; and the power of the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, will be shown in us, by his overcoming the resistance of our rebellious will and hearts estranged from God, and a nature grown old in apostacy and hardened in the evil course of generation after generation of sinners. By such a training, man is able more fully to understand, and more perfectly to exhibit, in its manifold fulness, the varied and wonderful forms of the love of God, more so than if we had never fallen—more so than if we had kept our first state, and had manifested only the uniform aspect of perfect obedience to all the commands of God. This constancy the unfallen angels do in their spheres of blessedness exhibit: and its opposite, in the hopeless misery of total final apostacy, is exhibited by the fallen angels in their abodes of torment and despair. But to manifest a fall, followed by redemption and subsequent exaltation to a higher place than that possessed before the fall—such grace—such a paradox of love—was reserved for man alone; and this stupendous act of truth and mercy, of righteousness and peace, will be the theme of praise throughout eternity; and not only to the sons of men, made by adoption the sons of God, but to the angels around the throne and to the universe of God! O, the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For of him, and through him, and to him are all things.

Our mistakes, for the most part, proceed from narrowness of view; each individual limiting his attention too much to his own personal salvation, and losing sight of the primary, all-inclusive, and final purpose and object—the glory of God, for which all things were made, towards which all things are tending, and which shall have its accomplishment in the kingdom of heaven. This is what St. Paul has in view when he prays that the understanding of the Ephesian Church might be enlarged to comprehend that glorious mystery which had been hidden from former generations, but was revealed in the

coming of Christ and in the preaching of the Gospel: not in the coming of Christ alone—not in the preaching of the Gospel alone—but in the combination of both; because the revelation of God stands not only in fact—not only in word—but in acts interpreted by means of the word. The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork; but only vaguely and imperfectly until the word goes forth to make known the Gospel to the ends of the world. Christ Jesus took flesh, not only to accomplish redemption therein, but also to bring out the image of God thereby: and he hath not only accomplished the redemption of individuals by his death and resurrection, but he is become head over all things, for his body's sake—THE CHURCH: and, that in order to restore man to his place of pre-eminence spoken of in the eighth Psalm and the second of Hebrews, for which Adam was created, but which mankind lost through the fall. We may venture to assert with all confidence, though we speak it with all reverence, that God could not assume any other form in which to reveal himself than the human form, because man alone, of all creatures, was made in the image of God: and one chief attribute of man was, that he was placed at the head of the visible creation in that sphere to which he belonged with a relation to this lower world similar in kind, though infinitely removed in its nature and degree, to the relationship which God bears to the whole universe. But a part of the mystery which St. Paul rejoiced in was the knowledge of the primary fact that God had created all things by the Son, and that they were made for him also: were made in order that he might use them by assuming that body *which had been prepared for him and by him in the creation of Man*, in order that, in the form which was created after the image of God, the glory of God might be manifested. "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: in burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then, said I, lo! I come, to do thy will, O God" (Heb. x. 5). And so with us: it will be of little final avail to receive Christ as the sacrifice for our sins, unless we also receive him as our righteousness and sanctification; and, in the strength of this faith, are carried on to do all the will of God.

The mystery in which St. Paul rejoiced, and which he was so earnest in imparting to the Church, had also respect to the connection between man and the inferior creation, as well as that between man and God: this connection being formed, ratified, and established by that body mystical of which Christ in the heavens is the head, and of which the Holy Ghost is

the quickening life, and the abiding all-sufficient energy. When God created man in his own image, male and female created he them. And God blessed them and said unto them, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." St. Paul says this is a great mystery, speaking of Christ and the Church: and in all his epistles refers to this act of creation as the type, whenever he has occasion to speak of the action of the Church upon the world, as an instrument for bringing out the mystery of the kingdom of heaven.

But because man is the head of creation the mystery must be first brought out in man, and that first in the individual man; then in the relationship between Christ and the Church; and then in the operation of the Church upon the world: as the mystery was in like manner begun in the person of Christ, and then imparted by him to the Church, and shall ultimately concentre in his person as King of kings and Lord of lords.

Justification by faith should be regarded not merely as an act done towards us, but as a new principle implanted in us. The Church is the fold of the faithful; Christ is the door of that fold; faith is the passport which gives us admission. But Christ is also the Shepherd whose guidance the flock love to follow; and he is the Captain of salvation under whose victorious banner we fight the good fight of faith; and our place in the Church is not merely a place of safety—not merely a passing from one category to another—but it is an entire change of character, and a new calling regulated by new principles; we pass from death, which is nonentity, to life, which includes every thing; old things are passed away and all things are become new. The motives and springs of action are such as had no existence in the heart before; the standard and model of action is Christ whom we knew not; the strength and wisdom is from above through the means of grace set in the Church; and the end or aim of all true members of the Church is wholly different from that which they had in view before they were brought to the knowledge of the truth—the righteousness imputed for justification necessarily issuing in sanctification as its fruit.

"In prosecuting the subject (says Mr. Heurtley) my aim has been throughout to view it, not as though it were isolated and detached, but rather as a part, intimately connected with other parts, of one large and comprehensive whole" (165). "If man were not fallen from that righteousness in which he was originally created, the will and the understanding would invariably go together; faith could not be an idle and inefficacious principle—a mere speculation resting in

the mind, and exercising no influence upon the life and conversation" (182). "The truth is—and it is a truth which it deeply concerns us to bear in mind—that *faith is God's gift*. Not only does the Lord give the word by the hearing of which faith comes, but he also prepares the heart, by the gracious influences of his Spirit, to receive that word as into good ground, so that it may not lie there barren and unproductive, but may spring up and bear fruit. For lack of this preparation, which lack was yet their own fault, many among the Jews did not yield even a bare assent to the truth. For lack of this preparation, numbers at this day, though living in a Christian country, reject Christianity, and numbers are led away by what the apostle describes as damnable heresies" (2 Peter, ii. 1). "God sending them strong delusion that they should believe a lie, because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved." (2 Thes. xi. 10). "We little consider how much we stand in need of God's grace, even that we may yield a cordial assent to the truth, apart from the influence which that assent may have upon our wills and affections" (184).

"And as the faith by which we are justified influences the will and affections, it must needs manifest itself, as circumstances arise, in the various acts which have their source in these. And hence it is not unfrequently spoken of as though it were identical with these acts, or rather with the habits from which they proceed. (Thus St. Augustine, 'Ille credit in Christum, qui et sperat in Christum et diligit Christum..... Inseparabilis est bona vita a fide quæ per dilectionem operatur; imo vero ea ipsa est bona vita'); though, if we would speak accurately, we must distinguish it from them." "Thus it produces repentance, yet it is not repentance; it works by love, yet it is not love; it is the spring of all holy obedience, yet it is not obedience; it leads to assurance, yet it is not assurance; it assumes the form of hope and trust, yet, in strictness, it is distinct from hope and trust" (186).

From all which considerations it is evident that faith is an all-pervading principle, without which it is impossible to please God in any stage of our Christian career: it forms the ground of our acceptance in being the means whereby we lay hold on and appropriate that sacrifice which God hath provided in the cross of Christ for the sins of the whole world: it is the living principle of obedience and of every act of service which we do being risen with Christ, and offering acceptable sacrifices through him, the high priest, who presents the only true and proper sacrifice of his own blood in his own person at the throne of God in the heavens; and it is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, in the strength of which we press forward to the mark of the prize of our high calling, as kings and priests unto God, waiting for the full accomplishment of the things we believe in, at the coming and kingdom of our Lord, in whom, though now we see him not, yet believing, we rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.

It is in this sense that the faith is one in all ages of the Church; because the objects of faith are the same, and the principle which enables us to appropriate those objects is necessarily the same. But with this oneness of object and principle there may very well exist a principle of growth and enlargement in the faith of the Church; and the objects of faith also may become more and more distinct as the Church draws nearer to her goal, and as the time draws near for seeing no longer through a glass darkly, but face to face. This is the truth which has been perverted by many to that degree as to expect what they falsely call development of the objects of faith, in the sense of their being more and more disclosed, and so apprehended with greater clearness towards the end of a dispensation than they were at the beginning: for it is the development of *the same objects* which faith apprehended at the beginning; and they were quite as steadily believed when first presented to the faith of the Church, and wrapped up as it were in the bud, as when they were more fully expanded or developed in subsequent ages. For faith is an operation on the will and its region is the spirit of man, and it acts with equal power in every stage and variety of mental culture; and therefore it is that Christianity is fitted to be the religion of all mankind: the distinguishing sign of it was that to the poor the Gospel was preached, and those who preached it were unlearned and ignorant men. But development is no spiritual process: it is of an intellectual character and depends upon discussion and time, which enables the Church to see things in a variety of aspects, and so to balance and adjust the things which are brought under her review, that no one thing may supersede or clash with any other thing.

The faith of the Church is implicitly contained in the sacrament of baptism, administered in its earliest and simplest form; for baptizing in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is an act of faith in the Trinity, and belief in the several Persons of the Godhead and the proper attributes of each Person; and it is the baptism into the death and resurrection of Christ, as expounded in the sixth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: and it is the sacrament of regeneration as declared by our Lord in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel: therefore it is a token of faith in the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and of our looking for the coming of the kingdom of heaven. Moreover, in baptism, we assent to the doctrine that we are by nature dead in trespasses and sins; and are of God's mercy, and through the sacrifice of his Son in our stead, made by adoption

the children of grace; and we pledge ourselves therein to fulfil our part of the new covenant under the obligations of which we are then brought, by undertaking, in the divine strength, to obey the commands and follow the example of our only head—of him who hath made known the will of the Father—even our Lord Jesus Christ.

Those who were baptized in the name of Christ alone, or of the Lord alone, would have pledged themselves to all this, because these were the doctrines of the Church concerning baptism from the beginning, as we learn from the passages in Scripture to which reference has already been made, and as is demonstrated by St. Paul's conduct at Ephesus (Acts xix.); when, having ascertained that the disciples had not received the Holy Ghost, but had only received John's baptism to *repentance*, he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, in order that they might *receive the Holy Ghost*. And on the other hand, the apostles' creed is only a more explicit declaration of the doctrines which are contained implicitly in the sacrament of baptism; which doctrines are enlarged for rendering them more clear, or defined and explained, to prevent them from being misunderstood by the uninstructed or perverted by the rash and wilful; but no *new* doctrines whatsoever can be admitted without destroying the faith by violating its unity; and the Nicene and Athanasian creeds are only more ample and unmistakeable expositions of particular articles of the one faith professed from the beginning—bringing in *no new element* or *new* article of faith—but not necessarily recapitulating all the articles of former creeds; because it was always implied that the former creeds were to be retained, and the subsequent compositions were intended to *define and fix, not* to *supersede*, the preceeding.

Whatever corruptions infected the Church during the middle ages were *contrary* to the acknowledged faith of the Church, and had the continual check of being practices which were *inconsistent* with her professions. But when this inconsistency was pointed out by the Reformers, the Church of Rome determined not to admit of reformation; and, instead of bringing back her *practices* into conformity with her *professions*, resolved to make *a new creed* which should conform with the ingrained, deep-seated corruptions which had taken possession of her whole system: and thus Pius IV., in his new creed, proclaimed that the religion of Rome was a *new* religion, and would not stand any former test of orthodoxy; while the Reformers, in retaining the old creeds, and allowing of no innovation in faith or practice, maintained the one

Catholic faith, and kept up their link of connection with the orthodox Church of the first and of all the intermediate generations.

And the same principle of unity is observable even in the earlier and less developed forms of faith in the Old Testament. Such a creed as that of the apostles could not have been drawn up before the coming of Christ; nay, even the words of the baptismal sacrament could not have been intelligently confessed; because not until after the incarnation was the fact of the distinct subsistence of the Three Persons of the One Godhead rendered comprehensible and intelligible. Yet the principle of faith was the same from the beginning of time, as we learn, through St. Paul, in the eleventh of Hebrews: and they believed in the same God and the same things implicitly, and had some glimpses of the further revelations which were needed to render their own Scriptures intelligible; which Scriptures came not by the will of man, but through holy men of God, speaking as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves but unto us they ministered those things. (1 Peter i. x). And Abel doubtless, in offering his sacrifice, believed in the Lamb of God; and the patriarchs, in looking for a city whose builder and maker is God, discerned by faith a future Church; and David, when moved of the Spirit to call him Lord who was also his Son—saying, "the Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool"—certainly discerned Christ, the Priest and King after the order of Melchizedec, and that kingdom to be not of this world, but to be the kingdom of heaven. Thus, through types and shadows all the faithful from the beginning of the world have seen Christ afar off, and rejoiced in the same objects of faith and hope which are presented to us who are members of the body of Christ; and though we, as of the Church, possess advantages which the Old Testament saints had not, and we of this last age see many things more distinctly, as drawing nearer to the time of the end, than it was possible for the first Christians to see them, and many things have come into manifestation now which were only prophecied of in the beginning; yet even we, like all our fathers, as yet only see through a glass darkly and only know in part, and hold on by faith and hope, and wait for, and long for, and look for the time when we shall see face to face, and know even as we are known.

Thus, it is one faith that is developed, for it is one object, even Christ, that is kept in view throughout; it was seen

afar off, and therefore indistinctly at the beginning: men discern it more precisely as they draw nearer to it, and perceive characters in the things which were only seen in the general at a distance, and discover a meaning in the several features of the body when these are seen in action which did not appear even in the body itself until its energies were called forth to give expression to the features; and could not be imagined before the existence of the body, and while it was contemplated in prophecy alone or as a mere abstraction. It is a law of our being that we must see the things and see them in operation, in order to a right and full comprehension of their purpose and end. But even the most perfect knowledge which can be attained during the present dispensation will never supersede the necessity for faith; on the contrary, increase of knowledge calls for increase of faith, since its boundaries are thereby extended and its objects are thereby multiplied. "Faith is as essential to the *continuance* of a justified state as it was to its *beginning*. If, in the first instance, it was the *hand* by which we *took hold* on Christ, thenceforward it is the *hand* by which we *hold fast* by Him" (295). "The life I now live, I live by the faith of the Son of God" (Gal. ii. 20).

Not until that which is perfect cometh shall that which is in part be done away; and two things are necessary to that perfection—the coming of Christ to take his people to himself, and their preparation for his coming. But these things imply and involve far more than persons generally suppose: they imply the accomplishment of the number of the elect, and their simultaneous gathering with raised and glorified bodies around the throne of Christ as the general assembly and Church of the first born—the spiritual Israel of the New Testament dispensation or covenant. For though the saints are converted one by one, and each works out his own salvation by faith, God working in him to will and to do, yet the results cannot appear till each finds his place and office as a member of that gathered and united body of which Christ is the head. The work goes on in the Church until we all come in the unity of the faith, and in the knowledge of the Son of God, unto the perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. The most common, the almost universal, type of the One Church is the human body, the unity of which consists not in the members being all alike, but in their being joined together and directed by one will to accomplish one common purpose. All the members must be present, each member having its own proportion: none must be independent of the other members of the body, and all

must be in perfect subjection to the will residing in the head.

At present, though truly made members of the body of Christ, we are learning little more than the lesson of obedience, and the subjugation of our rebellious will to the will of our Head, casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ (2 Cor. x. 5). Unconsciously we may be learning other lessons also; but this will not appear until the dispensation of the kingdom shall begin. As the child in learning his letters and other elementary lessons is qualifying himself to fill a sphere the importance of which he little dreams of as a child, so we shall hereafter find the importance of every lesson. Each member must be in its place to know the measure of its duties, and each must co-operate with the other members and trust to their co-operation for the perfect discharge of its own functions; and none of them will act independently—none will prescribe to the rest: all will be guided by the head, and thus be instrumental in accomplishing acts which the head without them could not effect, and thus their acts are the acts of Christ, and conformity to his will is conformity to him. And in the faith of this co-operation of all the various members, however differently constituted as individuals, to the one will of Christ, we may apprehend both their unity and their conformity; so that each may say—"As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness (Psalm xvii. 15); and I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from thee when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth" (Psalm cxxxix. 14).

So that not only our hold on Christ Jesus, as the procuring cause of salvation and as the head of the body, is a holding by faith; but our hold on the body as fellow members, and as preparing for the efficient discharge of duties far higher than any of those which we at present exercise or can conceive of, is also a holding by faith; and for these two ends—the first to be attained in the present dispensation, the second to be attained in the next dispensation—the two sacraments of the Christian Church are ordained. Baptism can be only once administered, because there is but one procuring cause of salvation—but one act of grafting into Christ—but one way of admission into the Christian covenant. But the second sacra-

ment, being intended to carry us on to another dispensation, must be repeated, being designed not only for strengthening us to perform the duties of the present time, but also, by enlarging and leading on the partakers thereof, to qualify them for those higher enjoyments and duties which belong to the kingdom of heaven. Faith, in both instances, is an indispensable condition of soul, without which the sacrament would be an empty useless form at the best, if it be not a ground of judgment against those who profane the ordinances of God by coming to these holy rites in unbelief; and as such faith is the gift of God, and he does nothing in vain, so he who hath given the faith hath provided also the ordinance, and the grace and the blessing enlarge and make progress together.

"Faith was the instrumental cause on our parts in procuring justification, while baptism was the sacrament in which God formally conveyed and made over to us the grant; and the efficacy of baptism continues in such sort that faith is thenceforward directly and at once available. Before baptism, though a man had faith, yet his faith lacked its full efficacy. The covenant, though agreed to, was not formally signed and sealed; and the blessings of the covenant, therefore, were not made over. But now faith attains its end at once. The Christian is within the covenant, and faith has only to put forth its hand and take the gracious gifts which God has provided for it in Christ Jesus; and though baptism is not repeated, God has instituted another sacrament for the nourishment and support of that divine life which had its first beginning in baptism, and this sacrament is as essential as the former. For he who said of the one, 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,' said also of the other, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;' and if no life, then no righteousness: neither that imputed righteousness of Christ which is our justification, nor that inherent righteousness infused by his Spirit which is our sanctification" (304). "But if faith be wanting, the fountain which should have been opened for sin and for uncleanness in the one sacrament dries up at his approach, and the heavenly food which should have strengthened and refreshed his soul in the other turns to gall and wormwood in his mouth" (308).

And although in the case of infants the faith of the individual may not appear in the administration of baptism, yet they are held to be covered by the faith of their parents or sponsors, and the sacrament received by them is ready to be filled with blessing as faith springs up in the heart. Like as also, when the baptized fall from grace or lose their faith, they may not be re-baptized; but when they repent and believe they shall recover the grace of their former standing. These and all similar questions are to be regarded as occasional, and

belonging to the class of exceptions rather than the rule; and they belong more properly to the casuist than to the theologian. Such points, however, are cursorily handled by Mr. Heurtley as the occasions arise; and his text is supported by numerous references to the fathers and the great luminaries of the English Church whenever any point of difficulty arises, or any disputable question can be settled by authority.

In reviewing this volume we have felt ourselves engaged in the same good work with the author, and we found that we so much coincided with him that our task as mere reviewers would have been soon got over, and would have consisted of nothing more than general commendation: yet we wanted to express our pleasure, and wanted to dwell on the very important question of justification by faith; and, therefore, we have made this volume our text-book for expressing the same doctrines in our own way. And thus, as truth is many-sided, yet in substance always the same, we may, in our way, contribute towards the further illustration and establishment of the truth, so clearly set forth and so powerfully advocated from the pulpit, in these Bampton Lectures.

Our writings are likely to fall into the hands of many who are engaged in secular affairs, and of others who are interested in the controversies of the day; and such persons we have borne in mind, endeavouring to place the question in that point of view which would be likely to engage their attention and fall in with their train of thought: while numbers of the clergy have not had an opportunity either of hearing these lectures or of procuring the volume, and for their sakes we have endeavoured to state the truth as correctly as we are able—hoping still that all those who have the means will procure the volume, the pleasure of perusing which will not be at all diminished by anything which we have written, or by the few extracts which we have made—extracts for elucidating nothing more than our own view of the question.

We are not fond of new discoveries in religion, whether they are called developments of doctrine, or accommodations to the altered circumstances of the Church. The faith of the Church is one—that faith our fathers held—and its purity mainly consists in its not being of this world, but leading to a separation from present and visible things; it looketh to the new heavens, and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. In spiritual as well as in natural things, the first command, with promise, is "Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

ART. II.—*Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages. The Merchant and the Friar.* By Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE, K.H. London: Parker.

THE "past" is a word fraught with deep meaning and interest: to the imaginative it suggests innumerable visions of varied forms; to the reflective, lessons of wisdom and materials for fecund thought: whilst, forming, as it does in that which it recalls, but one link in the great chain of eras that unites the first enunciation of God's mighty purpose of mercy to its final consummation, its chiefest use is to furnish in its contemplation grounds for wisely judging the present and anticipating the future.

It has been well observed that whilst the Almighty is most beneficent he is also most frugal, teaching his creatures, by that which may be known and read by all men of him in the works of his hands, that the exercise of true liberality depends upon provident care, and consists in the exact proportion of the supply to the necessity. All nature is pregnant with this truth: there is not a leaf that falls nor a flower that fades to *waste:* not a form that seems to perish that does not, in its ashes, contribute to the sustenance of life: there is not a drop abstracted from the ocean that does not yield a blessing; not a particle of inanimate matter that has not its distinct use, and that does not, in its place, help on the great work of reproduction. Waste and want are words indeed which have no place in the vocabulary of divine providence: there is no necessity for which there is not a supply—nothing which in the constitution of the supply has not its proper function. The seasons come and go, noiseless in their change and mighty in their operation; each has its work, to see that nothing be lost. What winter kills contributes to the nourishment of summer life; whilst the seed that falls in autumn and seems to perish revives in other forms in spring. Frugality and mercy are indeed twin sisters: their gracious labour is one of love: the one saves that the other may dispense: without provident care the necessities of nature never could be met, and from all that dies a new existence springs. "Gather up the fragments that nothing be lost," were the words of our blessed Lord, and they contained no mere passing admonition, but a great and glorious truth: they were, in their place, a revelation of the mind of him who created nothing without a purpose, in whose sight nothing perished, and who has so wondrously ordered all things and their goings as that there should be neither loss nor

waste. They who dream of annihilation have neither eyes to see nor minds to understand, and it is only "the fool" who "saith in his heart there is no God;" for deeper and mightier truths even than that of the wondrous supervision of divine providence are taught in the decaying seed and substance. He who looks intelligently upon them sees a germ of future existence, and counts upon their resuscitation in forms of vigorous beauty. He knows that, "except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit;" and when he sees it die he looks in hope for the promised life. Thus, in all things which surround him, he learns not only that in their decay there is no waste, but that out of death comes resurrection life. Whilst he gives faith to the revelation of "life and immortality" which the Lord has "brought to light," he beholds in all that nature brings before his eye an unfailing evidence of the reality of that great event which shall some day pass upon the countless dead, and in the sure and certain hope of which, moreover, holy Church hath taught him to part for a season with those who have fallen asleep in Jesus.

So is it also with the history of man—the events of the past are pregnant with moral life for the future. Every one of them has had its use in the social system and has proved a seed of fruit for the harvesting of other generations. It is our part to use the knowledge which they bring to the fulfilment of its rightful purpose, neither wasting it in the creation of pleasing visions or recreative fancies, nor passing it by as too cumbersome for the hastier progress of modern energies. History stops us in our course through life to point us to the paths which our fathers trod and the deeds which they did; and then come hope and wisdom to lead us onward and teach us how to avail ourselves in our forward course of what we have seen. To stop not at the bidding of the one, or to loiter where we are stopped, is alike unwise—in other words, no knowledge of the past or reflection on its history can be profitable which does not furnish us with elements of moral strength and wisdom for the future. The fulfilment of man's destiny is in progression, the proper development of which, like the unfolding of a flower, is manifested in the varied forms of great and primary principles, increasing in beauty as they approach the term which God has appointed to them for the bearing of the fruit ordained to each. No man can properly fulfil his place, and do the work allotted to him in the present, who does not with two-handed strength and skill hold the past and the future—the past for the wisdom which it

gives, and the future for the hope which it contains. No man is fitted for the active and practical duties of life who dwells with the dead; nor can he, on the other hand, deal wisely and kindly with those around him, if he blot the memories of those who have gone from his mind, boast in his ignorance of their virtues, or be careless of the sources of their failings; whilst for the foundation of every solid edifice, whose uses are for other generations, the deepest lessons are to be learned in the contemplation of the structures which our fathers built. There are many, however, who in our days mistake the musings of poetry for the reflections of wholesome philosophy; who, in their contemplation of the past, sit down and weep over the visions which they bring to being till all strength for action is gone: there are others, again, who despise the uses of poetic thought, and have no sympathy but for utilitarian materialisms. To them the past has neither a charm nor a lesson; to them the future is nothing but a speculation; they are, as the word goes, "*practical men*," who neither know nor care for any thing beyond present realities, who judge all the spiritual phenomena of humanity by hard statistics, and measure hearts and minds by a coarse arithmetic of profit and loss. Neither the one nor the other are fitted for the exigencies of the times, which require, for the supervision and right understanding of all which they produce, a deep acquaintance with the spirit and mind of man, in whatever form they may have been developed—in whatever way it is possible that they may yet be manifested.

There is no lack of learning in the age in which we live. It is, indeed, wonderful how the secret sources and springs of ancient knowledge have been traced out and laid bare to the gaze of all—how the customs, modes of thought and habits of life, ways and works of our ancestors, have been placed, as it were, on a stage of exhibition, that all who choose may become conversant with them. From the mysterious days of swarthy Egypt, with all the wonders of her occult science, down to the age when the mail-clad warrior gloried in his strength, or the merchant prince in his argosies, is now reduced to the form of a familiar tale; and books of elementary knowledge deal as unceremoniously with centuries, and treat as knowingly of their events, as the smaller histories of our school-boy days dared to do with the subject of the French revolution or the geography of the provinces. Etruscan monarchs, the mighty contemporaries of the shepherd king of Israel, have been gazed at for a single moment in their tombs, in all the glorious panoply in which they were laid to take their sleep for ages:

the wanderings and sufferings of God's ancient people have been deciphered in what they have written in their way: the very grain which the builders of the Pyramids have handled is growing in many parts of Europe; the food of which they ate, the chairs on which they sat, the costumes which they wore, all may behold who choose; whilst, with the days of Norman William and his rapacious host, the polished Saracen and the stern crusader, the stately knight and mitred abbot, the wilely scrivener, the cowled monk and burly friar, we are now as familiar as with our kith and kin a few degrees removed. The imagination has, indeed, but little to do in recalling a vision of the past: knowledge has furnished her with all the material she can need, and that so abundantly and minutely as well nigh to render her own legitimate occupation of mental creation useless. She has only to produce some of the many forms with which the memory is stored—to bring about them the appliances of scenery and dress—to abstract from them the coarser and sterner elements which tell of discomfort and oppression if she be in no truthful mood, and retain such as speak in all their rude development of high resolve and kindly feeling—and she will have at once before her for her contemplation a pleasant picture of other days and their doings, wanting nothing but life to make it a reality.

After all, however, the picture is but a *picture*—a representation of life and not life itself: it is the vision of what has been, but which will never be again: of an age which, having fulfilled that part of God's great purpose allotted to it, has passed away and become as the seed to the plants—the germinating principle of other forms—in which, though the fruit of the past is seen, the *past itself*, as it was, will never be reproduced. It is a great error to think otherwise, and yet it is the error of the day—the error into which many gentle minds have fallen, wasting the energies which present exigences so much need in fruitless efforts for the revival of that which, in its past form, is for ever dead; or spending them in melancholy mournings for that which ought not to be mourned for. The matter which perishes has fulfilled its purpose and obeys, in its decay, the law of its being; whilst the spirit that was created to survive is still existent, though in some form which, for lack of discernment, we do not readily recognize. It is not God's purpose to reproduce the past, but out of the past to bring forth the future: this we may learn from the contemplation of that which is within our own experience. The man is the same as he who was the child; but, once attaining to manhood, it is impossible that he should be ever a child again.

Old age, it is true, is sometimes called a second childhood; but, apart from its feebleness, the one has nothing in common with the other; and this very feebleness is that of the plant, not newly sown, but worn out in the production and bearing of fruit. It has a knowledge and an experience which childhood of itself never can attain; and, whilst to learn is common to all, to unlearn is an impossible process. Yet this is needed to make the old man once more in all respects a child, and throw back the present into the past. It matters not, therefore, whether this error manifest itself in futile efforts to recall the practices and spirits of patristic ages—to bring back the cowl of monachism and fondly fancy the system will come with it—or to revive the ancient sports and pastimes of rural manhood: there is something abroad which will interpose its veto. The spirit of the age, which now is, will not yield to that of the ages which are gone; and, though there is much that is pleasant in the memory of the departed, there is too much of serious import in that which is upon us and before us—too much of coarse materialism and stern reality to suffer us to lose one atom of the strength we need for present strife in vain repinings for the past or fruitless efforts for its revival. Let any one, for a moment, reflect upon the progress of the last sixteen years. It is just that period since the first railway in England, in its more developed form, was opened; when the lamented promoter of the scheme met with his death in the inauguration of a system which he foresaw would exercise so great a power on the destinies of the world. And now all Europe is interlaced with iron roads; the ends of the earth will soon be brought together; there will be hardly a land to which there will not be means of ready access—hardly a clime which shall not own beneath its influence men of every speech brought together as to a market place. Who can foretel the consequences? A greater social revolution than that which awaits us has not been recorded in the annals of time. Haste in thinking, haste in action, are already amongst the characteristics of the age; and the power and velocity of steam are but the symbols in the physical of that which exists or is coming forth in the moral. It were a mad effort to endeavour to force the speed of modern locomotion back to the dilatory processes of our fathers—it is as mad an effort to seek to restrain the hastening spirit of this age to the staid and stately paces of the past. This love of railway motion is the index of the mind of the day, at once an effect and a cause: an effect of the immediate onward progress of man to a given end; and a cause fruitful in result of the increasing ratio in

which all moral development is taking place. Let any one judge of that which is to be by that which is—let him, by the simplest arithmetic, try to ascertain, from the data which he has, what may be the probable amount of human progression in the course of the next few years, and he will at once admit that it is as unwise as it is impossible to seek in the ages of the past fitting garments for the growing and gigantic forms of the present. Whether all this be for good or evil is another matter: we deal with facts, and we think it is with facts that all must deal who would come to any right conclusion as to what is or what may be.

It is very possible that there is no greater amount of happiness amongst men now than there was in former days. A vision of feudal times has in it many forms of poetic beauty; but it has, also, its darker shadows. Noble daring and warrior strength, the glorious panoply of war, the pageantry of knighthood, manhood in all the fearless development of its hardy energy, are there; but grouped with them are the wrongs of the "villein," the shackle on the hand of the serf, the rapacity of the noble and the suffering of the poor. It is no difficult task for fancy, in gazing upon the ruined hall or castle of other days, to people them with life, and so create a picture of that which she deems them to have been in their primeval strength and glory; but she will too often forget the real in the beautiful, and omit, in her creation, the elements of discomfort, misery, and abject dependence, which too surely existed. Nevertheless, we apprehend there were many things tending to ameliorate a condition which so many are apt to look upon with contempt. If feudality had its oppressions, chivalry possessed its amenities—if the Church was dark, it was hospitable and mindful of its poor; and it would be hard to prove a worse estate for the labouring classes than that which they now endure; where, in the midst of boundless luxury, privation is the rule and not the exception with the working man, where death from starvation is a common occurrence, and where the Church's charity has been exchanged for the iron rules of a cruel law and its merciless administration. The truth, however, is still the same, that whoever would be the benefactor of his age must be so, not in forcing back its spirit to suit the forms of other days, but in preparing fitting garments for its enlarged capacities, its increasing wants, and energies in these.

For every age of man's life there are knowledge and strength proper thereto. Childhood has its hornbook and its primer, manhood its treatise, and old age its meditations. In like

manner the hand of the strong holds up the tottering infant, the bond of brotherhood nerves the man, and the feeble step of the declining is made sure by the tender care of kindred or of friends. So it is with the ages of the world: they have had their infancy, they have their prime, and they shall have their final maturity, full of all knowledge and ripe with all meetness for the consummation of God's great and mighty purposes. He, ever in his mercy, provides most amply for the necessities of these several conditions, raising up men for the times in which they live, and furnishing his Church, ordained to be the light of the world, with fitting food and wisdom for the nourishment and instruction of her children. The great mistake which men have made is this—on the one hand supposing that there is no light in the sanctuary available for the guidance of the world in great moral and civil questions; on the other, in forgetting that, as she is a body of life, her strength is fitted to her day, the very law of her spiritual existence being increase of that strength according to her necessity. Hence men have dreamed of her as though she were dead for all present purposes, and men have gone to the fathers for the light they should have sought of God in existing ordinances, or have altogether cast the Church aside as a mere appurtenance of State pageantry, or an incorporation of speculative theories. Some talk indeed, nay more, some writing there has been of development; but of such development as the corruption of death engenders, rather than of that which properly results from healthful life. The miserable abortions of Romanistic folly and superstition have been gravely propounded to the world as the glorious aspirations and ripened knowledge of the Church of Christ, made meet for her inheritance of light and prepared to share the throne of her Lord. This is sad enough, when coming from born Romanists themselves; but issuing from neophytes, who have been, it is to be presumed, conversant with their Bibles and accustomed to large and comprehensive freedom in examination, it is a striking proof of the magic process by which, the moment submission is made to Rome every fruitful capacity is rendered sterile and barren to the seeds of truth—every power of the mind is fettered down in servile subjection to a narrow system.

We have been led into these remarks in perusing the book whose title stands at the head of this article. It is a book full of interest, combining amusement in the amount of information afforded with ample materials for reflection. The crudeness and the quaintness of the antiquarian are visible throughout; but its chief value is in the enunciation of princi-

ples of great truth and wisdom. Whatever rust there may be is the rust of gold; and if the knowledge which it contains smells somewhat of the dust of the book-shelves, we are well assured that it is the result of deep research, and that of the author's own labour, and not of second-hand purloining.

Sir Francis Palgrave has chosen as a vehicle for the information which he gives, and the reflections which he makes, some fictitious events (which can hardly be called a tale, but rather detached and graphic scenes) in an epoch fraught in all its associations with the deepest interest. He has put his matter into the form of an imaginary conversation between two of the most illustrious men of their day—the fathers of their class, as far as that fatherhood can belong to the middle ages—and the pioneers in the two broad paths of the knowledge which comes from seeing and conversing with men, and that which comes from tracing physical phenomena to their primary principles. His heroes are Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, and Roger Bacon, the Franciscan friar. It is difficult to conceive a more felicitous choice for the purpose which he had in view. In the one, he had the exponent of the energy and enterprize which made merchants princes; in the other, the leader, in that spirit of hardy enquiry, that not only first broke down the hedges and fences with which ignorance had surrounded the Romish domain, but ultimately brought the full light of truth to bear upon the structure which stood therein. Marco saw nearly as much of the world as has been seen in later times, and penetrated farther than most modern travellers; and though his relations were treated at first as visionary creations, yet subsequent experience has with few exceptions verified them.

We are not, however, aware that Marco ever saw England, and we think that Sir Francis has forgotten that he and the friar could hardly have come together, seeing that Marco did not return from his service of Kublai Khan till 1295, about which time, according to the popular tradition, Bacon must have been laid to sleep with his fathers. This literary licence, however, we presume must be permitted. Both Marco's father and uncle, Nicolo and Maffeo, had preceded him. With a spirit of enterprize that is not generally thought to have belonged to the civilians of those days, they, having heard that a market for costly articles of easy transport existed amongst the western Tartars, determined to avail themselves of it. They accordingly converted their property into such articles of jewellery as they understood to be in demand about the year 1254, started on their perilous journey, and eventually

succeeded in reaching Bokhara, at that time a city of the east celebrated for its commerce. Here, it appears, that they met with a Tartar envoy on his way to Kublai Khan, the conqueror of China; and, being persuaded by him, they accompanied him to the court of that prince. After some stay they returned to their native country, which they reached about the year 1269; and it was not till about two years after this period that they again set forward on their journey, accompanied this time by Marco, who was between seventeen and eighteen years of age. Up to this period Marco had never seen his father, and, having lost his mother shortly after his birth, had been dependent upon the care of others, who, as the sequel sufficiently testifies, had not been negligent of the trust. The Poli, it seems, were of a noble family, and as was then the fashion in Pisa, Genoa, Florence, and the other commercial states of Italy, eagerly engaged in mercantile pursuits, without fear of taint to their blood or disgrace to their lineage. To this probably is owing the union of taste and wealth which afterwards distinguished the Italian nobility under the rule of the Medici, the refinement of aristocratic breeding directing and influencing the expenditure of the gains which commercial enterprize had won.

In speaking of Marco we must not, however, forget an older traveller than he into the regions of the East, William de Rubruquis, as he was pleased to call himself, whose real name was Ruysbroeck, a friar, who, in the spirit of the times, undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where Louis IX. was then detained a prisoner by the Saracens. This pious monarch had heard of a great Christian nation and a certain Prester or priest, John, who ruled them, as existing in the wilds of Tartary; and Father William formed one of a commission of monks dispatched by the king on a mission of enquiry. Of Prester John and his imaginary subjects, it is almost needless to add, he saw nothing; but he found at the court of one of the Khans Christian missionaries, witnessed a great deal which must have opened his own mind and that of his companions—no small benefit to society, considering their character and the age in which they lived—and bestowed upon the world an account of his travels in the shape of a Latin letter to his patron, which was partly done into quaint English by Hakluyt nearly four centuries afterwards, and subsequently given to the public by Purchas in his "Pilgrimes."

It is worthy of remark that the accounts of these two travellers do not materially differ; and, though there were many then, and have been since, sceptical on the subject of the facts

which they related—though Marco was called in derision "Old Million," and became a subject of burlesque in pantomimic effigy to the Italian populace of succeeding generations—yet, as far as we know, subsequent experience has confirmed their statements and borne honourable testimony to their veracity.

But it is time to turn to the friar, glorious Roger! whose wondrous feats and brazen head were the familiar subjects of our nursery knowledge. He was a great exception to his day, which, notwithstanding Mr. Maitland's clever defence of it, we must still continue to consider a dark one; for, whilst posterity reaps in many a way the benefit of his labours, the common tradition concerning him has perpetuated the ignorance of the Romish Church in the legend of his *magical* skill: both he and Albertus Magnus of Cologne passed for dealers in the black art; whilst poor Roger, at the age of sixty-five, paid the penalty of his great knowledge in an imprisonment which lasted until near the close of his life. This imprisonment, it is said, he owed as much to his character as a reformer as to his reputation as a magician; since he did not hesitate boldly, upon every fitting occasion, to reprove the ecclesiastics of his day for their sloth and ignorance. It is recorded of him that he expended no less a sum than two thousand pounds* in the course of twenty years in the purchase of rare works—a wondrous munificence for such an one as he—and at once a proof of the scarcity of books, and how highly he prized the knowledge which he sought.

Of this scarcity there are some curious instances on record: we will quote some of them: "In a close roll, dated 29th of March, 1208, king John writes to the Abbot of Reading to acknowledge that he had received, by the hands of the sacrist of Reading, six volumes of books containing the whole of the Old Testament." The receipt is also acknowledged of "Master Hugh de St. Victorie's Treatise on the Sacrament;" the "Sentences of Peter the Lombard;" the "Epistle of St. Augustine on the city of God and on the third part of the Psalter;" "Valerian de Moribus;" "Origen's Treatise on the Old Testament;" and "Candidus Arianus to Marius." The

* It is hardly fair to allow this statement to stand unqualified. It is what is related in the "Encyclopedia Britannica;" but Chalmers says that the money was for the most part contributed by certain members of the University of Oxford, and expended by him, as well in the experiments which he made, and the construction of the instruments which he invented, as in the purchase of books. Still, supposing him to have spent but the half or quarter of that sum for the latter purpose, it shows the estimation that was put upon them and their scarcity.

following month the king wrote to acknowledge the receipt of his copy of Pliny, which the abbot had in his keeping. Now, this is a truly magnificent collection for the period, and the care which is observable in the enumeration, together with the formality of the king's receipt, shows how highly it was prized. In like manner there are similar documents of the reign of Henry III., which show the estimation in which the library of the new chapel at Windsor, consisting of eight books, was held; and the value of a certain volume entitled "The Exploits of Antiochia and of the Kings and Others," at that time in the possession of the Knights Templar, and in the custody of R. de Sandford, Master of the order in England.

Henry, in his "History of Great Britain," relates many instances of the costliness of books in the beginning of the fifteenth century; by which time, however, it would appear that the scarcity, and even the price of them, had greatly diminished, if it be true that the Duke of Bedford, in the year 1425, bought the royal library of France, collected by the fifth and sixth Charleses, and consisting of nine hundred volumes, for one thousand two hundred livres. Another proof of the value of books in the middle ages is the care that was taken of them by securing them with chains to the places where they stood—a custom which continued to be observed in many libraries so late as the beginning of the eighteenth century. A curious instance of this is mentioned by French antiquarians, where, when a priest named Henry Beda, in the year 1406, bequeathed his manuscript breviary to the church of Jacques-la-Boucherie; he left, at the same time, to William L'Exale, the churchwarden of the said church, the sum of forty sols to pay the expense of having a cage made, in which the breviary might be kept to prevent its appropriation—or in plainer words, its theft—by any of the readers whom it might attract.

Robertson, in proof of the assertion that the middle ages were ages of great intellectual darkness, says—"The price of books became so high that persons of moderate fortune could not afford to purchase them. The Countess of Anjou paid for a copy of the Homilies of Haimon, Bishop of Halberstadt, two hundred sheep, five quarters of wheat, and the same quantity of rye and millet;" and he quotes as his authority the "Histoire Literaire de France, par les Religieux Benedictins." He adds also, on the authority of Gabriel Naudé, in his "Addit. a l'Histore de Louys XI., par Comines"—"Even so late as the year 1471, when Louis XI. borrowed the works of

Rasis, the Arabian physician, from the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, he not only deposited as a pledge a considerable quantity of plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed, binding himself, under a great forfeiture, to restore it." With both these statements Mr. Maitland, in his "Essays on the Dark Ages," is very angry: he seeks to invalidate the credit of the inference which the historian would derive from the first by some unworthy quibbles as to his translation of the French word *muid*, the Latin of which, in a monk's letter, is *modius*, and which Mr. Maitland would translate *bushel*, instead of *five quarters*. He also wonders at the omission by the historian of an item in the price paid—of "a certain number of marten skins." These criticisms do not touch the fact that a great price was paid for a certain volume of homilies, however much they may show the learning of the critic. He is also little content with the second instance quoted by Robertson, and thinks that the value of the inference which he would likewise draw from it is destroyed by a similar fact of modern times—viz., that when Selden wished to borrow a manuscript from the Bodleian Library he was required to give a bond for a thousand pounds. Mr. Maitland's fact, however, fails in the use he would make of it, and fully bears out the supposition that the excessive surety required, in both instances, was a proof of the value of the book; whilst all the concomitant circumstances attending the surety required from the French king show that it was not, as in the case of Selden, an illustration of the rarity of a particular book, but of the rarity of books in general.

Whether this scarcity of books, or the high value that was put upon them, be a proof of general ignorance, to the extent that Robertson asserts, is another matter; still it does not alter the fact, as Mr. Maitland endeavours to show, that this value in books depended rather on the *manner* of their composition than in the nature of the subject which they treated: he thinks, and with justice, that the elements of this estimation are partly to be looked for in the costliness of the illumination and the nature of the binding—the latter being mostly composed "of plates of gold, silver, or carved ivory, adorned with gems, and even enriched with relics." Nevertheless, books must have been scarce, when we find, upon the showing of the learned writer himself, that the Abbot Bonus, in the beginning of the eleventh century, spent a life in acquiring a library, the catalogue of which contains but twenty-six items, and only accounts for some forty volumes; and when, as there is every reason to infer, some of the royal libraries of the succeeding

two centuries, at least in England, scarcely amounted to half the number.

It may, however, fairly be argued that, if Roger Bacon gave so large a sum as is stated for books, their value must have consisted as well in the subject treated as in the cost of the materials of which they were composed. It shows, at least, that, if the age in general was dark, there must have been a few either prizing, for their own acquisition, works of rare knowledge, or aware of the value set upon them by others; for the venders, whoever they might be, if not conversant with the subject-matter of their merchandise themselves, could not possibly have been ignorant of the estimation in which it was held by those who were: and it is difficult to suppose that these same volumes, acquired at so great a price by the munificent friar, had no other value than in the beauty of their adorning, or the artistical skill of their composition and decoration. If a conjecture may be hazarded by persons so unlearned as ourselves, it is more than probable that they were the rare treatises from which he drew the secrets of ancient Greek philosophy, or the more modern manuscripts of eastern sages from which he derived his knowledge of the occult science of Arabia. Much of that for which he has the credit of discovery, though unknown to his own age, seems to have been familiar to the philosophers of old; and, whilst the merit and wonder of his learning and sagacity be not the less, the darkness of the age in which he lived becomes more apparent; as it is found that what he introduced, and which was then accounted by so many to be the result of magical art, was not so much the discovery of what had never been known as the revival of knowledge lost. Many of the principles upon which his inventions were founded, especially those of optics, seem to have been known to Euclid, Archimedes, Proclus, and Ptolemy. Alhazen, an Arabian author, wrote a treatise about the year 1100, in which he gave the first distinct account of the magnifying powers of glasses or crystals; and, though Bacon carried his improvements farther, in the matter of spectacles, than any who had preceded him, it is not unfair to suppose that the knowledge of the principles which led him to the invention was contained in some of the rare treatises which had cost him so much. With reference to the greatest invention of which he has the credit—viz., that of gunpowder—Sir Francis, in his dedication, says—"Hindostan seems to have produced the invention of nitrate powder; but it remains to be ascertained to which of the races who have peopled her soil the discovery belongs. Thence it was acquired, either prima-

rily or derivatively, by the Chinese, the Tartar, the Arab, and the Greek, all distinguished either by mental acuteness or warlike spirit, or by both these qualities." He adds—"And if any one of these nations had been permitted by Providence to use the simple process of converting the powder into the grain, the people so acquiring the knowledge would have obtained exactly the same predominance in the middle ages which the modern European now exercises over the rest of mankind." Sir Francis imagines a humorous incident (p. 190) to show that Bacon probably derived his invention from his observations on the nature of the "Greek fire" then in existence, to which there is such constant allusion in all the histories of ancient warfare, from the hardy enterprises of the Macedonian Alexander, down to the stern conflict of Saracen and Crusader, and the fierce struggles of the Venetian and Genoese republics.

What was the exact nature of this "Greek fire" seems now hardly known: its effects were however very terrible. Of its use by the Turks against the Crusaders, under St. Louis, Jonville, the French historian, who was present, thus speaks—"It was thrown from a machine called a petrary, and came forward as large as a barrel of verjuice, with a tail of fire issuing from it as big as a great sword, making a noise in its passage similar to thunder, and seeming like a dragon flying through the air; and, from the great quantity of fire issuing from it, giving such light in the army that one might see as if it had been day." Gaultier de Cariel, a valiant knight, was so terrified that he gave it as his opinion, and it was no bad one, that "as often as it was thrown the soldiers ought to prostrate themselves and beseech the Lord to deliver them from that danger against which he alone could protect them." Jonville adds that "Louis, being in bed in his tent, as often as he was informed that the Greek fire had been thrown, would raise himself up and exclaim, 'Good Lord God, preserve my people.'" This fire was thrown three times in the night from a petrary and four times in the day from a large cross-bow. Geoffrey de Vinesauf, who accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion in his crusade to the Holy Land, speaking of this fire says—"With a pernicious stench and livid flame it consumed even flint and iron, nor could it be extinguished by water; but by sprinkling sand its violence might be abated, and vinegar would put the fire out." Father Daniel tells us that this fire was not only used in sieges but in battles. According to this author, Philip Augustus, king of France, having found a quantity of wild fire ready prepared at Acre, brought it

with him to France, and used it at the siege of Dieppe in burning the English vessels then in harbour. There is nothing new it seems under the sun; and, if we are to believe the same worthy authority, modern "*infernals*" cannot claim for their constructors much novelty of invention, since there seems to have been the same amount of mischievous ingenuity amongst our ancestors. He says, that "there was an engineer named Gaubet, a native of France, who found out the secret of preserving, even under water, a kind of artificial fire enclosed in earthen pots without any openings. He was so excellent a diver as to be able to pass under a river: of this secret he availed himself so far as to succeed in setting fire to some thick palisades that stopped up the entrance to the Isle of Andely, which Philip was then besieging. At the time the enemy made an attack on the bridge which that prince had built over the Seine, and when all the attention of the besieged was directed that way, Gaubet dived with his pots under the palisades and set fire to them. Boats having been prepared for the soldiers, the isle was surprized on that side and the garrison of the castle compelled to capitulate." We do not vouch for the truth of this: we can only say that, if it be true, it beats all that French and American engineers have threatened to do, but, as far as we know, have never done. It is a pity for himself that Gaubet is not alive: he and his pots would have been a capital catch for the Adelaide or the Polytechnic.

To return, however, to our book. The author has given us some of the truths held by men in the middle ages, but scarcely any of the fictions, of which, it would seem, there were not a few; and yet, we would humbly suggest that, without a knowledge of these, it is impossible to form a fair estimate of the actual condition of these times; for it must not be forgotten that, whilst the truth is the secret treasure of the few, the fiction is the common inheritance of the many. Whatever is valuable in institutions or in systems is not, after all, so much the characteristic or the exclusive possession of any one particular age; but is generally the result of the cumulative wisdom of all, the necessities or better perception of each successive generation retaining that which experience has tested, abstracting that which may have become pernicious or obsolete, and adding that which any fresh and nascent condition coevally brings to birth. Great men, far beyond their fellows, there have ever been and always will be; and it would seem that upon these properly devolves the work of removing what may have become effete, or of bringing forth

such fresh elements as may be needed. The result of their labour is the characteristic truth which has distinguished every age as indicative both of its necessity and progress. These men must, in a sense, express the mind of their generation; and, though oftentimes at an immeasurable distance, betray that which they have in common with the most ignorant of the day in which they live. Whoever will trace the progress of civilization through the calendar of time, with reference to man's character and deeds, will be able surely to ascertain the processes of this cumulative wisdom, and mark where halts have been made and increasing impetus received in its onward course. It is of the blessing of this wisdom that we are now reaping. What of liberty we enjoy in the State—what of light we have in the Church—what of comfort and refinement we experience in the intercourse of social life, is owing, not to any sudden act, outbreak, instanstaneous illumination, or unprepared discovery of any one class, or age, or man; but to the legitimate results which the necessities of an altered condition generated—the slow but steady growth of ordained principles to their true developments—and the natural issue of increasing knowledge. The truth is God's; something of it there has ever been with man, for He always, in His mercy, has been near to him. As long as He shall preserve His ambassadors upon earth with their ministry of reconciliation, that truth must manifest itself; and, in proportion as faith finds a place in the spirit of statesmen, priests, or princes, so will all national acts and all forms of public teaching preserve the golden impress of this most precious of all moral treasures. No man, therefore, can lay his hand upon the institutions of any age and say, "There is no truth here." We know that, as the spirit of life successively tore aside the cumbrous coverings which the cruel care of her nursing by dark ignorance had thrown around her, to the hindrance of all healthful breathing and vigorous action, so her growing vigour became discernible in the successive impartations of truth and light to the greater institutions of Christendom. It is not then to the successive cycles or periods of British history, in isolation from each other, that we must look for that which we possess in the form of state verities or civil privileges—it is not to the struggle of the rude Briton with the polished Roman —of the English churl with his Saxon master—the Saxon serf with his Norman conqueror—nor to the fierce contention of the lawless baron with his grasping monarch—it is not to the strife for privilege which has so often existed between the

Church and the State, the commons and the throne—it is not to these alone in separateness—it is not to any one of these that we must look for the blessings we enjoy. They must rather be traced to whatever elements of righteousness there were in any one of these contentions, and they come of the silent but sure consolidation of such elements into systems. There is no element of righteousness which, does not in due time bear its fruit. Wherever it is found it comes from God, and whatever flows from, or is given by him, has inherent in it, as the very law of its being, the life-like property of fecundity. Men see not, it may be, in the wild and prolific abundance of natural vegetation, how or when the seed is dropped into the ground: they dream not, whilst it is hidden, of that which it shall one day be. A bird of the air may carry all unheeded the source of future life to a distant spot; and, where there was barrenness before, beauty and verdure may spring forth, though by processes all abstract from the ken of man. So it is with the constitution of the land: the Briton, the Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman, have each contributed somewhat to its formation. The rude struggle for freedom left its impress: the better civilization of the capital of the world was not without its ameliorating influence: with the sea kings and their tribes came in the spirit of enterprize and the elements of enquiry; whilst the mailed conquerors of the country somewhat redeemed the wrongs occasioned by their rapacity in the amenities of chivalry which they introduced, and the greater ecclesiastical knowledge and learning which they brought with them. Though what of right each contributed might for a time have been hidden from sight in the rank masses of coeval corruptions, yet the clearing processes of advancing civilization, whilst they removed that which was less pure, laid bare and gave healthful life to that which was essentially good. The seeds of truth are ever sown by the merciful care and providence of God, and no matter by what hand he sows them they must spring forth and be fruitful in blessing to some one or other of his creatures; and we are now reaping the result of every right principle for which our ancestors, according to their light, or in any measure, contended.

The graphic sketches which Sir Francis gives of an election, the transactions of the Guildhall and the session of the king in Parliament, lead his readers easily and naturally to entertain the just reflections which he makes on the constitution, political and civil, of the country; whilst the great truth is ever presented to our minds, that man, in all the changing and

varied forms of his social existence, has been essentially the same. Though between the costume of one age and the guise of another there may be enough of distinction to show of what different aspects he is capable, there is still sufficient of that which is common to all to establish a common brotherhood between the men of climes and epochs far removed from each other. Whilst it shows the folly of the unthinking, therefore, to despise any phase through which man in his social existence has passed, it betrays, on the other hand, a want of intelligence as to that for which he is fitted and destined to assume the aspect of a bye-gone time, as being more suited to our condition than that which we have. To enforce what we feel upon the subject, we cannot do better than quote from the book before us one of the many beautiful reflections with which it abounds, wherein the author, though in other forms, enunciates the principles which we have ventured to suggest.

"But is there any reason to wonder if the devices of the mortal man, the shadows of a shade, are seen to waste and wane away? Should we sorrow because the stability of the everlasting hills is denied to the fabric raised upon dust and ashes? Must we not confess the truth and submit, without repining, to the wisdom of the dispensation which decrees that when human institutions have once arrived at their fatal term they can never be revived? During the convulsions which alter the level of society, new opinions have been adopted, new habits have been assumed. Young spirits have arisen confident in their own untaught conceit; whilst ranks of contending champions have sunk into the grave. Diversified as the human countenance is, by feature and expression, the human mind is still more varied by temper, education, rank, position, and intellect. Providence works by eliciting modes of thought, not cyclical but successive; and in which man freely acts, though without the power of controlling their evolution. No era which has once gone by can ever be brought back: individuals are never reproduced: the creatures not merely of the last year, or even of the yesterday, will never more be found together. Never will the same combinations recur, so long as the world endures."

"The fitness of the forms possessed by the extinguished policy is utterly lost: and the same integrity which resisted the removal of the old land-marks will, as consistently, refuse to disturb the new, within whose boundaries other rights of property have been acquired. Blessed is the protecting hand!"

Now, this is the sound and truthful dealing with the present and the past, so far as moral reflection is concerned, that we need: for the morbid spirit of the times has well nigh, on the one hand, emasculated all wise and vigorous thinking on that which has gone, down to the puerilities of a childish mind;

and, on the other, the antagonistic rashness of the age passes by, in its mad haste, whatever of dignity or truth are to be found in that which preceded us. The one is an abuse of the imaginative faculty—the other is a contempt of the meditative powers: in every well regulated mind each should have its place, for they are each an attribute of the immortal spirit, by which she recalls the past for wisdom and anticipates the future for strength and consolation; but all becomes confusion and disorder when either is unduly fostered to the prejudice and weakening of the other.

We could have wished, however, as we have before said, to have found somewhat more of the *fictions* of the middle ages. Much is learnt by contrast. It is oftentimes by the deformity of the lie that the beauty of the truth is made manifest; and the quaint absurdities and monstrous forms of fiction serve to show by what paths and what distance reality has been departed from. It is difficult to suppose a tradition which is not founded on some fact; nevertheless, the forms which popular traditions assume show, in the disfiguring of that fact, how unsafe a vehicle it is for its transmission to society in its positive verity. Say what men will, where these fictions abound proof is given of a dark condition of society: for if there be on the one hand some above their fellows who know the error, there must be on the other a total absence of means by which it may be pointed out, or an absolute want of capacity to receive the explanation; and in this, after all, lies a sturdy obstacle in the way of those, who, in opposition to all that has hitherto been written on the subject, would fain persuade us that the centuries from the seventh to the thirteenth were not *dark*.

Customs and costumes are able expounders of the social condition of any nation: the legends of popular faith and the fictions of vulgar tradition, of its moral estate. It is by what men *do believe*, rather than by what they *do not*, that we find out where they stand in the scale of mental civilization; and we apprehend that, whilst the characteristic of the middle ages was *faith*, it was a faith in much that was positively false rather than in that which was positively true; and this to such an extent that the amount of error far exceeded that of truth; nor should we be able to comprehend all the moral phenomena of those periods, many of which were certainly most beautiful and good, if we did not ourselves believe that it is in the heart, more than in the mind, that God is both apprehended and manifested; and that, apart from what the corruption of man has made them, there is a safeguard for him in

the mutual sympathy, better aspirations, and deep yearning after the really excellent in all human affections, as they have been implanted by God. These have ever preserved and do still preserve men, through the overruling mercy of a heavenly Father, in the midst of the darkest times, from the deep abyss into which ignorance would thrust them. We do not forget the light which the Church has been commissioned to bear in the midst of the world; nor will we deny that, in the times of her greatest faithlessness, she has still been compelled, in some one form or another, to hold it forth: nevertheless, it is rather to the goodness of God in maintaining that light in, it may be, illegitimate ways, than to any legitimate result of her own influence, rightly directed in the feudal times, that Christendom has emerged, such as she is, from her mad follies of mimes, mysteries, and mummings.

The mental condition of the middle classes of these ages did not stand high, but the heart was sound: there were tokens of its existence not to be mistaken, in the healthful beatings of honest affection and social union, in many an institution from which the ancient spirit is now gone, or of whose forms the head has taken possession to the dispossession of the heart, with about as much propriety, too, as he should manifest, who, hard and crabbed, lean and angular in his shape, should take a vain conceit to figure in the fitting garments of youthful, supple, and graceful beauty. Sir Francis, speaking of the ancient system of city apprenticeship, says—

"So long as the engagement subsisted according to its pristine spirit, it rendered the master and the servant members of one household and family; the parties were united by the mutual obligation of protection and obedience; the mutual connection recognised better elements than those of mere profit and gain. He would be an unwise legislator for his fellow men, who would omit to take self-interest into consideration as a most powerful impelling motive; but a sorry one is he who relies upon self-interest as affording any kind of security for diligence or industry, or for any quality to which the name of virtue can be ascribed. Whatever the political economist may urge to the contrary, unless men begin by bettering themselves, all his assumed receipts for bettering their condition are in vain.

"Motives infinitely more valuable than those of mere money or money's worth were engrafted upon the system of apprenticeship, so long as its spirit was properly observed. The admission into the guild, after the period of probation had concluded, was an attestation that, during the period of life when the human character is most susceptible of the influence of habit and example, the future citizen had conducted

himself with a due attention to diligence and morality. Gratitude towards a kind master—emulation excited by an able one—the necessity of conciliating a harsh superior—affection towards an infirm or needy parent—the wish to be married, to form that union which the Church so emphatically calls 'a holy state,' and upon which the happiness of the individual, and through the individual the happiness of the State, so mainly depends—all these rendered the guild an unceasing source of moral renovation to the commonwealth."[8]

It was the kindly heart, rather than the fertile mind, that originated such systems as these; and though the medal had its reverse, as Sir Francis acknowledges, yet it was one worthy to be borne on the breast of a nation ever distinguished for its open hand and stout courage. If the political economies of these modern times could allow of such a thing as the existence of hearts in the masses of humanity with which they deal, we question whether they would so often fail; but the curse of the day is a mechanical intellect—gigantic if you will—which never thinks its work is effectively done until the finer fibres of the human heart—the sensitive nerves, which expand at the warm handling of affection, as they shrink from the rough usage of the unfeeling—are all beaten out and flattened into one inert, senseless mass, ready for any other impression it may desire to give it. Whatever is beautiful in those visions of the past which the mind will sometimes call into being invariably stands connected with the associations of kindly feeling and warm, though rude, affection. Nor is this because the fancy would have it so, but because the memory, familiar with the history of the past, naturally leads the thought, though in a creative mood, instinctively to take the forms with which it is most familiar. Knighthood and chivalry, yeoman courage and city independence, come before us, it is true, with aspects of much ignorance, but with much bearing of honest truth and social love; and if the schoolmaster be wanting in the group, whilst we miss, it may be, the impress of his fluent knowledge, we are not wearied with the dull monotony of his inane pedantries.

We neither despise intellect nor knowledge—far from it; we are not so overstocked with either that we could afford to do so were we willing: but they have, in the composition of man's nature and the relations of life, their proper sphere and limits; and when they take the place of kindly affections, and seek to fill up that for which, in the intercourse of man with man, the heart alone was destined, we think (perhaps we speak a rank heresy against the creed of the times) they are to be mourned over as the sad abuses of God's good gifts, rather

than rejoiced in as great blessings. After all, you never will and never can have any system of government or of teaching, by which men are to be ruled or bettered in their condition, that will answer to the end proposed, which does not, in some sort, take some of its forms from the simple suggestions of the human heart—which does not reckon that hearts as well as minds are to be dealt with—which does not address itself in the language of experience to some one of the many facile entrances which the heart of man ever keeps open with a ready welcome for all who rightly come thereto. "No man knoweth the things of a man (said the apostle), save the spirit of man which is in him;" and it was a touching, true, and beautiful answer which the psalmist returned—"When thou saidst, Seek ye my face, *my heart* said unto thee, Thy face, Lord, will I seek."

Concerning the dark ages much has been written *pro* and *con*. Into the literary contest Mr. Maitland has lately entered, and has brought his deep research and learning to bear upon the somewhat reckless assertions of Robertson, Henry, and others. We cannot altogether congratulate him on the issue: he has demolished a few of the outworks of exaggeration, but he has left the stronghold of concurrent testimony, as we think, untouched: he has set, it is true, a few brilliant stars in the moral hemisphere of these ages: he has relieved the darkness, but he has left the period, as he found it, one of night; and has but established what we think most were ready to allow—that to the general rule there were many brilliant exceptions. We do not think that he has dealt at all times fairly with his adversaries, nor that he is always happy in his instances. For his friend Meinwerc, Bishop of Paderborn, we have certainly no great respect; we rather apprehend that some of his doings would secure him a less favourable judgment at the Old Bailey, were he to practise them in our days and in our land, than they seem to elicit from this clever writer. His reasoning, in answer to the assertion that "persons of the highest rank and in the highest station could not read or write," seems to us inconclusive. The evidence that exists in support of this assertion, *as generally true*, is certainly, to say the least of it, in support of the *probability* of its truth; whilst none, that we know of, exists by which the error of it can be shown. We say "as generally true," because it is clear there were exceptions. Henry I. was a scholar, as his familiar designation of *Beauclerc* proves; so was Henry II. John could not be altogether ignorant of the contents of the books for which he gave a receipt to the Abbot of Reading;

nor would Henry III. have borrowed the "Exploits of Antiochia" from the Templars, for the use of his queen, unless she had desired to know what the volume related. Whether John and the queen read for themselves, or by their chaplains, we leave to others to settle.

Mr. Maitland is a learned and pains-taking man, and if he could have found anything by searching which would have enabled him positively to confute Robertson, when he says "the nobility could not write," he would not have spared trouble in the search, nor have hesitated triumphantly to produce his evidence. The reasons why men did not sign the chartularies which conveyed their gifts, as Mr. Maitland sets them down, are very ingenious; but they are, after all, conjectural: and, if the whole case is to be argued on conjectural grounds, we see not why that which lies at the very threshold, which, considering the times, is the most probable, and to which almost all writers have given assent, should not be the first received. Of the four reasons which he deduces from Mabillon, the second, viz., physical inability—is admissible only in a few cases. Of the two last—viz., "an affectation of dignity, through which many high official persons chose that their names should be written by the notary," and "all persons, following the custom of great men, preferred to have their names written by the notary, that he might say of them what he liked, and to affix the sign of the cross, in token of their faith, instead of writing"—the *first* is rather far-fetched, and the *second* will scarcely stand. Doubtless, the sign of the cross affixed was a symbol of faith and a confirmation of the act; but it stood exactly *where* later jurisprudence has accounted a personal signature to be a better evidence of identity, as it most certainly is. It *may have been* affixed, as Mr. Maitland observes, by those who could write; but we apprehend, in that case, the signature would sometimes have been seen. At any rate, if the question is to be settled by probabilities, we think, as we have already said, that the probabilities are in favour of Robertson's assertion, rather than of the learned critic's attempted refutation. If the nobility of that day could have written, it is singular that there is no evidence in proof of it. Sir Francis Palgrave says—

"So few persons amongst the laity, with the exception perhaps of the mercantile classes and the legists, were acquainted with the alphabet, that reading and writing acquired the name of "*clergy*." The term "*clerk*" became equivalent to "*penman*." Our common nomenclature still bears testimony to the lack learning of ancient times" (16).

The scene which he describes at page 122, for the purpose of explaining the phrase "benefit of clergy," is also confirmatory of this; whilst, at the same time, it places the Church in a better and truer light with reference to this custom than that in which she has generally been seen.

We perfectly agree with Mr. Maitland that the case, as regards the clergy, has been greatly exaggerated; but when he would lead us further, as he seems desirous of doing, till we admit by inference that the darkness of these ages was the exception and not the rule, we say it with all deference, he has undertaken as difficult a task as that which Horace Walpole proposed to himself in his "Historic Doubts" on the reign and character of Richard the Third. A graver condemnation lies against this clever writer for admitting, without explanation, the term "*his altar*," with reference to the particular saint to whom gifts might be offered. It may be an oversight, but it is one hardly allowable in a matter where the consequences are so serious, and when, unfortunately, such oversights characterise a school of men in the present day, whose real sympathies are too often expressed in the tolerance of doubtful phrases on the one side, which their jealous watchfulness would not suffer on the other. It might seem from these remarks that we are professing to review the very able work which Mr. Maitland has written. We would not do him such an injustice in such a form, nor ourselves so great a wrong: for it is a work which cannot be so easily passed by, and to review it is a task not so easily despatched. In the elucidation of the subject before us, essays, which treat so directly upon it, naturally presented themselves to our recollection, and the free use we have made of their contents is simply a result of the important bearing they have on the settlement of the question, as to whether the ages which are commonly designated "*dark*" were really so or not?

That the middle ages should be dark was a natural consequence of the position in which the world was found from the sixth to the thirteenth century. When the Roman provinces were converted into barbarian kingdoms it was a legitimate result that civilization should receive a violent check; and that, though the barbarian invader might be somewhat humanized by what he found, he should, in a greater degree, animalize what he found by that which he brought in. Learning, the arts and sciences, and all that distinguished man in a higher condition of social existence than that from which they themselves emerged, were despised by these wild conquerors and considered marks of effeminacy; and there is no wonder

that, for a period, both knowledge and civilization should be retrogressive. Mr. Hallam considers the extinction of learning to have been intimately connected with the change of language which immediately ensued when so many parts of the world changed masters, as well as the gradual dying out of Latin, the common source of all written information, as a living tongue. The Church, certainly, on the one hand, preserved what light there was, whilst at a later period there came in from the East the knowledge of the sciences. By one of those wondrous systems of compensation which the history of the world so frequently affords, the Arabian paid the Christian in the impartation of his own civilizing knowledge for the wrongs he had done him in his faith; and if the crusader found in the Holy Land little but wounds and sickness, mortification and defeat, he brought back with him many an art which he had learned, and many a polished habit which he had acquired in his rough intercourse and stern encounter with his Moslem foe. Many an amenity which chivalry possessed—many a gleam of scientific knowledge which had so large an influence on the social condition of those days—may be traced to this source, and the reflection opens a new field of profitable speculation on the wondrous ways in which Divine Providence has watched over the destinies of Christendom.

Sir Francis, in the work before us, puts into the mouth of the friar, in the way of sagacious prophecy, some admirable meditations on the probable effects of the future developments of the science that was then in its infancy. He has also been true to the fact, in rendering Roger Bacon's remarks subservient to the one great religious principle which, as his biographers inform us, was really predominant in his mind. We deem it the highest praise, indeed, which we can bestow upon this work, to say, that throughout, the reflections are all conceived in the spirit of the deepest reverence to the divine will and law. Of this the last chapter on knowledge, a very beautiful chapter, is a sufficient proof.

It is, indeed, refreshing when men of information and deep learning dedicate the talent which God has bestowed upon them to His service. Knowledge is not always wisdom: this consists in its right use rather than in its ample possession. The highest attainment of wisdom is the knowledge of our own ignorance; and the nearer we are led to God by that which we learn the better has learning fulfilled her proper province — the better shall we be able to discern how much, in the midst of all we know, we yet lack. God has

endowed his creature man with many wondrous faculties and powers, and has allotted to each its proper sphere of exercise and action; and it is a melancholy thing when men turn them from their right uses and bring ruin and deformity into the fair creations which it is their province to engender. Such alas! is in our day too often witnessed: what might be a noble work for the amount of skill and genius that are brought to its erection often stands an idol temple—the prison-house of holy things—or the leprous lazaretto of diseased thoughts, through the absence of a master principle of godly reverence. We rejoice when we behold a man wise as well as learned; and, as far as this little book has made us acquainted with its clever author, we offer the tribute of thankfulness for the amount of truth which he has written.

ART. III.—*A Few Remarks on the Religious Opinions Relief Bill and the Oath of Supremacy.* By W. GOODE, M.A., Rector of St. Antholin's, London. Hatchards. 1846.

THIS is a clear well written pamphlet; and we wish the author had extended it and gone more into detail on this important subject. The wish for repealing those severe and extreme penalties which still remain on the statute book we believe to be universal; but before they are entirely removed we beg to state that, when they were made, there was an absolute necessity for their enactment, which necessity no longer exists. It is proper to make these remarks in justice to the memory of those who made these laws; for many, in the severity of the censures which they pass upon them as being now disgraceful, almost infer that they were always so; but justice compels us to say that they were, in the first instance, justified by self-defence; and that, so far as the Pope has been affected by them, they were actual punishment for crimes and sins committed against the crown and the Protestant people of England. The personal animosities of the parties under whom they originated have passed away, and some part of the official differences also; but still there are very important grounds of dissension remaining, and which at present are not likely to be removed. We would all willingly concede to the Papists the management of their own religious affairs, and the supremacy of the Pope over them; but, as it is justly remarked, the Pope, as the universal bishop, claims a supremacy over all the earth by divine right; and, so long as the Bishop of Rome maintains this abominable

and tyrannical falsehood, it is impossible to deal with him as you would with any other authority; for the maintenance of this assumed, and in truth blasphemous, power leads him to place himself beyond all human control. It is on this account, also, that we would alter the oath of supremacy with very great caution; for it is an age in which many men are returning to Popery; and, as an oath to keep improper people from office, the clause, "*ought to* have," is as necessary almost as the clause "*hath not;*" because it may prevent many persons from gaining an official situation, in which, if they obtained it, they might assist the Pope in maintaining his pretensions to universal supremacy. We cannot think, with some high authorities in this kingdom, that England has no danger to fear from the Pope or Papal prejudices: we do not certainly believe that there is any danger that England will ever relapse to Popery: there is as little probability that the British public will ever recur to the Papal superstition as there is that the man will return to the propensities of his boyhood, or that fancy and its fictions should supersede, after a certain age, the faculty of reason; but, looking to the extraordinary and disturbed state of Ireland, we think it highly dangerous to change entirely the oath of supremacy, or unconditionally to repeal the existing guarantees.

The Irish Papists are more numerous than they have ever been: they are equally ignorant and as bigotted, and fully as much under the control of the Popish priesthood as in any former times; and that priesthood have, as a body, committed themselves to the accomplishment of the repeal, and the cry for repeal and the establishment of Popery will be united in Ireland, and it is impossible that the agitation excited by this clamour in Ireland should not affect England. The army and navy are full of Papists: innumerable Irish are scattered over England in every department of industry; and it is impossible not to look forward to future movements with some alarm—to recollect what has been, and to anticipate what may be. The spirit of religious bigotry may not be so extensively diffused as in former generations, yet that of political party is more so; both may be brought to work on the Irish and English papist; and, on these accounts, we think that the present time is very unseasonable for the unconditional repeal of all former securities. First, no bull should be permitted to circulate in the empire under a heavy fine and imprisonment, until it had been read by one of the ministers of the Crown; and an exemption from taking the oath of supremacy should be confined to spiritual matters solely relating to their own Church. If the Papists choose to have a foreign head to preside over them in Church

matters, and such power is found injurious to the public welfare or safety, it is but reasonable that they should forfeit privileges which otherwise they might share in common with those who hold an undivided allegiance, and who have no foreign prepossessions. The detriment inflicted on the unity of the State is such as justifies precautions, and many of the causes which render precaution necessary are as strong and entire as in former ages. The authority of the Pope's bull we believe would circulate through Ireland with the same force that it has ever possessed; and we cannot, therefore, see the justice of that enactment which would give the Papists exemptions and privileges which the Church of England is not allowed to have; for the recognition of the power of the Crown is demanded from English Churchmen under heavy penalties.

The Sovereign of the British empire is supreme over all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil; nor is this power confined to the British islands, but extends over the vast and distant settlements attached to the British Crown. As bishops are now deputed to these settlements, the supremacy follows the episcopacy; and thus a power almost boundless, both in extent of territory and jurisdiction, is exercised over the Church of England and its dependencies. The members of that Church are, therefore, necessarily led to enquire into what channels is this great authority directed—into whose hands is the last appeal in ecclesiastical matters entrusted?—and they are told that it is vested in a judicial committee of the Privy Council. If we ask who these persons may chance to be, we shall discover that there is great probability that they may be such parties as Sir Robert Peel, Lord Brougham, or the present Lord Chancellor. The first is notorious for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; for the perpetual endowment of a college of Papal priests at Maynooth, sufficient in number to be cantoned throughout England as well as Ireland; and we are also indebted to him for the introduction of the order of Jesuits, the bitter and implacable enemies of the Reformation. Lord Brougham is a professed Presbyterian, and consequently the declared enemy of episcopacy; he asserts that the property of the Church of England belongs to the nation, and may be taken from it at the pleasure of the Parliament and of the people; he proclaims the ancient Poor Law an accursed law; and his long forensic and political course has been marked by one continued inexorable hostility—an hostility that has been too successful—against the Church of England. The attempts and acts of the Lord Chancellor on past and present occasions speak for themselves: amongst them we find his late attempt to deprive the

bishops of issuing their original writs for their courts; his decree concerning legacies left for religious purposes; the Charitable Trusts Bill; and, lastly, the Supremacy Act, which has for its ultimate object the loosing the Papists and the binding the Church of England.

The Sovereign, as the head of the Church, has been entrusted with power upon the express stipulation of maintaining the faith and the truth, and the Church as the sanctuary of that faith and truth; but that Sovereign will be made the instrument of preventing the Church of England from asserting its ancient rights, and at the same time of reviving the Papal superstitions, which the present Royal Family was called to empire to suppress. Her Majesty's Government has adopted a principle of indifference to all religions, forgetting the many pledges given by the State to the Church to maintain her as a part of the political system. It is raising Popery, Dissent, and Infidelity, to balance the power of the established religion; and it is detaching itself, as far as it can do so, from the trouble and embarrassment which the ecclesiastical institutions of the country interpose to the accomplishment of its schemes of religious indifference. This perversion of the powers of supremacy is as unprecedented and novel as it is subversive of all existing compacts; for hitherto, in the long course of English history, there has been no Government that has publicly avowed a disregard for religious opinions. Power has always moved on a principle directly opposed to this neutrality; and solicitude for the welfare of the State religion has often degenerated into bigotry, oppression, and cruelty.

With respect to the removal of the few remaining restrictions which the unhappy contentions of past ages rendered necessary, but which are no longer so in our present times, there is no difference of opinion. But the Lord Chancellor's bill goes far beyond this reformation of the religious penal code; it is full of ambiguous expression and definition as to any security against existing dangers. When we view this bill in connection with the general movements of Government with relation to the Church, it is impossible not to foresee what an instrument of destruction to Church rights and liberties the prerogative of the supremacy may become in such hands; and self-defence compels us to see whether some constitutional check cannot be interposed to prevent this abuse. In order to bring this to pass we are left to enquire in what supremacy consists, either in spiritual or temporal matters?—what is the origin of either power, spiritual or temporal, taken separately, and how they came to be joined?—what are the consequences of the union of the

two?—and what duties are attached to the rights that this complex species of power has attached to the Crown?—for wherever there are rights there must be correlative duties.

An enquiry into the origin of power, whether spiritual or temporal, is surrounded with difficulties and doubts; and these are increased to an almost indefinite extent when those powers are united. They have never been accurately defined—we believe they never will become so; yet the two systems, when worked by parties disposed to conciliate each other, have by their union produced the happiest results. But our present times have been made to witness the extinction of that conciliatory spirit; and, therefore, the members of the Church of England are compelled to look about them, in order to protect themselves from parties who surround the throne, and who derive from the Crown itself the means of degrading its dignity, if not of effecting its destruction. As an abuse of the prerogative of the Crown, through Ministers, is the means by which the danger is created, we ask, whence does the Crown itself derive its powers, and under what circumstances does it hold them?

The present age is distinguished by the general direction of the public mind into a consideration of the origin of Government, to the searching out of its first springs, and to the separation of its various powers; and these investigations take place, not as formerly in the calm retirement of the philosopher and the statesman in hours of quiet study, but they are made in the very centre of revolutions, the agitation of senates, and the confusion and violence of civil war. The consequence of this is that nations and bodies politic, like the heavenly bodies, are seen moving under a variety of phases, and the principles upon which they move are more readily discerned now than at other times; and as these bodies rise, and form, and burst, we see the elements of which they are composed, and they may be analized or placed together synthetically in consequence of these vicissitudes in politics. The state of supremacy under the old governments of Christendom is seen under a variety of aspects, which the extent of this article will not allow us to trace; but, from the beginning of the claim to the present day, the question of its extent has never remained undisturbed, and no country has felt its powerful influence more than our own. Every three hundred years it appears to have undergone a considerable change, that period forming an epoch in its history. A supremacy of a particular kind was first established in these islands under Constantine the Great, A.D. 313, at which time, as part of the Roman empire, they received the laws which regulated the establishment of the Christian faith as the State

religion: the second period commenced under Ethelbert, King of Kent, A.D. 606, at which time many of the laws and much of the polity of Constantine was restored. Alfred the Great, about A.D. 900, when the heptarchy was united, published a code of laws, in which the relations of Church and State are clearly marked, and which fixes the third period. The fourth epoch brings us to the age of King John, when the usurpation of the Pope disturbed the kingdom, A.D. 1215; the fifth epoch may be dated in 1533, when the Parliament of England rejected the Pope's supremacy; and the sixth epoch may date from Sir Robert Peel's endowment of Maynooth and the introduction of the Jesuits, A.D. 1846.

We may now proceed to the first epoch of the Church, viz., the three hundred years that elapsed from the birth of our Saviour, or rather the assumption of his administration in his 30th year, until the union of the Church and State under Constantine the Great, and the calling of the œcumenical and orthodox council of Nice, A.D. 325—an event with which the revealed history of the Church of Christ begins, when the first act of supremacy recorded was exercised. There may be differences of opinion as to the interpretation of many parts of the Revelation; but there is no difference amongst intelligent men concerning the understanding of the first type of the white horse which opens the prophetic vision: it is allowed to be emblematic of the supremacy first exercised by Constantine the Great; and the bow in the hand of the emblematic figure is the Parthian bow that killed Julian the apostate; and thus annihilated the party that would have deposed the Christian religion from the State and destroyed the supremacy. The power of Constantine the Great carried the faith and the truth, through the Council of Nice, to the ends of the civilized world: the supremacy, in its origin, was applied to their support: so long as it continues sacred and faithful to this use, we believe all Christians wish it well; but when that power becomes corrupted, we cordially hope it will either cease, or be called to account and corrected in its errors by the authorities from whom it has been received conditionally as a vested right. That investiture takes place with the Sovereigns of Great Britain at the communion table of the cathedral, and is ratified by the confirmation of the royal oath; and any minister who should be so presumptuous as to urge his Sovereign to break the coronation oath, and abuse the royal power, we hope will be severely chastised for his want of principle. Since the French Revolution the various forms and modifications of the supremacy in Christian kingdoms have been so much disturbed that it would be a long and difficult task to trace them

separately, or to say in what state they may be at present. We shall, therefore, transfer our observations to the new world, in which the two powers from whose union the supremacy arises exist in a state of entire separation and of much simplicity, since neither of them have been established for any considerable length of time. The American Government, such as it is, is supported by the voice of the people, and the episcopal Church in that quarter has no other resources than its divine origin and its own energies. The extravagancies and eccentricities of the American population on the one hand, and the confined operations of the episcopal Church on the other, will sufficiently disclose to us the inestimable advantages which result to an empire from a supremacy well understood, well defined, and honestly carried into practice. There are two modes of proving the excellence of any institution: the first, and the best, by seeing it actually working so as to produce a good and useful effect; and the other is by observing the distraction and folly that spring up in a land where it is wanting: for this purpose the United States present us with a wide and fit field for comment.

If our eye is directed to America we shall there contemplate a Government connected in no way with the Church, nor, indeed, with any religion. In those wide regions of the north there is no supremacy over ecclesiastical causes claimed—the State owns neither religion nor God: the maxim of that State is that all power whatever springs from the people and returns to them—that they are the sole and exclusive sovereign—and that the law speaks only the voice of the people. This Government is clearly the most complete democracy that was ever found on earth. We think that this theory of politics, in the full unrestricted sense in which the Americans understand and have adopted it, is a delusive theory, and that time will prove it to be untenable, though it be the favourite position of Locke and some other writers of great public fame. We assert also that it is historically false, and that, strictly speaking, there is no such power in the people. There is also at this time, in North America, a body of men calling themselves, and with very good right to the title, the episcopal priesthood of North America: this body of men derive their power from a source altogether different from that of the American Government: the one derives its existence immediately from God, with a promise of perpetual continuance—the other arises from the people, and depends upon them for renewal; the one is created in heaven—the other is born on earth; the one is fixed on the will of God and the law of the Gospel—the other on the will of man,

and the laws which his reason, his caprice, or his passions may dictate. The form of Church government is fixed, by the Divine Founder of the Church, in bishops, priests, and deacons, for the life of each; but any higher combination of power and office is left open to human directions, as time and circumstances may dictate: the other is left to be changed and shifted in every way, as the multitude may determine. No two authorities can be more diametrically opposite than these two bodies —none that appear so incapable of union—none that would, if by any chance they were united, so thoroughly contradict and oppose each other, unless the pre-eminence were formally adjudged to one or the other. In all parts of Christendom, both in Europe and Asia, and formerly in Africa, the episcopal priesthood have united with the governments which have been found *existing* in them, and many generations of men have lived happily under the union. But in America, hitherto, there has appeared no tendency to union; nor does there seem any possibility of an advance of these bodies towards each other, unless some compromise is made. The episcopal clergy have it not in their power to rescind any of the orders in the Gospel under which they act; and the republican spirit is too strong and untamed, at present, in America, to listen to a compromise. So predominant is this spirit that, as if it were instinctively jealous of the natural distinction interposed between the parties, their law forbids the creation of an eldest son, being sensitively awake to the connection that has ever existed between the primogeniture and the priesthood, and as if conscious that the introduction of the priesthood into the State must for ever destroy that dangerous, delusive, and destructive equality upon which their democracy rests. Two generations have not passed since this republicanism has been raised to power: it arose amongst the Puritans of New England, whose writers and agents chiefly contributed to the separation of America from England. But these pretensions to power have been tried sufficiently long to enable the world to report of them that in no case have they produced peace. In America, where the democracy has ample range, it has wrought confusion and disregard of law and order, both public and private; and the attempt to introduce its strange and wild spirit into the "old world" has occasioned troubles innumerable. Discord and dissolution of all existing and ancient ties accompany it, until revolution produces anarchy. These changes have been moving around us from 1789 until the present hour. That spirit, unfortunately, produced the Reform Bill, and is still struggling for the mastery; for our reform in Parliament was the work of a democratic

spirit, such as exists in America, and not in our constitutional monarchy, in which religion must hold a mixed empire.

Lord Lyndhurst is an American in principle as well as in blood, and all his enactments have a tendency to shut out the Church from the State, and to destroy the influence of the prerogative, which could prevent their complete separation. There is a studied ambiguity and darkness in all his legal propositions; but the Bishop of Exeter has ably detected the snares laid, and has hunted out the windings of the Lord Chancellor's labyrinths. Sir Robert Peel is making his system of finance subservient to the same ends, though we believe unconsciously, excepting as to the preservation of his own power as Premier. Hitherto he has only looked through the avenues of the House of Commons, and expressed himself generally and ambiguously, leaving himself free to take such opinions as he can foresee are likely to prevail in the Commons' House; but on the Corn Law question he has already taken a new and more extensive direction; he verges towards Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright; he contemplates how the masses and their opinions are forming; he is looking to the pressure from without and an overwhelming necessity. All ancient institutions and principles, like the Corporation and Test Laws, will be suffered to give way to that pressure, and England will become America before she is fully aware of the change. The supremacy will be perverted to bind the Clergy, and Papists and Dissenters will be set free to combine against them. The Crown and the messages her Majesty will send to the houses will be the very vehicles that will carry the revolution; and a corrupted supremacy will disunite the Church and State.

It is not the name but the spirit of a Government which gives it its character: a democracy may exist under one or under many. The constitutional monarchy of England is popular, but not democratic; the Christian religion is also pre-eminently popular, but not democratic: it cannot exist where democracy, as we understand it (as a Government allowing all power to spring from the people), is permitted to raise its pretensions, or amidst the rise of those principles which are foreign to the maxims of the British constitution. We have marked distinctly, clearly, and permanently the constitutional prerogative of the Sovereign as the head of the Church: or, in the old and more fitting language of ancient law, as the *vicarius summi regis*—as the *vicarius Christi in terra*—"ye kyning is *Christis Gospelia*," or messenger. This is the power that generates the popular, but quenches the democratic spirit of America. Every bill proposed by the Lord Chancellor goes to remove

this branch of the prerogative, which is instituted to preserve the faith and the truth, from the law; and a strange employment it is for a Lord Chancellor, whose office began with the king's chaplains, and whose predecessors were bishops, until a late period of our history. We have no wish to see those times revived, and bishops sitting on the woolsack; but we desire our Lord Chancellors not to forget the law of the Gospel, and the connection of the laws of England with that law; and, when they contemplate the dignity of their office, to remember the rock from which it was hewn and formed.

The supremacy and religious bill is made in furtherance of American principles, and to render the supremacy of the Crown the very instrument of effecting the revolution. The Church of England owns the supremacy of the Crown over all causes ecclesiastical and civil; the Roman Catholic and Dissenter acknowledge no such obligation, and the Committee of Privy Council will take care that their administration of the supremacy of the Crown shall harrass the clergy in the management of their revenues, the government of their churches, the appointment of their bishops, and the final decision of the law courts on all disputed causes that may be brought before them. The episcopal priesthood stand before God and their country as an estate of the realm—as an estate of Parliament—as sharers in the imperial Legislature—as teachers of a national religion: they are obliged to recognize a Sovereign whom they have invested with certain powers to uphold the faith and the truth as his first duty; to whom they have a right to look for support as one sworn to uphold the Gospel as the faith and the truth, and who must be one of their own Church. Yet every species of Dissent, every acknowledged corruption is not only tolerated but raised up as a rival to the Established Church; so that, in truth, the national teaching is both interrupted and confounded, because the existing Government has, on its own authority and responsibility, struck down the standard of faith, and together with it the proper duties of the supremacy.

Regarding, therefore, as we always have done, the constitutional supremacy of the Crown as one of the greatest blessings which Great Britain possesses, and viewing the prostitution of it which the Lord Chancellor is continually setting up, we shall proceed to treat of the origin and proper use of the supremacy itself, and to recommend that it were better to return it honestly to the authorities that surrendered it in trust to the Crown, rather than suffer it to remain to the subversion and overthrow of the peace of God, which it was given to the Sovereign to maintain.

The law proceeds upon the maxim, that, when the supremacy was invested in the Crown, the peace of God came first in order, and that the peace of the king and of the realm followed as a natural consequence. So late as the year 1688, if ministers had set aside this ancient and Christian view of law and order, the nation would have risen and punished them for their presumption and the shock given to their feelings.

It has been already said that the American theory is delusive: all power does not reside with the people; it did not reside with them when they effected their freedom, but conjointly in the people, the army, and its officers: there was then a military aristocracy in their officers, from which, if they had separated, they must have returned to British dominion; and, after the same reasoning, in whatever way societies of any kind are formed, the power must in part be resigned into the hands of those who conduct the purposes for which the confederacy, of whatever nature it may be, is formed. It cannot return to the people without putting an end to the object of the union. In the early ages of the world the Government was patriarchal, and in the institution of the Melchisedec, Jehovah seems to have appointed a common head, if mankind would have allowed the empire to have existed, for faith in the doctrine of the atonement was necessary to its existence, and the aid of the primogeniture was given to support it. When, in opposition to the patriarchal theocracy, idolatry arose, and Babylons were built, the sovereignty of the people was never asserted. Violent men arose; but they invariably supported their usurpations with some system of superstition; the worship of the false gods began and the lying prophets usurped the place of pure religion. The notion that all power springs from the people is quite a modern doctrine. In the first ages of the world, men, as it were instinctively, set up governments united with some system of religion, true or false. The human mind was not strong enough to stand alone: neither is it is so at present: America will feel the necessity of some support or other, either true or false; and the probability is that the country will become the focus of some miserable superstition, some misconception of Christianity that will occupy it.

Ancient legislators were too wise to attempt to lead their people without teaching them to look to some authority greater than their own. The mythologies and idolatries which surround the first legislators of mankind fully attest this truth; and nearly all feigned an intercourse with heaven as a means of influencing their subjects, and the power which Moses *really* possessed they *pretended* to claim; the priests and their super-

stitions shared the sovereignty of the State, and this order of policy was universal. But in our own island it obtained in full vigour, and the fact is well authenticated: Druidical priests almost entirely directed the Government. As the Romans rose to power they engrafted all the superstitions of the conquered nations on their own, and maintained them as a means of empire. The Roman Emperor became the *Pontifex Maximus*, and the kind of worship paid to him as such was a part of the allegiance due to him, and it was deemed a species of treason to refuse to sacrifice to those gods of which he was the adopted *Pontifex Maximus*. It was from this refusal that all the persecutions of the Christians during the three first centuries arose: and the implacable hatred and malice of the Pagan priesthood accused the Christians, refusing to join in their idolatries, before the Roman magistrates, as conspirators against Cæsar and his Government, and this persecution continued until the times of Dioclesian, whose ten years' persecution is mentioned in the historical parts of the Revelation immediately before the mention of the first white horse; and this conjunction is a strong collateral proof that this type is emblematical of Constantine the Great, under whom these persecutions ceased; and thus the union of Church and State, commenced by him, rests upon a principle of self-defence, approved by Revelation. Thus political matters continued until the breaking up of the Roman empire by the Northern hordes. Constantine, however, introduced the union of Church and State in Britain as well as in other parts of his empire, and more than this was effected in Great Britain; for Constantine found the Christian religion established in a limited degree in the courts of some of the British sovereigns; and at the breaking up of the Roman empire it was still left in the islands, for Aurelius, Ambrosius, Vortigern, and Arthur were crowned as Christian kings, and even part of the present coronation service was then used. When the Saxons came here they brought with them the worship of Odin, and a cruel and bloody superstition bound the minds of that race; but they never advanced the theory of the sovereignty of the people. They worshipped a military aristocracy under the family of Woden, and held no notions of a monarch abstracted from his camp: the name for sovereign power was "Cyne Helm:" they acknowledged, indeed, a king; but it was the *helm* or *helmet* that made him so, and he was bound to trace his genealogy to Woden. Their government could scarcely be called popular except amongst the warriors; and most certainly it was not democratical, in the American sense. All these opinions prevailed in the

land in the seventh century, when conversion to the Christian faith began.

What wonder, then, that no American democracy, nor semblance of it, should be traced in their institutions? The old British Government, of which to this hour there are considerable remains in our customs and laws, and even in our topography, was beautifully popular, but never democratic. In all its stages it paid homage to the principles of a patriarchal rule. From all these various and mixed materials—mixed in blood, in language, in customs, and in laws and religion—arose our British constitution; and together with it, as if from so many and various political and religious usages already prepared for such an authority, the supremacy of the Crown became law in matters of religion as well as of civil policy, such superintendence having been always considered of importance to the State. It is no error, therefore, to assert that this power was always a branch of the prerogative; but it is not inherent in the Crown by any other process than that of an invested right, given on stipulated conditions at the coronation, of which the preservation of a true faith is the first and greatest. Nor has this duty been disputed in any age since the exercise of the supremacy: for even the Papal superstitions were supported at least on the supposition of their being true: and the cruelty with which the State maintained the established religion proves, however diagracefully, the obligations felt by the head of the Church—cruelties which can never be repeated, because toleration is now recognised as a right since 1688.

The strongest and best supports of the Crown are derived from its union with the Church: some of these affect directly, others indirectly, the introduction of hereditary family right, and the right of primogeniture, which springs chiefly from the recognition of the supremacy. In every free government a considerable portion of public power originates with the people, and by them is delegated to those who hold supreme authority; but in no Christian country can the whole power originate with them. No people can make themselves Christians: the right to enter the Christian convenant is in no wise communicated by the people, but is given to them. When a nation becomes Christian, it resigns a certain portion of that power into the hands of God, and thus a degree of theocracy is acknowledged; the order of men that are commissioned to baptise are recognised by the nation, and the laws they establish. The Americans are not a Christian people—collectively, as a nation, they have no marks of Christianity amongst them: individually, and in their families, they may be members of Christ, but not collectively as a

people, and in this their imperfection consists: for the Church of Jerusalem was meant to be a model Church for the Christian world, and that Church, so far as the Holy Land was concerned, was a State Church, and Jerusalem was levelled with the ground because it would not admit that State Church of Christ. It is the endowment of lands which brings the Church and State together: the relations and mutual dependencies that grow up between the two parties, with respect to the land and its tenure, give rise to such powers as the ruling authorities possess in ecclesiastical affairs. The endowment of the clergy led to their acknowledgment and reception as part of the State. The clergy, when the Americans gained their independence, had possessions in their land, and were established as a public body by the British Crown; but, on the revolution, they were thrust out from power and authority, and their churches and possessions sold; and their expulsion enabled the American republicans to set up the absolute sovereignty of the people. Since that period all grants of land and every new settlement have been taken possession of, and given or sold without the slightest reference to the power that made it, or the purpose for which man was placed upon it; but this is not the natural state of America: it is a state produced by opposition to the mother country, and by violence and discord. Two generations of men have not yet passed since their mutilation; and America, and the whole civilized world, have already suffered by permitting the rights of the people to usurp dominion over the rights of God. From the most remote antiquity the tenure of the land has been, in the British islands, conducted on an opposite system, and the holding of the land has ever been connected with some religious system. Thus, Church and State were united; mixed judicatures were established; and the Sovereign became the chief head of both: but it was a constitutional authority, one limited by law—one given in trust. A certain portion of the power sprang from the people purely; another portion of it from the people as a Christian people, having received baptism, which implied antecedent covenants; and a certain portion of that power arose from the investment given by the episcopal clergy to the Sovereign at his coronation, when the compact was distinctly made out and sworn to. It was thus:—

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and Protestant reformed religion; and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them or any of them?" The Sovereign shall answer:—"All

this I promise to do;" and then, laying hands on the Gospels, the Sovereign adds—"The things which I have before promised I will perform and keep, so help me God:" and the oath is sworn on the Gospels.

The duties of the supremacy are here distinctly marked, and the responsibility to the parties creating the investiture sufficiently acknowledged. Was this supremacy given to sanction the forced promotion of Jews and Infidels to the magistracy?—the endowment of Maynooth? or the admission of the Jesuits to the empire? Was it given to prevent the clergy legislating for themselves, although the body of Dissenters may do so? Did the clergy entrust this power to the Crown that Government might make laws, and announce that they will continue to do so, which must annihilate their power, whilst it encreases that of their enemies? Will the Queen remain supreme head of the Church of England if those endowments are to be shared with Papists, and no distinction left remaining to proclaim those who are the lawful and true ministers of Christ's Church? To deny the supremacy would expose the established clergy to the severest penalties—penalties which will prevent their defending themselves from the persecutions of ministers; whilst the Papists are freed from the bondage, and Dissenters never have had it placed on them. The oath of supremacy was enacted in order to separate Papists from Protestants, and as a test for office; for many generations it has been unnecessary to distinguish between the two parties; but, at the very time the oath is required, it is to be altered or repealed. It is thought no longer necessary to swear that the Pope has not, and especially ought not to have, any power in the times when clergymen of the Church of England are actually passing into the Papal governance; and it is notorious that many ministers of that Church are halting between two opinions, and doubting whether the Pope ought not to have power, and the Regius Professor at Oxford advances towards his doctrines. A change in the oath of supremacy, therefore, would give advantages, not only to our enemies without, but to the traitors within our own Establishment: bulls proceeding from the head of a self-styled infallible and immutable Church must forever be considered as dangerous, as Lord Burleigh and Sir Nicholas Bacon judged them to be; and none, under the penalty of a severe fine and imprisonment, should be permitted to circulate, until they should be opened by the minister of the Crown. As the Irish priests have no endowments, the claims of the Pope and the Crown might not be so liable to clash as in those times when the Popish bishops and priests had lands; yet the exact boundaries of temporal and spiritual rights never have been, and probably

never will be, accurately defined. As there is nothing so valuable to man as divine truth or revelation, they should be kept as we make an oath, which should contain the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. The orders that came from heaven should be obeyed; but all those who add to this measure of obedience should be narrowly watched and severely punished. Together with the Gospel, the order of bishops, priests, and deacons, proceed from divine authority; but combinations of government, whether of metropolitan, archbishop, or patriarch, are matters of human convention, that rise and ought to sink with empires, and may change with the will of nations, and it is mere matter of compact whether any Christian people chose or not to have a head of their Church; but, as a matter of human polity, the institution of such a head is the perfection of human wisdom, under which Great Britain has enjoyed unrivalled happiness, and upon which the blessings of heaven appear to have been richly shed. But the Pope, by his assumption of the power of universal bishop, ought to be branded as an enemy to the civil and political liberties of mankind, independently of his corruptions of the truth. He should be stigmatised as a liar putting forth false pretences, and as a blasphemer for the claiming them by divine right. From one end of the earth to the other, except by human convention, no one bishop is greater than another; and the Bishop of Rome, if he would stay at home and manage the domestic concerns of his own parish, would become a respectable character; but his false pretensions stop the growth of the human intellect, prevent the investigation and scrutiny which lead to truth, and expose Christendom to extremes that wander from reason and religion, and which move between intellectual slavery and licentiousness. In the agitation that now shakes the empire the labours of the Reformation seem to be in danger of being destroyed, and the perversion of the supremacy will be made one of the instruments applied to its destruction. The Church of England and its monarchy stand between these two extremes, removed from the weakness and the errors of either—her ecclesiastical polity more nearly resembling that of Jerusalem, of which it was more an acknowledged imitation than of any other; and her civil Government is more perfect and more productive of real liberty than any other system on earth; and the more productive of liberty, because, even in civil laws, it often adopted the constitution of the Holy Land. As this constitution stands between two extremes, it is equally attacked by those who think and live in either. Sir Robert Peel deserts it as untenable through the pressure from without; the Lord Chancellor sneers at the bishops when they enquire concerning their rights and their

securities; and the House of Lords hear with listless apathetic ears, as if they were nowise concerned in this abuse of the prerogatives of the Crown, or as if religion were a matter of political convenience, and all creeds equally good.

We have stated the example America affords us of the complete separation of Church and State, and the existence of the two Governments—the president with his councils and the episcopal clergy. We see the unconditional holding of the land in that country joined with the political maxim of the sovereignty of the people, which precludes all hope of a State endowment. We have traced, generally, the nature of the Government existing from the earliest antiquity in these islands; and under all nations, in all ages, we find the land held of the Sovereign as the chief, and subject to the maintenance of some system of public worship.

At this point begins the essential difference between governments which are Christian and those which are not, and never can become so, whilst the American maxim is maintained without qualification: it is that which constitutes the essential difference between a democratic and a popular code. The Christian religion is pre-eminently popular, seeking at all times the consent, the good opinion, and the real welfare of the people; but at no time flattering them with the delusive belief that there is no power on earth greater than themselves. There are privileges in such a state which did not arise with them, and under which they may give their consent to be governed; but they cannot be annihilated by them. Until the confidence of the people has been abused, they are by no means unfriendly to the privileged orders, who are, or ought to be, the trustees of some of their most valuable rights. The Pope abused this confidence; the Established Church to this hour pays the penalty of his corruptions; and the clergy owe to him the bitterness of opposition which is still to be met with in some branches of Dissent. It is to those who attempted to escape from the corrupt claim of privileges usurped by the Pope that we owe the no less dangerous claim of the absolute sovereignty of the people—a maxim which, in its unrestrained application, shuts out the Deity from his own creation, and goes a great way to banish our Saviour from the thoughts of those who assume to themselves the right of governing mankind, and of presiding over the destinies of nations. One of the chief instruments of this misrule is the presumption of taking possession of the lands of the country and disposing of them by sale, without any reference to a recognition of the Christian faith: this is one of the distinguishing differences between the governments of the old and the new world. It is difficult to conceive how honest

and reasonable beings can reconcile this omission to their consciences, or shake from their reflections the consequences of allotting lands sufficiently extensive to form empires, without adding to the bargain or sale some reserve for the profession of religion—some acknowledgment of some kind, however slight, of the power who made the land, or the purposes for which it was made and man placed upon it. The lands held under the Crown by the British colonists were, of course, held subject to the usual conditions of tenure claimed by the prerogative; but on the separation of the two countries all these ties were broken, and none whatever substituted in their place; and all the possessions belonging to the Church of England, together with the churches themselves, were seized, confiscated, and sold by the public authorities in America. This is a memorable example of the danger to which a Church may be exposed by a despotic and apostate supremacy, and it forcibly leads the members of the Church of England at home to search into the nature of their own supremacy, and to enquire whether or not they are exposed to the same danger? The episcopal priesthood in these islands was invested with a considerable portion of the landed revenues which belonged successively to the Druidical, the Pagan, the Roman, and the Gothic priesthoods; and as they received these endowments they recognized the powers that gave them, which were the king and the people conjointly. They were not, however, given to the clergy, but to God: this was the nature and designation of the property then given—the clergy having the usufruct, and the Crown and the Legislature becoming hereditary trustees for them. It was the endowment that gave rise to the constitutional supremacy; and, by virtue of that supremacy, both the Sovereign and the Legislature gave and received, reciprocally, rights and powers from the episcopal priesthood: a compact is formed: the basis of that compact is, that the Christian religion shall be the religion of the State: the clergy are established, not as a private body possessing property, but as a public institution existing under a commission from God, and as such they are admitted to share judicial, legislative, and executive power in the State. It is of such a body that the Crown power is the supreme head, and the divine rights and privileges of these members of the state the Crown is sworn to defend; and the other branches of the Legislature are, also, under contract with them to protect and maintain them and their faith. If these engagements scarcely exist at present in form, the deficiency is occasioned solely by a breach of faith and a continued infraction of the conditions of the original contract on the part of the Crown officers, but not of the Crown itself; which Hooker

defines to be such, that every member of the State should be member of the Church, and every member of the Church a part of the body politic. Over such a society the king is head, and over all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme in it, and England is thus a little world in herself; but the Crown had such powers reposed in it only under such circumstances, and the convocation of the clergy was always a part of the Legislature under this contract: so that no law could be complete, in spiritual things, without their consent.

When the powers of convocation began to be disused, under Charles II., the Legislature was very careful to abstain from making any laws in which the interests of the Church were deeply concerned; but all delicacy and scruple on this head have ceased of late: there seems to be a total oblivion that the clergy are not only an estate of the realm, but the most ancient hereditary corporation composing the Government, whom the Government are sworn to maintain in their rights. The maintenance of these constitutional powers of the supremacy implies all these obligations and duties. Of late, the State has entered on a course of fearful and reckless legislation with regard to the Church, in which there is a series of enactments which, in whatever degree they may be deemed binding in the sight of man, cannot be binding in the sight of God; for in many respects they are directly contrary to his laws, and to the recorded covenant that his ambassadors have made with the State; and this covenant it is the sworn duty of the Sovereign to enforce, though her Majesty's ministers make no other use of the prerogative than as an instrument to destroy it. The voice of all antiquity cries aloud against this political presumption. The prerogative held by the Crown, of delivering the land to the community, who hold of it, was always in the Crown; the custom is hid in the remoteness of its antiquity; the old Cymbri brought it here, and it is found in the old laws of the British kings: the landowners recognized a State religion of which the Sovereign was the head. The most ancient words in the English law are those of King Ethelbert, which recognize God's fee or property as taking precedence of all other property, and that right as the basis of all other right: and the Anglo Saxon monarchs adopted the titles and took the same powers in the Church as the Greek emperor assumed. From the fifth century, the bishops witnessed the contract made between the king and the people. "*Hæc tria promitto populo Christiano*" were the words used by the British kings in the fifth century; they were carried forward into the Anglo Saxon coronations, and the very same number of the promises mentioned the form of the triad, which is Druidical, is still preserved in the present form, and has been already quoted.

To be the supreme head, therefore, over a Christian people, is the most ancient prerogative of the British Crown, and those who break or weaken that tie can certainly find no precedent in all history for their proceedings. Henry VIII. could trace the blood of the British monarchs in his veins; and, in his person, an Act of Parliament conveyed the supremacy back again to the Crown, from which the Pope had usurped it. But the use of that power, if applied to the purposes for which it was created, is like that first permitted to Constantine the Great—it is the right and the power of maintaining, supported by national councils, the faith and truth. We do not think that the evils arising from the supremacy of the Pope would be greater than those which would be felt by the Church of England if, in addition to the endowment of Maynooth and the admission of the Jesuits, the Popish priesthood should be endowed, should share the revenues of the established clergy, and be cantoned, by legal provision, side by side with the parochial clergy through England and Ireland. This measure would be more fatal to the peace of the Church and the country than any evil that has happened to it; but this change could not take place without the consent of the Crown, and the particular power of the supremacy was given to it chiefly for the prevention of these rivalries, for that power proceeds from the clergy chiefly: the lay members of the Church join in the investiture also; but the power never would have been reposed in the Crown without the investiture of the bishops. When it accepted the power it also promised its patronage and protection: the endowments of land are the connecting links between the parties: the Sovereign will have homage for the land; but the priest will not pay it unconditionally, unless the Sovereign will guarantee to him those divine rights which his order inherit from heaven; and, together with them, they bring some most valuable rights to the people. So long as the Sovereign is head of the Church he is bound to recognise and protect a State clergy; and the strongest part of the prerogative is derived from this union: social order gains some of its best support from it, and of its utility and importance every day's experience convinces us. The primogeniture, and public revenue for that institution, issue from this quarter: whilst the Sovereign maintains that primogeniture in the law, and will not permit a change in the ancient principle of God's fee as the basis of the right of the State clergy, he establishes his own prerogative and the privileges of the peers, as the dispenser of the land and the source of all landed right, and he keeps, by his prerogative, an hold both on opinion and in law, as to the sacredness and fixity of landed inheritance.

These opinions, and many others of a similar nature, are the

consequences of recognizing the divine right of the clergy as an estate of the realm, and of the powers which they convey to the prerogative and which are implied in the supremacy. If the clergy were a private body of men—if, like many corporations, their estates were of a private nature—the Sovereign would not claim the power over them which he now holds. The Crown has no authority over the great corporate bodies which are connected with the Church—such as the National Society, that for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary, and similar bodies. The Crown could withdraw its charter, but could not touch their finances. The Sovereign and the Legislature might interfere with the funds of the Church, but they have no power over the *corporate body* of the Clergy abstracted from their endowments, who, on the contrary, possess great power over them, since they have the power of excommunication, which is a very important hold upon public opinion, as well as an original sacred force in itself. But it is one of the mischiefs introduced by Popery, that, having abused it by deposing and murdering sovereigns, the Church is half afraid of communicating to the great men of the earth that excommunication extends equally to all, and that, whether sovereign or subject, they are equally exposed to it: it extends no farther than shutting the church doors against the offending party, but it is a penalty which we think no sovereign would venture to incur. Yet it is almost the only safeguard which the Church possesses to prevent the Minister from making use of the Crown power for the introduction of greater corruptions than those which Parliament ended by taking the supremacy from the Pope and bestowing it on the Sovereign. When that Act was made, the convocation of the clergy was a party to it; but no law which changes the nature of the endowments of the State clergy can be binding in the sight of God, unless they are consulted on the act. The Crown holding the supremacy ought not to suffer these innovations; but we presume that, like the kingdom of heaven, the Crown suffers violence even until now. The powers communicated to the Crown by its union with the laws of the Gospel are so strong and deep that not even the shock of the French Revolution has been able to extinguish them in the French Crown; and the remains of them are still left there, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of the French monarchy. The philosophic mind of M. Guizot has ably traced this character of their monarchy; but it is in a much greater degree that of the British Crown, which still retains in the prerogative the high, majestic, and indispensable superiorities with which the ancient laws of the empire have invested it, as the *vicarius summi regis*,

to preserve the language of the laws of Edward the Confessor, collected by William the Conqueror, from all the landed gentry of the kingdom. It is the virtue of this investiture of united authority which modern law calls the supremacy; or, to use the philosophic language of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs:—

"The Crown becomes an intelligent person, which has its ideas, sentiments, and its desires, like other animated beings. That person had rights and duties—the duty was to govern conformably to the Charter and in accordance with the great public powers: that duty had never failed, and would never be wanting. He repeated that the Crown was an intelligent person, and not a mere machine, made to occupy a place which others might take."

This definition of a monarch is more completely applicable to the British than to the French Crown; but if Sir Robert Peel and the present Lord Chancellor are permitted to pour their advice into the royal ear, the throne will become a sibyl's cave, which will give utterance to such oracles as may be in accordance with the theories of government and the political and financial speculations of the administration of the day. Instead of the animation, the perfection, and the consistency, which were imparted to it by the State union with the Gospel, it will no longer look, as it was wont, towards heaven; but, under the tutelage of Sir Robert Peel, like the spirit of mammon, it will, even in the celestial realms, look on the ground, and contemplate only the gold on the pavement in heaven: the Crown, under the keeping of a corrupt minister, forgetting all its nobler prerogatives, will sacrifice the bread of life to vulgar bread and the cheapest corn; and the Minister of this great empire, on which the sun never sets, will proclaim over all the earth the great maxim of his empire—

Εσθιε πιε τἀλλα δε εδεν

To those who watch public opinion it must appear that American principles are becoming popular in our country; that they pervade the House of Commons, and are spreading in our great commercial cities: our Administration favours them; and however extraordinary it may appear, the Crown has been made the instrument of their introduction, by a series of Parliamentary enactments which have the same tendency. But the transition from a popular to a democratic constitution cannot take place without the further consent of the Sovereign; but that consent has been aiding this change by a suspension or perversion of those prerogatives and duties which are attached to the supremacy these are gradually suffered to become obsolete, and will ultimately vanish when it will be found that the British monarchy

is little more than an hereditary democracy. The law courts are lending their powerful patronage towards this revolution; the barristers being chiefly Whigs, if not democrats. As the Americans hold their lands unconditionally, in imitation of them our new modes of conveyance, and other legal forms, seem to forget that lands with us are held under Christian tenures; but all estates are all portions of some manor, and all manors are held of the Sovereign under the contract at the coronation. In consistency with this polity, the church-rates are a rent charge, and the tithe a grant made at the communion table; and the advowsons and the primogeniture are part of the common as well as of the ecclesiastical law. But it is the supremacy under which this system originated, and under which it has always worked; and in America there is not, and cannot be, any laws of this nature; and a suspension, or perversion, or a weakening of this supremacy, wherever it spreads through the different branches of our laws, conveyances, customs, and even our topography, will mark the advance towards American polity. The first step will be to weaken the Establishment, whose office it is to command, under the admission of a liberal toleration. Equality of religion will be attempted, which will be found impracticable: none will be able to understand in what equality consists; and could such equality be found in theory, there would be no power sufficiently strong to maintain it, and perpetual jealousy would disturb society. Ministers will not find men in this country so indifferent to religion as they imagine them to be. A man's self-love and vanity is as much concerned in his religion as his love of God; and one or the other, or all of those principles, will be sure to move him. The standard of truth being struck down which is now set up, ministers (whoever they may be) will have no rule by which to conduct themselves; and to avoid collision and jealousies they will quickly crush the whole political machinery that unites the Church and State: thus England will be another America; and when the philosophic historian shall look back on the past, to investigate and record the process through which this revolution shall have been effected, it will be seen that it began by undermining, perverting, and destroying the supremacy of the Crown.

ART. IV.—*A Manual of Councils of the Holy Catholic Church, comprising the Substance of the most Remarkable and Important Canons, alphabetically arranged.* By the Rev. E. H. LANDON, M.A., late of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons, 1846.

THE councils in this "Manual" are alphabetically arranged, according to the English names of the places; the Latin names of the places are also given in a table at the end, in case the reader should not know the English name; with a second table, English and Latin; so that this is a very convenient book of reference, and it contains as much information on the questions for which the principal councils were summoned, and on the points which they endeavoured to determine, as the majority of those who have occasion for a manual would be likely to require. But we think that its value would be much increased by a preface, in which the importance of councils, and their canons for preservation of unity in the faith, should be shown; and that not only in primitive times, when simplicity of faith might seem to leave the Church more exposed to assault from being off its guard, but in after times, either when clouded with ignorance, or in the still more dangerous state of mind which is produced by scholastic subtleties, and when simple truth is no longer held in the same regard as formerly, while the heresies by which it is corrupted assume a more insidious and more dangerous form—the assaults becoming the more deadly in proportion as the Church has less power to resist.

The first council upon record is that of Jerusalem, spoken of in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles: they met to determine a question which had been raised at Antioch, which question Paul and Barnabas, who had founded the Church in that place, and whose authority we might expect to be paramount there, were unable to determine; not that St. Paul himself had any doubt on the matter, but that certain brethren had come down from Jerusalem, professing to be in possession of the mind of the apostles and elders of the first or mother Church of all, and, as we may gather from the Epistle to the Galatians, having gained over Barnabas to their party, St. Paul was overborne by them. The only course, therefore, to be taken was, sending a deputation to Jerusalem, and bringing the whole question before an assembly of those highest in authority for their final decision.

Following on the history, we find that the decrees of the council of Jerusalem not only composed the strife which had

arisen at Antioch, but that St. Paul visited the other Churches which he had founded in Asia Minor, and communicated to them the judgment of the Jerusalem council, in order to strengthen their faith and forewarn them against similar assaults of the enemy. "And as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem. And so were the Churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." (Acts xvi. 4).

We refer to this first council as showing the occasions that must needs have arisen for calling together such assemblies, and as exemplifying the good effects which the decisions of such councils would have upon the Church; but not by any means as inferring that the decisions of the council of Jerusalem should be placed among the canons of the Church—that is, such as are included in this "Manual;" nor as implying that any of the Church canons mount up to apostolic times, or are to be regarded as of the same authority as the infallible decisions of those rulers of the Church who were under plenary divine inspiration at the time to which the Acts of the Apostles belong. But since, even *at that time*, some questions could not be settled without a council, and Peter and Paul and Barnabas were unable of themselves to compose the dissensions, so, and *much more*, would councils become *necessary*, when the whole Church had become less spiritual, and there were no such men as St. Paul, and St. Peter, and St. Barnabas, upon the earth. True it is that there is a collection of eighty-five canons which are called apostolical, and which some have endeavoured to trace, in whole or in part, to apostolic times. But none are able to say when or by what council they were framed; and the earliest specific mention of them is in the council of Trullo, A.D. 691, in a note on which Mr. Landon observes:—

"APOSTOLICAL CANONS—Eighty-five ecclesiastical laws or canons, so called, and supposed by some writers to be absolutely genuine. Bellarmine and Baronius except the last thirty-five. Daille asserts them to be all a fabrication of the fifth century. Beveridge and most others deny their title to be considered as apostolical, but allow their extreme antiquity. What seems sufficient to establish the fact of their not being apostolical is this, that they have never been so considered by the Church, nor cited by any father, or any council before that of Ephesus, by the title of *Apostolical* canons; but simply as the ancient canons, the canons of the fathers, and in the acts of this very council (of Trullo) as canones *nomine* sacro sanctorum et gloriosorum apostolorum." (p. 183, note.)

First in authority among the canons of the Church are those

of the Council of Nice, an assembly of three hundred and eighteen eminent bishops of the time, who met in 325 to condemn the Arian heresy, and take measures to prevent, if possible, the further spread of such pernicious doctrines. Scarcely inferior in importance, whether we regard the parties assembled or the questions they met to decide, are the other three great councils—that of Constantinople, A.D. 383; that of Ephesus, A.D. 431; and that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451; and these four councils acquired a more marked pre-eminence from the circumstance of the canons framed by them having been incorporated by the Emperor Justinian into his code, thus receiving from him the force of laws of the empire. "Sancimus, vicem legum obtinere sanctos ecclesiasticos canones, qui a sanctis quatuor conciliis expositi et confirmati sunt. Hoc est Niceno decem trecentorum et octo, Constantinopolitano centum quinquaginta sanctorum patrum, Ephesino primo, in quo Nestorius damnatus est, et Chalcedonensi, in quo Eutyches cum Nestorio anathematisatus est. Prædictorum enim sanctorum conciliorum decreta perinde ut sacras scripturas suscipimus: et canones, ut leges custodimus." (Novel: 131.)

These four councils addressed themselves primarily to the great fundamental doctrines of the Trinity, and the distinct personal subsistence of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the one Godhead: and, as a consequence of this doctrine concerning the Trinity, to the distinctness of the two natures, human and divine, in the one person of the Son; and, to the twofold procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Father and the Son, in the third Person of the blessed Trinity; and, during all these discussions, they were careful to preserve inviolate the unity of the Godhead, and the consequent coequality of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as a principle which is the fountain-head of all doctrine, and without which the distinctions of personal subsistence, and of subordination of action in the economy of creation, redemption, and sanctification, cannot be truly apprehended, and may lead to the most dangerous errors. The creeds are the best evidences of the mind of these councils—the apostles' creed having drawn the grand outlines of truth on these doctrines; the creed of the Council of Nice specifying with greater particularity the subsistence of the Son, the mode of incarnation, and the work of redemption; the creed of Constantinople adding thereto the assertions concerning the subsistence of the Holy Ghost; while the Athanasian creed, which was not the composition of a council, but which expressed the faith of that age of the Church, guarded in the strongest manner against rash unsancti-

fied speculations concerning these heavenly mysteries which always will remain as revelations to be received in faith—never will become deductions of human reasoning; and thus warned the Church against indulging in such a turn of thought—against cherishing any such frame of mind; as she would keep the faith whole and undefiled and avoid perishing everlastingly.

There is a great difference of natural constitution or temperament between the members of the Eastern and of the Western Churches, which has subsisted from the earliest times, and has shown itself in the form which their faith has taken, and accounts for differences of expression where they both mean to maintain the same truth; while it also accounts for the different forms of superstition and heresy by which they have severally been tempted and assailed. The lively and tasteful imagination of the orientals laid them open to the seductions of unbridled speculation in place of sober argument, and of credulity in place of simple faith in spiritual things. The religion of the Western Churches has, on the other hand, shown itself to be formal in its exterior, and resting upon close, consistent, sound deductions of logic for its doctrines, as exemplified in our several creeds, confessions, and articles: and it is worthy of remark, that Athanasius, when he was rejected by the Eastern Church, found a welcome at Rome, where his doctrines were fully admitted, and where it is believed by many that he composed the creed which is called by his name: certain it is, that those very doctrines on which the Greeks and Latins disagree, and especially that concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, were affirmed in the most positive manner by the Western Churches from the earliest times, as in the Council of Toledo, A.D. 400; and the faith of the Western Churches is distinctly recognised by the Council of Constantinople, as being more than or in advance of those things to which they had attained or could unanimously resolve. "Quod ad tomum attinet occidentalium, etiam eos suscipimus qui Antiochiæ unam confitentur patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti deitatem." (*Con. Const.* A.D. 383., can. 5).

Nor can we better sum up the important service rendered by these four councils than in the words of the judicious Hooker:—"Four things concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being joined in one. Four principal heresies there are which have in those things withstood the truth—Arians, by bending themselves against the deity of Christ; Apollinarians, by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature;

Nestorians, by rending Christ asunder and dividing him into two persons; the followers of Eutyches, by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been four most famous ancient general councils—the Council of Nice to decide against Arians; against Apollinarians the Council of Constantinople; the Council of Ephesus against Nestorians; against Eutychians the Chalcedon Council. In four words, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly*; the first applied to his being God, the second to his being man, the third to his being of both one, and the fourth to his still continuing in that one both; we may fully, and by way of abridgment, comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian belief or in refutation of the foresaid heresies: within the compass of which four heads I may truly affirm that all heresies which touch but the person of Jesus Christ—whether they have arisen in these latter days or in any age heretofore—may be with great facility brought to confine themselves." *(Ecc. Pol.*, v. 54, *ad fin.)*

After the time of these four general councils there was a book of canons collected which was called the canons of the universal Church; these were published by Christopher Justel, at Paris, 1610: in the preface to which he asserts that, in all the early councils, two books were laid on the table as containing the law by which their decisions were to be regulated—the book of Scripture and the book of Canons. "Ecclesia Christiana duplici jure olim regebatur, divino et canonico. Ac divinum quidem jus, codice sacræ Scripturæ; canonicum vero codice canonum continetur. Itaque in conciliis illi duo codices in medio consessus poni solebant, ut ex eorum jure episcopi inter se dogmata pietatis explorarent, obortas hæreses refutarent, et controversias ad disciplinam ecclesiasticam, sacramque politeian pertinentes, dirimerent." This code of canons was drawn up in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, by Stephen, Bishop of Ephesus; and it consisted of ninety-five canons in the following order:—first, twenty of the Council of Nice; secondly, twenty-five of the Council of Ancyra: thirdly, fourteen of the Council of Neocæsarea; fourthly, twenty of the Council of Gangra; fifthly, sixteen of the Council of Antioch, which last is the ninety-fifth canon of the code. Justel, arranging them in this order and adding the five remaining canons of Antioch, the fifty-nine of the Council of Laodicea, the seven of the Council of Constantinople, the eight of the Council of Ephesus, and the twenty-nine of the Council of Chalcedon, obtains the number of two hundred and seven—the number assigned whensoever the canons of the universal Church are

spoken of, and which are sometimes called the Nicene canons, because the canons of that council stood at the head of the code.

The succeeding councils are regarded as of very unequal authority by different portions of the Church; some being truly provincial synods and therefore only of local authority, although this authority may be fully recognized in the districts for which they legislated: and others, though truly general councils, were not universally recognized from their having affirmed doctrines or practices which may be questioned by men of undisputed orthodoxy, or from having enacted things contrary to the decisions of former unimpeachable general councils. Some of these provincial synods have great interest as bearing upon the historical facts concerning the first planting of Christianity in different countries, and the comparative purity and simplicity of the faith in those early times. To an Englishman, the collection by Selden of the Councils of Britain and Gaul have peculiar interest—that of Arles, A.D. 314, containing the subscriptions of three British bishops—Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelsius of Caerleon; while many of the canons show that Britain was then independent of Rome, and had received the faith direct from the first Churches of Greece and Asia Minor rather than through the Italian medium: a conclusion which is fairly to be drawn even from such words as *Church*, which signifies the *Lord's House*, from the Greek κυριακη; Saxon, Kyric; Scotch, Kirk; English, Church.

Of the general councils, the Roman Church acknowledges eighteen; but the Greek Church only admits the first seven of these; the Lutherans, only six; and the Nestorians, who are still very numerous in the East, only the first two. Bellarmine, and the Romanists in general, regard general councils as constituting four classes: 1, eighteen which are to be received; 2, eight which are to be rejected; 3, six which are to be in part received and in part rejected; 4, and one concerning which they cannot determine whether it should be received or should be rejected.

The councils received by Rome are 1, the Nicene, A.D. 325; 2, Constantinople, A.D. 383; 3, Ephesus, A.D. 434; 4, Chalcedon, A.D. 454; 5, Constantinople, ii., A.D. 553; 6, Constantinople, iii., A.D. 681; 7, Nicene ii., A.D. 781; 8, Constantinople iv., A.D. 870; 9, Lateran, A.D. 1123; 10, Lateran ii., A.D. 1139; 11, Lateran iii, A.D. 1180; 12, Lateran iv., A.D. 1215; 13, Lyons, A.D., 1245; 14, Lyons ii., A.D. 1274; 15, Vienne, A.D. 1311; 16, Florence, A.D. 1439; 17, Lateran v., A.D. 1517; 18, Council of Trent, under

Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV.; from the year 1545, to the year 1563.

The councils wholly rejected by Rome are the following:—1, Antioch, A.D. 345; 2, Milan, A.D. 354; 3. Ariminium, A.D. 363; 4, Ephesus ii., 449; 5, Constantinople, A.D. 730; 6, Constantinople, A.D. 755; 7, Pisa, A.D. 1511; 8, Wittemburgh, A.D. 1536.

The councils partly received and partly rejected are these:—1, Sardis, A.D. 351; 2, Sirmium, A.D. 356; 3, Trullo, A.D. 528; 4, Frankfort, A.D. 794; 5, Constance, A.D. 1414; 6, Basil and Lausanne, from A.D. 1439 to 1449.

And the council which the Church of Rome can neither determine to receive nor determine to reject is that of Pisa, A.D. 1409; which council deposed two rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and elected Alexander V. It had been called together to heal a schism in the Church; yet, according to Ballarmine, not only failed in removing that schism but actually increased it. Still the Roman Church cannot entirely reject the council, for then its acts would have been void, and Alexander V. would have been no true Pope, and Alexander VI. would have called himself the fifth of that name and not the sixth. One thing however is clear, that the council had power to depose and to elect the Popes; and as Constantine summoned the Council of Nice and was therefore its superior, so long as this superiority was recognized the Emperor was above the Pope; nay, down to the time of Charlemagne, the Pope could not be chosen without the approval and confirmation of the emperor, and when appointed he swore fealty to the emperor, as did all the citizens of Rome.

The Councils of Constantinople, of 730 and 755, were rejected by Rome, because they forbad the worship of images. In 773, there was a council at Rome under Adrian, which acknowledged the supreme authority of Charlemagne. "Decernit, ut populus Romanus omne suum jus et potestatem in Carolum transferat, ut pontifex, et synodus dignitatem patritiatus, ei conferat; ut ipse habeat jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem, et ordinandi sedem apostolicam; denique ut archiepiscopi et episcopi per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipiant."

In the Lateran council, 1215, transubstantiation and auricular confession were decreed, and the cup was forbidden to the laity. In the council of Constance, 1414, three Popes were deposed, and Martin V. was chosen, and mass was confirmed, and the cup was more strictly prohibited to the laity. In the council of Florence, 1439, a compromise with the Greek bishops,

concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as the Father, was agreed on; but the Eastern Churches refused to ratify the acts of the council, and would not allow themselves to be bound by what the bishops had done, so that eventually the council had no result.

The last of the general councils was that of Trent, which brought its sittings to a close in the year 1563; and which, by its acts, superseded and took the place of all former councils; revising, so as to abolish or to re-enact, all former decisions; and stamping its own acts as absolute and final. Moreover, these acts of the council were carried out in the creed of Pius IV.; which every one who had come to years of discretion was required to subscribe or confess; and, by a catechism of elementary instruction, to prepare the mind for an intelligent profession of those articles of faith which the creed of Pope Pius contained, many of which were then for the first time announced to be essential and indubitable articles of the Roman faith. The creed and catechism had been both drawn up with an avowed and specific reference to the decisions of the council, and the acts of the council proceeded upon system, each act forming a part of one whole; having grown out of that systematic theology which, arising among the schoolmen in a time of great corruption, had exercised all the ingenuity of a long succession of very clever men, not only in palliating existing abuses but in justifying them, and even in working them into a system which might be so plausible as to have the coherence and consistency of truth; but which very coherence forbad the rejection of any one portion of that which had been thus incorporated so as to form one whole. The system is practically felt to be one whole, and few have boldness to question any part of it: but should any venture to do so, they would find themselves stopped in the exceeding ingenuity by which every avenue of doubt is closed at the fundamental Roman dogma of the infallibility of the Church. They assume it to be an indisputable truth; they avoid determining whether the infallibility resides in Pope, or councils, or the whole Church; and thus, being limited to no one ordinance or portion of the Church, it is tacitly assumed and rendered available anywhere, as the *ultima ratio*, when no other argument will stand.

The system of Rome must be rejected altogether, as a system, before men will be able to separate between the truths which the Romanists have retained and the modern corruptions by which they have defiled the Church.

So that the present faith of Rome, which really dates no higher than the council of Trent, and had never been solemnly

determined or recognized by the authorities of that Church until 1563, constrains us to regard the religion of modern Rome as one of the newest of the sects, although it is held by so large a portion of those who call themselves Christians, and whom we cannot exclude from the visible Church. Romanism is, in this aspect, not so venerable as Protestantism: it has arisen after the formation of the Lutheran Church—after the Church of England had taken its fixed form; not only after the days of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but after Elizabeth had come to the throne of England, and the work of reformation in these lands had been completed, and our religion had become what it is at this day.

True it is that the Romanists will not allow their religion to be thus modern; but their denial of the fact no more proves it to be false than the adoption of the fables of Isidore into the Roman breviary proves these absurd and groundless legends to be true. These legends had become part of the system, and therefore could not be separated without loosening and endangering the whole fabric, though they are proved to be utterly unworthy of credit, and every well-informed Romanist must be thoroughly ashamed of such trumpery. Isidore Mercator, who called himself *Peccator*, was the promulgator, and is generally regarded as the inventor of these legends, and of pontifical letters containing references to councils, in support of the fables of which we speak. Dionysius Exiguus would not include those earlier epistles and canons in his collection, and all those of Sylvester, Damasus, &c., preceding the time of Siricius, are regarded as spurious and not worthy of the least degree of credit. The first mark of spuriousness is that these writings often refer to questions which had not arisen in the Church at the time when those who are said to have written these epistles lived: the second is that the Roman consuls which are named scarcely ever agree with the corresponding Pope: the third is that the vulgate version of Scripture is quoted by Popes who lived before the time of Jerome: the fourth is that they are all written in one and the same barbarous style of Latinity, which it is not probable that so many living so much nearer the Augustan age would have employed. Evaristus is supposed to write, *Episcopi sunt obediendi*; Victor to write, *Nocere aliquem*; Marcellinus to write, *Paternas disciplinas injurare*; Stephen to write, *Charitative*, &c., &c. Yet certainly Latin was written with great purity to a much later period than that of these Popes, as we know from their genuine writings; and no mention can be found of these pontifical epistles until the time of Isidore, A.D. 830.

In proportion as we feel the value of authentic records, so is our indignation roused when these are tampered with, or when the forgeries of later ages are, to serve particular purposes, endeavoured to be palmed upon the Church, as genuine expressions of the mind of the primitive fathers. Councils, when lawfully summoned, and allowed to exercise their functions uncontrouled, are of great importance, as forming the true counteraction to the license and to the unbecoming collisions of private judgment; which, when individuals are allowed to exercise without controul, turns to the destruction of unity in faith and in practice: and an œcumenical council of orthodox bishops is the highest authority to which, under present circumstances, the Church can look; it is the paramount authority for the time being, and its determinations can only be modified or set aside by another council of equal or superior authority. Local or provincial councils are of paramount authority within their own bounds, and where recourse to a general council is not practicable. But these local councils cannot bind the Catholic Church, and often are rather to be rejected than to be received, from their being summoned to meet some extraordinary emergency. The English councils bind the Church of England in the adaptation of that Catholic truth which has been handed down from the primitive Church, to the character of each particular age: and so the council of Trent is only the council of a larger province, and binds only those Churches who were represented in that council; and, as none of the Eastern Churches and none of the Protestant Churches were represented at Trent, it has no pretensions to the authority of a general council, and its decisions are to be rejected whensoever they run counter to the determinations of any of the great councils of the fourth and fifth centuries.

If a second edition of this "Manual" should be called for, we would recommend the author to prefix some notice or classification of the councils, either from Bellarmine or from the fuller and more recent enumeration of Dens, with such remarks as would very readily occur to an English clergyman: and we think that the usefulness of the book would be increased by a table of the councils in *chronological* order, and by another table of the Popes and contemporary fathers; but, even as it is, we recommend the work as a very useful book of reference for students of ecclesiastical history.

ART. V.—*Description of the Skeleton of an extinct Gigantic Sloth; with Observations on the Osteology, Natural Affinities, and Probable Habits of the Megatherioid Quadrupeds in General.* By RICHARD OWEN, F.R.S., &c. J. Van Voorst.

IT is not our purpose to undertake an examination of this splendid volume, the title of which we have placed before our readers. All whom it would interest must already know that, like all the other works of the same distinguished anatomist, it needs no commendation from us, and is beyond the reach of our censure. But we refer to the first work in its class—to the very highest authority—to a work the correctness of which we fully admit, in order to show that, while we admit the value of all the researches which are making into the natural history of the earth, and acknowledge the bearing of these researches upon the fossilized remains of a former world, we do not admit that these remains were deposited before the creation of man; and do not admit that the strata in which they are found render the Mosaic account of the deluge inadmissible: because we maintain that the deluge, as it is described by Moses, was most certainly *supernatural*; while the geologists have most unaccountably assumed that it was brought about by *natural* causes.

The great sagacity and unrivalled precision of Owen have rendered his facts incontrovertible; and we are as certain of the osteology and natural affinities of many of these extinct species as we are of the forms and propensities of living animals. The question, however, still remains—how these fossils acquired their present appearance and position in the earth? Was it by natural—was it by supernatural agency? We assert that the deluge bears, on the very face of things, indubitable proofs of its being brought about by supernatural agency; and this, therefore, will carry with it evidence to decide the other question, and afford the means of showing *by what kind of supernatural agency* the fossil remains may have been brought into the condition and situation in which they at present appear.

The deluge, and its preparatory and concomitant circumstances, is therefore the question to which we shall, in the first instance, direct the attention of our readers; professing, however, to do little more on this occasion than to bring the subject under the consideration of our readers, to suggest thoughts upon it for their reflection and examination, and to supply a few reasons for a more diligent enquiry into some of the circumstances connected with the Deluge than has yet been given to them. Great coolness of judgment should, however, be exercised upon it, and much varied and extensive information brought to the consideration of it.

THE ARK AND THE DELUGE.

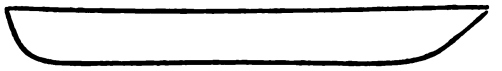
"God said unto Noah, Make thee an ark of Gopher-wood: rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. And this is the fashion thou shalt make it of: the length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof: with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. And thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him so did he."

Now, this plain statement of a fact, which is presented to us as an object of faith, needs no human ingenuity nor research to make it the more credible: it is quite sufficient that the divine word has revealed it to secure our belief of it; nor is it consistent with faith in the word of God to scrutinize that word under the plea of verifying it, which is often only a pretext of infidelity: the simple scriptural declaration that such a fact as the deluge *has* happened being verification and proof sufficient to render worse than needless the addition of any facts to the testimony of revelation. Perhaps, simple faith ends on such subjects whenever critical enquiry begins; for it would seem to be inconsistent with faith to be caring about proofs of those facts as the Scriptures have revealed. We therefore disclaim, at the outset, all intention or desire of offering a single observation for any such purpose as the confirmation of our faith in the scriptural account of the deluge: that account is infallible truth, and has no need whatever of human observations and calculations to make it more credible. But there is a peculiarity in the scriptural account of the deluge which seems especially to court enquiry—that account being singularly full and minute in its details: therein the dimensions of the ark are most accurately given, and the dates of all the chief circumstances connected with it are minutely recorded. We are told directly what it *could* contain, and indirectly what it *did* contain; and both when it was filled and when it was emptied. Now all these facts, and dates, and figures, were given to us, not accidentally but designedly: it might be to encourage the further enquiry of the admiring and adoring believer, or to challenge the researches and questionings of the caviller. Here are numerous facts stated, clear dimensions given, and all the required data supplied, by which every one who has doubts or unbelief in his heart may make the appeal to his judgment: and, if he is unable to disprove the statements placed before him, and yet will not believe them, God but vindicates his own rightousness in announcing to all such a judgment upon unbelief.

Dimensions of the Ark—length, three hundred cubits—breadth, fifty—height, thirty; and as the length of the cubit was unquestionably 21.888 inches, the length of the Ark will be five hundred and forty-seven feet—breadth, ninety-one feet—height, fifty-four feet. The form of the ark therefore, and its proportions, will be represented by the following outline, which is on the scale of one inch to the hundred feet :—

In contrast with this we place the outline of the hulk of a first-rate ship of war—the *Nelson*, of one hundred and twenty guns, with the length of two hundred and five feet — breadth, fifty — height, twenty-four.

And, also, the outline of the *British Queen* steam ship, the length of which is two hundred and forty-three feet—breadth, forty—height, twenty-nine.



Their sterns would show thus :—

The Ark.

The Nelson.

The British Queen.

The proportions of these vessels will thus be:—

The *Ark*—The breadth is	⅙	of the length, and the depth		⅒
The *Nelson*	¼	„	„	short of ⅓
The *British Queen*	⅓	„	„	more than ½

Now, as it is clearly impossible that a vessel of the length and breadth of the ark could be otherwise than a floating vessel, designed entirely for perfectly still waters, we have supposed it to be flat-bottomed and strait-sided; both as making it the more buoyant and as giving to it the greatest capacity. It was devoid of all sailing properties; had neither rigging nor rudder; its build was simply that of a huge float, to all outward appearance wholly at the mercy of the winds and the waves, liable to be drifted or driven about according as currents or winds for the time prevailed; but, as we shall show, the ark could not, for a moment, have been subjected to the influence of either winds or tides. The extraordinary length of the ark proves, at once, the miraculous power that was, at every moment, in exercise for its preservation: since no vessel of the ark's proportions could naturally live for an hour in disturbed waters; the very first wave that rose would inevitably break its back and rend it entirely asunder; nor, with all our experience in ship building, would it be possible to construct a vessel of the ark's proportions and to navigate it from Dover to Calais in rough weather—the least swell of the ocean, by raising one end and depressing the other, would break it in the middle and cause it to founder; nor could any possible contrivance or ingenuity of construction prevent this consequence, and the clear and just conclusion therefore is, that the ark floated in perfectly still waters; and, that whatever might be the agitation of the great deep when its fountains were broken up, or whatever the force of the currents as the seas kept advancing and gaining on the land, yet must the waters around the ark, and for a considerable distance, of necessity have been calm and still; not a wave could have rolled near it—not a ripple could have broken against it—not a breath of wind could have blown upon it, nor could the currents have drifted it; the ark floated, and merely floated, on the smoothest waters, at a time when the ocean was heaving and swelling and rolling onward furiously upon the land at the rate of one hundred and seventy-six feet additional in depth each day for one hundred and fifty days together. Around the ark, however, those ocean waves found a barrier impossible to be passed: it was as if the finger of the Almighty had drawn a line upon the waters around it, and had *then* said to the ocean what he declared to Job he did once say to it: "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here

shalt thy proud waves be stayed" (Job xxxviii., 11): and the Psalmist would seem to have alluded to this subject in Psalm xcii., where he says—"The floods are risen—the floods lift up their waves: the waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly; but yet the Lord who dwelleth on high is mightier;" and certainly his might was shown on this occasion; for, raging as the ocean then did, and as it never since has done, and pouring its mighty body of waters, every succeeding wave gaining in height upon the preceding, the fiat of the Almighty turned them all aside to hasten onward elsewhere to their work and mission of destruction, and the ark remained as motionless and undisturbed as though resting on dry land. And if the very peculiar construction of the ark had not made such a conclusion inevitable, the purpose for which it was built would have proved that such was the fact; for, had the ark pitched in the least from the swell of the waves, or rolled at all from side to side under the influence of the wind which, from its great length and little width, it must most distressingly have done, the whole world of animals therein contained could not have kept their footing: of very necessity, therefore, a dead calm must have prevailed around the ark during the whole of the one hundred and fifty days that it was floating on the waters.

The dimensions of the ark being given, it would not be impossible so to plan out its supposed construction as to determine with tolerable accuracy the quantity of timber it would require. A practical ship-builder would be able, by a close and careful calculation, to ascertain it with something like a tolerable approximation to the truth. As to the timber itself, it was of no value; but the labour of collecting it together and preparing it must have been very great, and no more was used, we may reasonably suppose, than was essentially necessary for its construction. We have therefore calculated for the vessel the quantity only of timber that seemed indispensable, and have supposed in the calculation that the ark was divided into *three* stories and was roofed over, and that to two-fifths of its height it was doubly boarded with a layer of asphalte between, and that a portion of the hold of the vessel was in like manner boarded for the safe keeping of the fresh water; and without detailing the general plan, or working out the many details and measurements of its several parts, our calculation would give about 245,000 cubic feet of timber for the complement that would be required: this at fifty feet per load would give 4,900 loads; and as the largest trees would be the easiest worked and were then in the greatest abundance, under five hundred trees of *ten* load in each would be the whole quantity

needed. However, it would seem to be impossible to build the ark without raising a scaffold around it; this could not be less than fifty feet high, nor less in length when measured round than 1,300 feet, and would probably require 28,000 cubic feet, or 600 loads of timber: thus the utmost of the builders' needs might not exceed 550 trees.

Again: from the dimensions of the ark being so accurately given, we are able to calculate with tolerable correctness its actual capacity, deducting from the

Length of 547ft. 47ft. for partitions &c., leaves 500ft. clear space
Width .....91... 11.....80.....
Height..... 54.....4...for joists &c.....50.....
Then.....500 by 80 by 50 = 2,000,000

Thus, though the ark occupied a space equal in its external measurements to 547 by 91 by 54 = 2,687,958 cubic feet, yet the actual internal clear space for stowage would be only 2,000,000 cubic feet.

The capacity of the ark being thus ascertained, the next proper subject for enquiry would be, what *did* it contain? But the question is undoubtedly *that* one which is the most difficult to answer of all that are connected with the subject, since to answer it aright requires a perfect knowledge of the habits, the size, and the food of every creature that exists—of every beast, bird, and reptile that now lives on the earth.

Nor would even this knowledge be sufficient; for so multiplied are the variety of the *genera* in almost all the orders of aves and mammalia, that the most discriminating judgment is necessary to distinguish what was the parent stock—the original species of the whole family; and to this must be added the fullest and most correct information of the kind, and the quantity of food every living thing would require for a whole year's subsistence. It is evident that knowledge to this extent is in no man's possession: by possibility the day may come when the greater part of all these facts will be known; but that day is not *yet* come. Every year, indeed, adds something to our information on the subject—every year new animals are met with, and especially in every new land discovered; but the habits of many that have long been classed are still but very imperfectly known, and our whole knowledge is far too deficient and imperfect for our present purpose, which is to prove what animals must have entered with Noah into the ark.

There are many perplexing circumstances, also, in connection with the present location and distribution of particular animals,

those of the new world being almost entirely of different families to those in the old; those in New Holland having not the slightest resemblance to any found elsewhere—such for instance as the ornithorhynchus and the opossum; the first named is a quadruped covered with fur and suckling its young; yet it is web-footed, has a bill like a duck, and is oviparous. In vain shall we look for a type of this creature in any other country, and yet other countries have their own peculiar and distinct races as exclusively to themselves. It seems, consequently, hopeless to expect that a subject so extensive and so difficult of attainment should ever perfectly be cleared up: thousands of years have passed away since the ark poured forth its living thousands to replenish the earth, and yet we know not to this day what the ark preserved—all is with us on this subject wild and vague conjecture: the knowledge of the last century would be called ignorance in this; 500 birds were classed by Ray, and 5,000 since by Latham; the once known 5,000 fishes are now increased to 8,000; and of the insects, of which until lately so little was known, there are now known and classed 100,000 !—and it is supposed that this is scarcely a tenth of the whole number actually existing. The subject indeed seems exhaustless, and would appear to defy all our powers to grasp it; the discoveries of to-day overthrow all our calculations and conclusions of yesterday; and did we need anything perfectly to convince us of the worthlessness of all merely human speculations upon such subjects, it would be the difficulties which surround us at this, the first stage of it. We ask the question, for what was the ark prepared? And we quote from Scripture the answer, "For the twos and the sevens of all flesh wherein is the breath of life"—and there ends our knowledge of the subject. What those twos were, and what those sevens were, we cannot say; so far as the Scriptures have revealed facts, just so far do we make our proofs good; but where they cease to explain, there we cease to comprehend; and the more we search into this subject, and the more earnestly we strive to understand it, the more certainly are we forced to the same acknowledgment of the Psalmist, and to say, "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me, I cannot attain to it!"

Where was the ark built?

No direct answer would seem possible to this question: nor, from our dearth of facts, have we any other resource than to surmise and speculate and conjecture. Had but the site of Eden been perfectly known to us, all the probabilities would have tended to direct our attention to the district where Eden was; for it seems reasonable and natural that the children

of Seth should have remained in the neighbourhood of their grandfather Adam, and that Adam himself should have wandered no further from Eden than stern necessity compelled him. Of Cain, we are expressly told that he *did* withdraw from the neighbourhood of his father, to the land of Nod, which was eastward of Eden; and as nothing similar is recorded of Seth or his descendants, that they also went out from the presence of their father, and as we can imagine no motive with them for any distant migrations, it seems most reasonable to conclude that all Seth's descendants, until Noah's time, did remain in or near to the district of their father, Adam, wherever that was. The site of Eden therefore, could it be correctly ascertained, would greatly aid us to a right decision of this question: but ascertained it probably never will be, since there seems to be no spot in the world answering to the description which the Scriptures give of it; and if it was not one among many other purposes of the deluge to destroy, to make desolate, or to render it impossible to recognize the site even, of the garden of Eden, yet its destruction seemed to be an almost inevitable consequence of the deluge: before, therefore, we could offer even a rational conjecture as to the locality of Eden, it would seem necessary to consider what changes the flood might or must have produced on the earth's surface.

Two agencies were in operation to produce great changes: first, the weight of water, miles in depth upon land that had never before been subjected to a greater pressure than that of the atmosphere; and secondly, the continual current of such an accumulation of oceans that for months together rolled in upon the land. As to the first of these, two consequences would follow from the weight and pressure of the ocean: the earth would be thoroughly saturated, so far as what is called its surface was concerned; from its long continued immersion under water, combined with the extreme pressure of that water, its surface must in consequence have become everywhere of a mud-like consistence; numerous landslips would follow; masses of mountains would slide down into the valleys, as they are continually doing in Switzerland to this day, and in a greater or less degree every year after heavy and continued rains. The course of rivers would in consequence be turned, and into new channels: what were before plains would become lakes; and what were before lakes, being filled up with the debris of mountains, would become plains. And while the waters were thus extensively operating on the surface in obliterating the old landmarks, and in undermining and toppling down the old mountains, they were as extensively at work in

many places beneath the surface in elevating new mountains in their stead; for, from the thorough soaking of the earth, volcanic fires would be lighted up, water being the great exciting agent in volcanoes in all cases, and their fury and violence would be tenfold increased in this case by the extreme weight of water upon them. It is precisely under pressure of this kind that molten lava, as it cools, crystallizes into granite; and, as there can be no volcanoes very distant from the ocean or some inland sea, the extinct volcanoes we now meet with in the middle of continents were probably first called into exercise by the waters of the deluge, and when that water was withdrawn they would naturally expire. Nor is the mere pressure on the earth from the *weight* of the waters of the ocean to be overlooked, while enumerating the causes which must have produced great changes in its surface. The waters, to have risen fifteen cubits above the tops of the mountains, must have rolled miles deep over many of the plains and valleys, and the dislocations and the rendings of the earth's surface must, from this cause alone, have been tremendous. The result of some very simple experiments, not long since made, will prove this. A wine bottle, well corked but empty, when sunk in the ocean to the depth of a hundred fathoms, burst from the pressure of the waters above it. Another filled with fresh water and well corked, when it had descended two hundred fathoms, had the cork driven in and reversed, all the fresh water was forced out, and salt water was in its place forced in. Another, filled with highly rectified spirits, burst at the depth of four hundred fathoms; and cylindrical copper tubes were crushed quite flat at the depth of three hundred fathoms; and when the whole of the earth's surface was subjected, for months together, to a pressure of water of twenty times greater power to crush than this, it might reasonably be concluded that very extensive alterations and no little destruction would follow; and that from the combined operation of these causes, and of many others similar in their effects to these, the land of Eden would not and could not be found answering to the description which the Scriptures give of it. To conjecture therefore, and soberly, is all apparently that we can do; and if we might conjecture on such a subject, we should fix on the land of Armenia for the site of Eden and the habitation of Noah. The distinguishing characteristics of Eden in the scriptural account of it are its four rivers; and perhaps even these, in this district, and notwithstanding all the subsequent changes, we may yet be able to trace out; for if that river which has ever been known, so far as history extends, by the name of Euphrates was the Euphrates

of Eden, then Pison would be the old Cyrus river, now the Kur, which runs into the Caspian: Gihon would be the old Tigris, compassing, however, not the modern Ethiopia but the ancient Mesopotamia; Hiddekel would be the old Araxes, now the Aras, which runs eastward into the Caspian; and Euphrates would be the old Euphrates; and this supposition, that Armenia was the land of the patriarchs, is rather strengthened than otherwise by the fact that *the* Mount Ararat upon which the ark rested was in the centre of this district.

From the best examination we can make of the land of Armenia, from geological and other maps that give in detail the sources and course of its rivers, and the range and elevation of its mountains, we incline to the opinion that the Kusse Dagh mountain, which is east of Erzeroum and west of Ararat, arose at the deluge from the site of the garden of Eden; and that, before the deluge called that volcanic range into existence, the whole of Armenia westward of Ararat was a plain; and that the river that went out of Eden and thence parted into four heads, had, before the elevation of the Kusse Dagh and Erivan ranges, its source in mount Ararat, and would thence naturally flow in the direction which the four rivers still take—north, east, west, and south, exactly as the Scriptures state they did once flow. It so happens that an able observer and naturalist has lately visited this district, and his notes upon it prove that very extensive changes have been made on it, both by waters above and volcanic fires beneath. He describes this portion of the Taurus range as presenting to view "powerful dykes of diallage rock and euphoticles," both volcanic productions; and that extensive beds of altered limestone, jaspers, and sand-stones, have been traversed, disrupted, and tilted up or overthrown by these dykes, which, whenever they appear, appear to have broken up the beds of the surrounding rocks and altered their character (p. 271), he represents the district as well wooded (p. 24), the forest trees being pine, oak, chesnut, ash, beech, maple, plane: here are also rich copper mines, yielding yearly two and a fourth millions of pounds (p. 273); bitumen and boulders of native iron in abundance were seen laying about, some of which measured three feet in length and one and a half in thickness (p. 285).

Thus, so far as the materials and the natural productions would go, the country north or south of the Hamaran range of Taurus would supply all that was necessary for the building and equipment of a fleet; and if it was from this district that Noah drew his stores, he must have found all things ready to his hand and provided for him in the greatest profusion.

As to the description of timber used by Noah in the building of the ark it would be useless to offer a single conjecture. What was Gopher-wood seems never to have been since known: the Septuagint translators clearly knew nothing about it: they refrain even from naming it, and merely describe it as ξύλων τετραγωνων — four-sided or squared timber. Had the wood been Cyprus wood, as some commentators have supposed, there seems no reason why it should not have been at once so called, as it is by the Septuagint writers in Canticles i. 14.

The English translators say that the ark had "*three stories*," and so probably it had; but the word "stories" is not in the original Hebrew, nor in the Greek Septuagint. The "rooms" also of the English version are in the Hebrew literally "nests," as they are in the νοσσιας of the Greek translation, and νοσσους would imply separate berths or dens for the carnivorous animals and distinct enclosures for all others.

The "window" of the sixteenth verse, is "επισυναγων" in the Septuagint, a word which conveys no very distinct meaning, probably because the Hebrew word was in itself difficult to be understood; whilst in chap. viii. 6, the window in the English version is θυρίδα in the Septuagint.

But there is a difference of some moment between the English version and the Septuagint upon the subject of clean and unclean fowls. The English version speaks in chap. vii. 2, of every clean beast by sevens, and of beasts not clean by twos, and of fowls also of the air by sevens; but the Septuagint says—

των κτηνων των καθαρων, επτα, επτα
.... μη ..... δυο, δυο

And in the third verse—

των πετεινων των καθαρων, επτα, επτα
..... μη..... .....δυο, δυο

and subsequently, in chap. viii. 20, the English version seems in itself to verify the accuracy of the Septuagint by saying—and by thus making expressly a distinction—that Noah took, upon coming out of the ark, of every clean fowl as of every clean beast, and offered them up for a burnt offering.

The distinction between clean and unclean fowls being thus made upon their going out of the ark, it seems reasonable to suppose, with the Septuagint, that it was made upon their going into it; and in the enumeration of the unclean fowls we shall in consequence limit the number admitted to a pair each: they are, however, but few, and are all rapacious.

WHO COULD HAVE BEEN THE BUILDERS OF THE ARK?

Noah and his three sons manifestly could not have built it alone and unassisted; and, as to hiring labourers in those days, it is difficult to conceive that any man could be in so impoverished a condition as to desire to labour for hire; with the whole earth before him to choose his possession upon, every one must have had such abundance of his own that poverty would seem impossible to any; and, as to voluntary labour, all who then lived seemed to have regarded the building of the ark as an act of fanaticism and folly; and what they derided and despised they would scarcely have volunteered their labour to complete. Perhaps the real fact was, that as Noah was the acknowledged head and chief of all the families and tribes descended from Seth, they who did not respect the patriarch's work and warning might have respected him as their patriarchal head, and at times have given their willing aid to what they would still account as a monument of the patriarch's religious folly or of his groundless fears.

Many were the hands, however, that by some sort of persuasion or other, it is quite certain, must have been got to work together in framing and building so huge and so wonderful a structure as the ark was, and in raising and fixing in their several places, and to the height of thirty, forty, and fifty feet, timbers that must, in the far greater proportion, have been tons in weight.

The time employed in building the ark may be assigned to any period within one hundred and twenty years. Noah is reported as five hundred years old before any mention of the ark was made, and he entered into it in his six hundredth year: or chap. iii. 6, may, as some think, have reference to the time allowed to the world for repentance between the first communication made to Noah respecting the ark and his final entrance into it. The Lord said, "My Spirit shall not *always* strive with man, *yet* his days shall be an hundred and twenty years." This application of the words has certainly the merit of making them the more definite and comprehensible.

We have hitherto reasoned upon the circumstances connected with the ark on the most natural suppositions, and rather upon what was probable than what was possible; but the fact must have been that Noah was miraculously aided at every stage of the proceeding, from the laying down of the first timber until he was himself inclosed within the ark. Nor does it diminish anything of the faith of Noah, of his confidence in God, or of his admirable obedience to the very extraordinary command he had received, that he was guided continually, and at

every step of his duty, instructed, by the Divine Mind. Though Noah was the builder, God was the Designer; for by no possibility could Noah have obtained the experience necessary for building such a vessel, and especially for such a purpose: he, probably, had never seen the ocean, and could have had no knowledge of the number of animals he was to provide for, or of the quantity and description of food they would each and all daily need. Thus, in all things he must have been taught of God continually what to do; for no one but God could know what living things were on the earth, and he alone knew which were to be preserved, and at what time they would be admitted into the ark and when dismissed from it. Noah knew nothing, probably, of this until the time came—until the animals began of themselves to enter into the ark under God's guidance: he must, therefore, have received instructions direct from God as to the quantity and variety of food—such as maize, rice, corn, pulse, barley, hay, straw, &c., and the quantity of water so many creatures would for more than a year require. There was nothing *natural*, therefore, in Noah's proceeding, except in the labour of his hands.

The ark, in all its details, in all its interior arrangements, must have been designed by the Divine Mind, equally with its outward form and dimensions: all that Noah could do was to work out the orders he had received: he could of himself know nothing, plan nothing, contrive nothing; but was a mere instrument in the hands of God to build up that which God designed. It was the mind of God, *not* the mind of Noah, that planned it, as it was the power of God, *not* any power in Noah, that brought all the animals and birds and reptiles of the earth to enter it.

For a summary of what concerns the ark, we would, therefore, state the following facts and offer the following conjectures.

That it was built north of Taurus, in Armenia; that it was 525 feet long, 87 feet broad, and 52 feet deep; that it required about 245,000 cubic feet of timber; that its capacity was 2,000,000 cubic feet of clear space; that it was commenced about A.M. 1556, and completed A.M. 1656.

Noah entered the ark on the 10th day of 2nd month, answering to our.....	26th October.
The rain began to fall 17th of 2nd month, answering to our	2nd November.
And continued to fall 40 days, " "	12th December.
The ark grounded 17th of 7th month, answering to our	30th March.

The waters being to abate 150 days after 2nd November, answering to our	1st April.
73 days afterwards—1st of 10th month, tops of mountains seen, answering to our ...	11th June.
40 days after the window was opened, answering to our.....	21st July.
In seven days again opened " "	28th July.
In seven days later again opened "	4th August.
The covering of the ark removed 1st of 1st month, answering to our	16th September.
The earth dried 27th of 2nd month, answering to our	10th November.

The foregoing dates are given on the supposition that the original civil year of the Hebrews began on the 16th of September, and that the number and the length of their months were as under :—

MONTH.		DAYS.	INCLUSIVE.
1st	Tisri	30	16th Sept. to 16th Oct.
2nd	Bull Marchesvan	29	17th Oct. to 15th Nov.
3rd	Chisleu	30	16th Nov. to 15th Dec.
4th	Thebeth	29	16th Dec. to 13th Jan.
5th	Sebat	30	14th Jan. to 12th Feb.
6th	Adar	29	13th Feb. to 13th March.
7th	Nisan or Abib	30	14th March to 12th April.
8th	Ijar or Zif	29	13th April to 11th May.
9th	Sivan	30	12th May to 10th June.
10th	Thammuz	29	11th June to 9th July.
11th	Ab	30	10th July to 8th Aug.
12th	Elul	29	9th August to 6th Sept.

The Jewish year, being a lunar year, consisted only of 354 days, and required a month of thirty days to be added every third year, which was usually introduced between the months Adar and Abib.

It will be seen in the above computation of dates that the ark grounded on the 17th of the 7th month (30th of March), and that the waters having prevailed upon the earth 150 days, calculating from the 2nd of November when the rain first fell, began from the date of the 150 to abate; the ark, therefore, grounded when the waters were at their utmost height, and a day or two previous to their ebb, or their return to their place again; but the waters at their utmost height were fifteen cubits upwards. But upwards of what? is the question—of the highest point of land we may naturally conclude; therefore, as fifteen cubits is twenty-six feet, the ark drew twenty-six feet when

afloat and burdened—*i.e.*, very nearly half its height, which agrees with the draught of all large vessels when fully manned and stored. This fact was by no means an unimportant one to ascertain, since nothing satisfactory could be determined upon in reference to the interior arrangements of the ark, and to that portion of it which the animals would be likely to occupy, till the ark's draught was proved, which the above enumeration of Scripture dates seems distinctly to point out.

These dates also furnish the means of calculating with great exactness the rate per day of the rising and subsidence of the waters. If the ark grounded in twenty-six feet of water, and if Little Ararat, being 13,100 feet high, was of equal height with the other mountains around it, and the tops of these mountains were seen seventy-three days subsequently, the waters must have subsided during those seventy-three days at the rate of forty-two feet five inches each day; and as the summit of Ararat is nearly three miles above the level of the ocean, or rather 15,390 feet, and the earth was dried by the 10th of November, the waters subsided those 15,390 feet in one hundred and fifty-four days, which is on an average of very nearly one hundred feet per day: or calculating their fall from the summit of Little Ararat, they subsided 13,100 feet in eighty-one days, which is one hundred and sixty-three feet each day.

It is a subject certainly fruitful of conjectures, and is one upon which probably nothing but conjectures can be offered, that the whole of the animals remained enclosed in the ark so long after any apparent necessity for their remaining there had ceased. The dove did not return after the 2nd of August, and yet we hear of neither animals nor birds being released till subsequently to the 10th of November; and yet their close and unnatural confinement would have seemingly rendered their condition out of the ark under almost every circumstance preferable, since they must for those three months have been living on dry and stale food, while the new was springing up abundantly around them: their water had been confined for nine or ten months in the hull of the vessel, while innumerable springs of fresh water were running from the sides of the mountains on whose tops they rested.

It might at first sight appear a question speculative in the extreme to ask where did the waters of the deluge come from? —In what direction did they flow in upon the land?—Where, in 154 days, did they all return? But the truth can suffer no injury at our hands, provided we keep close to the Scripture testimony, and reason only upon facts which are open to every enquirer and observer, and offer nothing but facts as grounds of all our conjectural observations upon it.

The Scripture testimony of the deluge is as follows:—

"In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the 2nd month, the 17th day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened, and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights, and the flood was forty days upon the earth, and the waters increased and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth, and the waters prevailed and were increased greatly upon the earth, and the ark went upon the face of the waters, and the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered; fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail, and the mountains were covered, and the waters prevailed upon the earth one hundred and fifty days."

As a specimen of descriptive writing, perhaps nothing more beautiful than this is to be met with in the world. Not only does it present to us the ocean rising, but the ocean continuing to rise, till plains and hills and mountains, one after another, are hid from our view, and of all that was once the world we can only see the ark floating on the face of the waters. The description, even in the English translation, is pre-eminently striking and grand, and conveys to the mind, with every added word, the idea of the gradual and continual rise of the waters until nothing but waters are seen.

One thing is clear from the above description—that it was not the rain that fell, that alone caused the deluge: it rained forty days, during which the waters increased and the ark floated; but it was after the rain had ceased that the waters increased greatly, and it was long after they had ceased that the waters increased exceedingly.

But we are told that not only were the windows of heaven opened but that all the fountains of the great deep were broken up. We know nothing of the grounds which our translators had for the phrase—"windows of heaven:" the marginal reading is "flood-gates," and the Hebrew and the Septuagint seem equally to agree in the word "cataract;" probably we are to understand by the expression what we mean by saying it rained in torrents. To the "fountains of the great deep" (*αι πηγαι της αβυσσου*), we are evidently to look as the main agent of the deluge; but what are we to understand by the "fountains of the great deep?" The root for *πηγαι* is in Hebrew נָבַע to pour out, to be diffused; the meaning therefore seems to be, that the waters of the great deep were poured out of their beds to be diffused over the earth, and every fact that we are in possession of, in connexion with the subject, confirms this interpretation and understanding of the words.

Now, in all our observations upon the every-day occurrences in the material world, we invariably discern that Almighty

power is exercised by the simplest means—that the Almighty power makes no waste of power—that it is not creative power in exercise one day for some especial purpose, and destroying power in exercise the next, to get rid of that which it had but just created; and, applying this reasoning to the deluge, it would seem to be a waste of power to create fresh waters when the oceans already on the earth are far more than the occasion needs; and had there been a sudden creation of waters to effect the flood, there must have been also a sudden destruction of them; but to cause the waters to flow five miles deep upon the land needed not the addition of a single drop to the oceans now surrounding it.

How immediately, for instance, would a second deluge be caused if the present velocity of the earth round its own axis was in any degree diminished; as that velocity *decreased*, the influence of the moon upon the waters would be *increased*, and a very little increase of the moon's influence upon the ocean would raise the tides above all the land now tilled and inhabited by man. The whirl of the earth round its axis, in twenty-four hours, carries all the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans round with it at the rate of nearly a thousand miles an hour, which is a velocity so great as to render it impossible for the moon to exercise more than a momentary influence upon that portion of the earth's surface which, from rotundity and rotation, is brought the nearest to her. Even with the present velocity the influence of the moon is very perceptible in the two great oceans that surround the globe; they roll on and toil after her in vain, and the only consequence is that the waters which lie directly under her path, and therefore the nearest to her, are always raised about six feet above the level of the rest; but they are hardly raised by their nearer proximity to her at one moment than the raising force is diminished at the next by their being withdrawn further from her, and every succeeding instant the further from the direct line of her greatest influence. But if the earth moved with that velocity that would allow the moon a *minute's* influence upon every portion of its surface instead of a single *moment*, and if that moment's influence is sufficient to raise such a mass and breadth of ocean six feet in height above its proper level, the *minute's* influence would raise them in a ratio that would leave uncovered by the waves no spot that could be cultivated by man: the utmost that would remain would be peaks of hills and sides of mountains as alone inaccessible to the tides.

We do not, however, raise any supposition upon this in reference to the deluge, as we consider it most unreasonable to

suppose that the earth's velocity was diminished—the planetary motions disturbed—the beautiful symmetrical movement of the heavenly bodies, the intricate and complicated actions and influences which every planet with its satellite exercises over and with the other, would be all deranged, merely to draw the oceans of the earth for a brief time from their beds—an effect that would be produced from far simpler causes; besides, even had such a supposition been raised, facts and evidences innumerable would disprove it: for the stream of the deluge was not in the tract of the moon: the tidal current is from west to east, while the stream of the deluge was from south to north. We must, therefore, look to other influences or to other agents, and perhaps to the law of gravitation and attraction, by which all bodies, liquid or solid, are governed.

Newton's words are—"Every particle of matter in the universe attracts every other particle with a force directly proportioned to the mass (and density) of the attracting particle, and inversely to the square of the distance between them;" and the Creator, having given this general law to matter, may have applied it for the especial purpose of the deluge; for it needed no more than a temporary addition to this power somewhere, on some one point or other on the earth's surface, to draw the ocean towards that point; and if a greater measure of that power had been transferred to any mass of solid matter near the North Poles—to either of the islands, for instance, of Nova Zembla or Spitsbergen—precisely such a flood as the Scriptures speak of would be produced, and the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific would be drawn in the exact direction in which they would seem to have flown. How increased attraction could be in force without increased density we know not: it cannot be otherwise than a hidden mystery to us. As to the means resorted to to produce the deluge, and the material agents employed, miraculous power was of course necessary to produce it: all that we can do is to look to the facts before us that testify of the deluge, and to discern, if we can, the direction of its current while advancing and retreating.

We are inclined to think that facts prove the current of the waters to have been from south to north in the first instance; and we understand these words, "the fountains of the great deep were broken up," as indicating that a new direction was given to the waters of the southern Atlantic ocean, and that they were drawn northward from their bed to set in upon the land. There are many circumstances which seem to prove that their course onward was from south to north, while their returning course from north to south is unquestionable; and, supposing

this question for the moment to be conceded, one consequence of the assumed fact would be, that the advancing waves would bear along with them to the north all things that would float of all the animals and productions of the south. All drowned animals, it is well known, float for a longer or shorter time, according to their bulk; and none would more readily do so or for a longer time than the larger animals, such as the elephant and rhinoceros, and the still larger extinct species. These live generally in the plains or on the side of low ranges of hills, and would be among the first drowned, and float, therefore, on the surface of the more advanced waters; and would be carried, in consequence, to the extreme north, on the supposition that the point to which the waters were drawn *was* the north. On the same supposition that the course of the waters was to the north, and that having reached that point they paused and ebbed, and turned again to their place in the south, it is clear that the waters that *first* reached the Pole would be the *last* to leave it; for a time they would have no flow nor motion whatever, having flown on so far as they were able, and having no power to return from the great body and resistance of the waters behind them. In this state of rest they would deposit all that in their first turbulent and rapid course they had borne along with them, and which had, by that time, become saturated and decayed; and exactly as we should suppose we find it to be: the whole of the north of Europe and Asia, so far as it has been examined or observed, is covered with perfect skeletons and disjointed bones, and even with the actual carcases of the rhinoceros and the elephant: they are found in the deposits of mud that form the soil of the extensive plains in the north of Russia, embedded twenty-five feet and more beneath the surface: they have been found whole in a frozen state in lat. 64, and even in lat. 74.; and their disjointed bones, in almost incredible profusion, are scattered over the whole of Europe, north, from the Ural Mountains, on the confines of Siberia, to the mouth of the Severn. The plains of Prussia are literally strewed with them; and there is scarcely a bed of gravel in this country to the north of the chalk range that does not contain fragments, larger or smaller according to the locality, north or south of the Humber, of bones of elephants and other animals that must all have lived under the equator, or nearly so.

These skeletons, however, are never found whole with us as they are in the north of Russia, where they appear to have been very quietly deposited in the mud; but with us they are always mingled with gravel; and we might therefore con-

clude that, from whatever quarter the gravel came, from that same quarter came the elephants' bones. Upon examining these beds of gravel throughout England, they are always found to consist of fragments of those rocks that lay to the north of them: thus, from the gravel pits near Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire, specimens of every rock that exists between it and the Frith of Forth have been found; and the gravel pits at the foot of the Gog Magog hills contain specimens of limestone, trap, sandstone, granite, porphyry—the porphyry rounded —proving that it had been rolled on from afar. Bones of the rhinoceros and elephant are found in the gravel pits of Barnwell and the observatory, and tusks of the elephant at Foulmire.

The indications of the course of the current of the returning waters, after the deluge, is still more strikingly seen in the grooves it cut out for itself in the several chains of hills that crossed its path, especially those in the great trough of Scotland; and these would prove that the set of the current in that locality was from north west to south east. The rocks that are so peculiar to Westmoreland also prove this; for from the Red Pike mountain large blocks have been carried down into the valley of Annandale and into parts of Lancashire; and at Netherhoe there are some lying on the surface six feet long, seven feet high, and four and a half wide. There is a block resembling a serpentine, twenty-one feet long, ten feet high, and nine feet wide, lying in a situation which proves the wonderful force of the waters in that rocky chain and its power to scoop out a passage for itself, as there is at present a valley a thousand feet deep between that block and the only serpentine rock in that neighbourhood. A similar deposit of these boulders, as they are called, is also found on the eastern side of those hills; and even so far as the coasts of Lincolnshire and Norfolk. At Heighton Castle, near Maryport, is a granite block ten feet and a half long, nine feet high, and six feet wide, of the schap porphyritic red granite; and the whole plain of Europe, from Holland through Prussia into Russia, is covered with gravel that is nothing more than rounded fragments of rocks which have been driven down and rounded by attrition from the Scandinavian chain. Numbers, also, of granite boulders, from the granite mountains of Scotland, are found in Westmoreland, Durham, and Yorkshire; and fragments of basalt have been found in the gravel at Trumpington, near Cambridge, which could only have come, apparently, from the Mull of Galloway.

There is a more or less lofty range of chalk hills running across England, in a line from Bury St. Edmunds to a little westward of the isle of Portland; it is at the foot of the north

side of that chain that the last of the gravel brought down from the northern hills is deposited, the strength of the current being insufficient at length to force the gravel over the high and steep escarpment of the chalk range: thus, in the district of the Weald of Kent, the gravel beds contain no other specimens of rocks than of those south of the Thames—*i.e.*, specimens of flint from the chalk range and of the green sand from the Seven Oaks range, together with a few fragments of the harder portions of the iron sandstone: in consequence, none of the bones so generally found in the gravel north of the Dunstable range of chalk hills are ever found in that neighbourhood.

Although mention has hitherto been made only of the bones of the rhinoceros and the elephant as found in such quantities in the gravel, yet the bones of other animals are also found, of a peculiar character and of extinct species. The discovery of the skeletons of these creatures, so incontestably proving their existence, opens a new subject of enquiry—When did they exist?—in the old world only, or in the new world also? When did they become extinct?—prior to, at, or subsequent to the deluge? The Mosaic record says nothing of any tribe of animals left behind to perish altogether and to be blotted out of creation from the period of the deluge: but that is a record of what were saved rather than of those that perished; and it does not negative the supposition of a fact—it does not disprove the possibility of a circumstance—that no such circumstance is alluded to in the Mosaic record, since it was the purpose of that record to give the truth generally, and not to detail every fact that occurred minutely: thus, in the record of the creation, many facts are omitted to be mentioned which must have happened, and many circumstances not alluded to in the account of the deluge must yet have occurred; and it seems perfectly reasonable to believe—and the more we search into the facts of natural history the more we see of reason to believe—that animals, admirably suited to the old world, when men were so few upon it, and the earth so different in its climates and productions to what it is now, might be very ill suited to the new world, when men are designed to multiply upon it so greatly to the end of time.

So far as we can see into the general purpose of the Divine Mind in the creation, it was to give life and the enjoyment of existence to the greatest number that the earth could sustain; but it does not follow of necessity that the species once created should for ever remain the same. Even the earth itself is greatly changed from what it once was, and is by no means in that same condition as when first rolled into its orbit a new

world from the Creator's hands. It is not the same either in its seas, its rivers, its continents, its mountains, or its plains; its climates are not the same; nor are any of the earlier productions of the earth or the ocean the same, or anything like the same, that are found on the land or in the water now: for instance, of eight thousand varieties of fish at present known to exist, and of which drawings or dried specimens are to be found in the cabinets of Europe, not one of those eight thousand resemble the fish found embedded in such vast quantities in the lias stratum in England—a stratum which was deposited prior to the chalk. This lias stratum runs diagonally across England: it extends from Whitby to the mouth of the Severn, and its course may be judged by naming the towns that are built upon it; and those are Gloucester, Cheltenham, Rugby, and Melton Mowbray. It abounds, also, with remains of a vast variety of animals and plants, not one of which is known to have any existence at this time. Further north, and in a still older formation, such as the carboniferous limestone on which Richmond, in Yorkshire, stands, the animal remains there found prove the existence of a race differing more widely still from all that are now existing. The same difference is observable in the almost countless varieties of shellfish found in the several strata which are crossed in passing from Brighton to Whitehaven. Those in the chalk, which is the latest deposit, more nearly but not quite resemble the *genera* found now; but they are entirely distinct from those in the oolitic hills of Northamptonshire; and those again are entirely distinct from such as are deposited in the limestone hills of Derbyshire. But in the oolitic and limestone strata the shells are not found as in the chalk, scattered about here and there and far and wide apart, and merely buried in the mass around them, but actually form of themselves the main substance of the rock. It is a chain of lofty hills composed, it might almost be said, entirely of once animated creatures.

The subject is too vast to be further observed upon here, and is only introduced in proof of great changes having been effected on the earth since its formation. The climate also seems to have undergone great change: the ferns and palms or calamites in the coal fields, of enormous proportions and of the greatest variety and beauty, indicate a climate hotter and moister than any now found under the equator; while the plants found in the oolitic series suppose a less degree of heat such as it is at this day under the equator; and such as are found in the chalk series suppose a climate temperate as our own.

Of the *extinct plants* we may merely observe upon those in the coal fields, especially those in the coal mines of Bohemia, of forms and characters unlike everything now to be found.

Of the *extinct animals* we may first notice those of the order *Lacertæ*— marine lizards they might be called, and they are found imbedded in the lias and sandstone strata.

First, the *Ichthyosaurus*.—This creature had the mouth of a porpoise, the teeth of a crocodile, the head of a lizard, the vertebræ of a fish, and the breastbone of the ornythorhynchus; its fins were four broad paddles, and it moved as a fish by the vibratory motion of its tail; its usual length was forty feet, its food was fish, and it appears designed for deep waters.

Second, the *Plesiosaurus*.—There are six species of this reptile: it had the crocodile's teeth with the lizard's head, which was set on a swan-like neck of such a length that the vertebræ of the neck alone numbered thirty-three, whilst the trunk and the tail were of the proportions of an ordinary quadruped; the ribs were set on like those of a chameleon, and the paddles were like those of a whale: its food was fish, and it lived probably in shallow waters.

Third, the *Pterodactyle* (order Saurian).—Had the neck and head of a bird, wings like a bat, with a body and tail of the ordinary mammalia; the skull was small, the snout like that of the crocodile and it was armed with sixty teeth; the tips of the wings were fingers ending with long hooked claws.

The *Terrestrial Lizards* were the megalosaurus, mylosaurus, iguanodon, mysosaurus, mososaurus; creatures, some forty feet, some seventy feet long. The skeletons of these and of other extinct tribes having been found, some in *situ* and nearly whole, are preserved in both the Oxford and British Museums; and many varieties that we have not are in the museums of Paris and Germany.

All these, however, were more or less amphibious, and for animals that were so there is not the least need to provide a place in the ark. The case is widely different, however, with those we shall next allude to; for, at some time or other, it may be before the flood and it may be never since, there existed on the earth mammalia of a gigantic size unlike any that are to be found now. In the enumeration of the animals enclosed within the ark are we to include these? If they were preserved then, how is it that they are all extinct now? And why, if they were then preserved as useful or essential to the new world, are they not still found within it? They have been extinct, it is presumed, for many ages; and why—if there was first creation and then in the ark preservation—why were they immediately sub-

sequent to the deluge allowed to perish?—for perished the whole race is: nothing like them is found—nothing like them has ever been heard of as existing: it is not reasonable to suppose that any such animals were received into the ark that were intended should die off almost immediately on their coming out of it: when did these creatures, therefore, disappear altogether? If the earth, after the deluge, was suited to their existence it is so still, and no cause can be assigned why they should all since have died. We must really suppose, in consequence, that at the deluge they were left on the earth, and purposely, that they might all be destroyed; and that no pairs of these quadrupeds were guided, as the others were, towards the ark for preservation. Of these extinct species of animals we may name *first*, the dinotherium; *second*, the megatherium—an animal resembling in some points the sloth, in others the armadillo, and in others the anteater. It was twelve feet long, eight feet high, and five feet broad; its feet, a yard in length, were armed with gigantic claws; but the extraordinary part of the animal was its tail, which was out of all proportion large, even when taking into account its large body: *third*, megalonix; *fourth*, two genera of large edentata; *fifth*, two genera of large pachydermata; *sixth*, a gigantic species, toxodon platensis, with affinities to the radentia and edentata; *seventh*, machranchenica patachonica, with affinities to the ruminantia and camelido; and many also of the families of effodientia, bradypoda, pachydermata, ruminantia, ten of the feræ, twenty-one of the glires, many of the marsupalia and the simiæ, have been disinterred lately from the neighbourhood of the Rio das Vellas river. All these tribes are extinct: at least, no living specimens have ever been met with; and supposing them, therefore, to have perished, and to have been designedly left to perish when all others were preserved, we shall take no account of these in the enumeration of such animals as are now found on the earth, and which must in consequence have been preserved in the ark; and, for which, of necessity, a sufficient space both for themselves and for the food and the water they needed must have been provided within it.

It is to be borne in mind that in the early Greek legends, such as Apollo Pythius, we have traces of a belief that monsters existed after the flood, which were speedily exterminated. Whether this was derived from their having actually existed, or merely from their carcasses being found, we do not stop to enquire. And a somewhat similar tradition, in a translantic dress, was found amongst the American Indians, concerning the "big bull" of their "salt licks." Certain it is that the

mammoth of Siberia, which was preserved in the ice, existed up to the time of the last universal catastrophe, and every believer in the Bible holds that this was the deluge of Noah; therefore, some of the species acknowledged to be extinct existed at the time of the deluge of Noah: and this being established in any one instance renders it probable in other instances, and throws the burden of proof on those who deny the existence of any extinct animals at so recent a period.

ART. VI.—*Histoire des Peuples Bretons dans les Gaules et dans les Isles Britanniques. Langue, Coutumes, Mœurs, et Institutions.* Par AURELIEN DE COURSON. Paris: Fourne et Co. Bourdin. Londres: Jeffs, Burlington Arcade. 2 vols. 8vo.

OUR friends beyond the channel promise to gain as solid a reputation for their provincial histories as they have undoubtedly acquired for their admirable "Memoires," whether well founded or merely fictitious. In our penultimate number we had occasion to give a sign of our neighbours' craft in a brief review of M. Gozlan's history of nothing more than a provincial town, or rather something less, for we might have said of a provincial palace—the lumbering but legendary Rambouillet. Since then report has brought to our ears, and the "Messageries" to our vision, each the fact of another province of France having been helped towards immortality by the pen and enthusiasm of one of her sons. The General-Advocate Raynal, of Bourges, has issued three out of the four volumes of his "Histoire du Berry." Those who love typographical lore, for the sake of the benefit which it confers on general history, are well aware that those learned men, the *élite* of the French Benedictines, had long been engaged in gathering materials for the history of this, their favourite province; and that the abbey of St. Germain was half occupied with the literary riches collected by the most painstaking of compilers. But just as these were prepared to give order to the learned confusion thus amassed, the consuming fire of the great Revolution reached the tranquil fields of Berry and the quiet cloisters of the abbey. That hellish flame which no opposition was, for a time, permitted to quench soon destroyed the labour of years, with the time-honoured walls in which the rare but unarranged results of that labour were enshrined. One little hour sufficed to bring to comparative annihilation both the treasure and the temple; and the

quality of the times is seen in the circumstance that so great an evil was triflingly accounted of at a season when France lay crushed and cursing beneath evils so infinitely more gigantic.

But we must not be tempted into saying more of a book that we have not yet seen: this alone we will say of it in addition, that the Benedictine mantle of literary enthusiasm has fallen upon its author, and that *his* energy has made good all the materials which revolutionary fury destroyed but could not annihilate. If we venture to add one sentence more connected with the matter, it is because it is also connected more widely with a new class of literature springing up in France; and moreover, because, though it may possess little of novelty, it compensates for the lack by its abundance of truth: it is that French history stands in particular need of these local narratives. The ecclesiastical story of that country will be best learned by collating the annals of her provinces, and her general history will be most profitably studied by pursuing a similar course. This is more particularly the case when we refer to the lengthened period during which the kingly government exercised but an uncertain and unequal influence over the provincial cities and the provincial chieftains; and before the actual life of the nation was concentrated in the heart of Paris—the household of the king. It has been well observed by a German critic, in the *Allegemeine Zeitung*, that the history of the French kings is as little that of France as that of the German Cæsars was the history of Germany. Nothing can be truer. Those kings, like these "Kaisers," were but as glittering title pages to eventful narratives. There are portions of our own records to which the same *simile* might not inaptly be applied.

But we have to do with Bretagne and not with Berry—with Monsieur de Courson, who has completed his history, and not with the learned General-Advocate, who has yet the public for his creditor. If we have, with reason, applied the word "enthusiasm" to the Benedictine writers whose refined leisure condescended to make topography popular by rendering it the elucidator of much that was obscure in the ecclesiastical and political relations of the provinces with the Government, and of the Government with the foreign nations, we have, to the full, as much reason on our side when we say that Monsieur Courson has addressed himself to his task, and accomplished all he aimed at, with such a fanaticism of Celtic spirit as only a Celt could by possibility entertain. To give a general idea of the spirit of his work, in a few brief words, we should say that it is chiefly to prove that the feudal institutions of the Bretons

of Bretagne and the Britons of Britain are not borrowed from the German law, but that they were peculiar to the people both of Britain and Brittany; and the natural development of the system of patronage (if we may here employ that term) as exercised and followed by either nation. Again, if Monsieur de Courson be furiously Celtic, so is he most romanistically Catholic: so much so that he makes but an indifferent distinction between the Atheism of French philosophy and the Protestantism of the Church of England. His cold scorn of the latter would make our Tractarian friends frantic with delight. In ourselves it has often raised a smile without tempting us to be in any way further moved. We attribute this to the frank sincerity of the author. He evidently believes what he says, because his faith comes of early teaching; he is rather mistaken than mad; and his errors may be safely accepted with a smile ere they are handed on the wings of pardoning pity to oblivion.

The pages of a book resulting from many and deep studies must inevitably betray some slight suspicion of an odour of that oil through whose partial agency the author worked his way to the far-reached *Finis* of his labours. If there be a fault in the work before us, as there undoubtedly are many, this is the chief of them—the author has not the art to conceal his art; and the result is that his work partakes at times more of the character of a compilation than of an original work. The research is not only immense, but there is rather an over-parade of it: paragraphs are ushered in by preparatory paragraphs of preparation; and whole ranks of opponents are felled, not only by Monsieur de Courson's strongly expressed opinion, but by the citations of authorities on which those opinions are founded. The author reminds us of an irritable but orderly man who, not satisfied with knocking down his antagonist with a club, considerately informs him also as to where it was purchased.

In spite of all this, however, the book produced is the book of a scholar addressed to scholarly minds. From its subject we need hardly say that it as much claims the attention of the intellectual and the enquiring of this country as of the learned and the curious of the country in which it was written. Brittany is to France what Wales is to England. More than this, Brittany and Wales not only have similar references to the kingdoms in which they are respectively placed, but they are bound by ties of blood and descent and language and sympathies to each other. The Breton is not only the Gallic Welshman, and the native of Wales the Briton of our Gallia, but they

are men of one family and one character, differing only in faith, and divided only in allegiance. The old outward and visible signs of inward disposition—the old legends, old songs, old prejudices, and old customs still cling to each, and hover about the cradle and the grave of feudal antiquity. It would be hard to say whether the Cambrian or the Breton most faithfully maintains the land-marks of character and the observance of customs bequeathed them by a long race of fierce, obstinate, hot-headed, and warm-hearted ancestors. The doubt could, perhaps, be solved in no more satisfactory fashion than by applying to it the negro judgment of likeness between two slaves. The sable arbiter called upon to deliver his opinion, oracularly declared that Cæsar and Pompey were very much alike, particularly Pompey!—so with regard to similitude of feature and character between the Cambrian and the Breton, we may say they are excessively alike, but particularly the Breton.

It is undoubtedly the Breton who, of all nations and kindreds, has to this very hour best preserved the individuality of race; and that, too, amid the strongest temptations to abandon it, and in spite of the most rigid opposition made but to crush it. It was long the fashion to consider the modern Turk but as a clear and faithful copy of the old Osmanlii. But your slip-shod Selims of to-day are no more the resemblances of the Tartar savages of the days of "The Thunderbolt" (Il Derim) than the Montagues of Belgrave-square are counterparts of their Norman ancestors, who came with no other endowments than the most beastly vices and the most brutal courage to found a new nobility at Hastings, and to brand everything Saxon with the still enduring impress of vulgarity. Even the father of the young but worn-out Abdul Meshid, old Sultan Slaughterer, as the wits of Buyukdere call the late Turkish despot, presented but a faint reflection of the ancient innovators upon fixed habits. If *he* rendered Turkey to anything like the complexion it ever bore before, it was by fixing its tenure of existence at the will of the powers of Europe. Once before, the Ottoman empire was in this condition; but it was when she was growing in might, and Europe missed the opportunity of hamstringing the colossus. Her hour is now gone; and her demonstrations of vitality are only the last throes of a fast waning life. It is then, we repeat, the Breton who has most strictly preserved, and is the most readily known by, the characteristics of race. The Normans could not destroy their nationality; the Franks could not effect it; the waves of Time have lashed themselves into foam against the shores of old Armorica for long years, during which more dynasties have

died than customs have been extinguished. The presence of foreign armies—the occupation of her territories by native troops (French in name, but as foreign to her as though their invasion dated from the antipodes)—the conscription—the hurrying away of thousands of her sons to train them to butchery in Algiers, and to that and other ungodliness in Oceania, and then returning them to their fathers' homesteads as wolves who had seen the world—all this and much more has had little or no effect upon the indomitable fixedness of character peculiar to men who are descended from the monocular lover of the humid Galatia.

The songs that made glad the rude palace of the ancient Tyern, or other irrisistible chieftians whose unpronouncable titles fling defiance at memory, still make glad the fire-sides and the cottage doors of the modern Breton. The same old tales are told to listening ears and held as ever new. The legends go back to a period that would make ecstatic any gentleman smitten with a fondness for the dark ages, and the characters of which they treat are unintelligible enough to lay claim to the sublime. If Christianity even be sufficiently old to be the dearly cherished faith of antiquity-loving Armorica, it is not in itself so ancient as to have long completely abolished venerable superstitions with the maxims of the priests of another faith, and the morals emanating from altars devoted to other rites. Our readers will doubtless elevate their eyebrows with surprise to hear that, within the last century and a half, a Druidical worship still lingered among some of the few shady retreats of Brittany. Indeed some of the idols still remain, and are applied to various uses. One of them is considered "the sovereign'st thing on earth," for the evil of non-maternity in married women. What its original purpose may have been besides that of worship, it is impossible to say; but it *is* curious to speculate on the curious fact of our vicinity to Druidism, and on the possibility of some of our grandfathers having raised the mystic mistletoe in pleasant and pious fashion over the radiant brow of an Armorican maid.

It is far from our purpose to follow the able and discursive author of this book through his scientific disquisitions, his learned essays, his profound researches, his glowing illustrations, his facts and his hypotheses. Were we enabled to maintain such a chase ever so skilfully, we are too modestly conscious of our little right, as of our little ability, to occupy our readers' attention at too great a length. Perhaps, too, having touched upon the virtue of modesty, it were well also to observe the sister virtue of honesty, and fairly confess that we have little

taste for such a pursuit, and that in respect to a regale of fruit, for instance, we are more careful about selecting the choicest specimens for our friends than curious about the quality of the manure which helped to raise them. And thus do we care little whether the Gauls be Celts or the Celts be Gauls; or whether, as Monsieur de Courson would seem to intimate, that neither be either (if our readers will pardon so uncouth a phrase), or both be the same, as decended from the illegitimate offspring of the illustrious Polyphemus and the faithless betrothed of the gentle Acis. Neither on this nor on a score of similar subjects are we, nor possibly our readers, affected with the slightest degree of curiosity. Our simple and easily executed purpose is to select a few pictures from the author's Armorican gallery that may serve to illustrate the spirit of the age in which the originals lived, moved, and had their being. In doing this, however, it first behoves us to give, very briefly, some slight general idea of M. de Courson's work, and the period of which it professes to be the history. First, then, the author treats at large of Armorican annals from the third to the fifteenth centuries; to which extent of treatment he appends an "Epilogue," which rapidly and agreeably makes us acquainted with Brittany since it ceased to be Armorican and became permanently French. The historical outlines of the first period, like the Iliad, may be compressed into a nutshell, and the author himself accomplishes it, after the following fashion, as a summary of what he has in his two volumes laid before his readers. It is the heavier banquet to which the "Epilogue" follows as the lighter *dessert*. Indeed, after two volumes of tolerably hard reading, we are disposed to hail the "Epilogue" with considerable satisfaction. Like the postscript to a lady's letter it is full of significance, and it resembles the tail of a good epigram in being worth more than the entire body which precedes it. But to our summary: it is, in some few respects, the canvass upon which the artist has dashed in the figures which have attracted our gaze, and shall be copied for our readers' edification:—

"Our ancestors (says Monsieur de Courson), auxiliaries of the Roman emperors, whose ancestors primitively sprung from Gaul, came in their turn, in the course of the fourth century, and colonised the Armorican peninsula; whither, at a later period repaired other Bretons ejected from their natal soil by the sword of the Anglo-Saxons. Under the Merovingian race, the kingdom of 'Little Britain' (not that of Mr. Washington Irving), thanks to the heroism of some national chiefs, succeeded in maintaining its independence. Unceasingly menaced by the Franks, subdued, like all the West, beneath the imperial sceptre of Charlemagne, Armorica threw off the yoke of the

foreigner under Charles the Bald, and placed the crown of her ancient kings upon the brow of Nominoé. But upon this arrive the Normans who spread devastation throughout the Peninsula, and finally take possession of it after a bloody struggle of more than half a century. From this condition, however, the Bretons recover themselves; the pirates are exterminated, and the grandson of Alain-le-grand is restored to the crown of his fathers. But the base treachery of Conan IV. surrenders the government of Brittany into the hands of the English, and a Plantagenet lays violent hands upon the sceptre of Nominoé. The assassination of the youthful Arthur (by his uncle John, King of England), is the signal for the deliverance of the country. It is now the turn of France to oppress Armorica with her dominion. Philippe Augustus selects from the Capetian family a husband for the sister of Arthur. During several ages the sovereigns of Brittany, issuing from the branch of Dreux, succeed in defending their duchy against the ambitious rivalry of the monarchs of France and England. But at the close of the fifteenth century, Charles VIII., assisted less by his arms than favoured by the internal divisions which agitated Brittany under a feeble prince and a factious minority, prepares, by his marriage with the Duchess Anne of Brittany, an union which is thoroughly achieved under Francis I.; and here terminates the history of the Bretons as a sovereign people."

To the full elucidation of this history Monsieur de Courson devotes a score of chapters in which he treats of the aspect of the soil and the political geography of the country; and details the effects of the dismemberment of the Roman empire in Armorica, the colonies of barbarians affecting her tranquillity, and the revolt of tribes with long appellations which it were—

> "To treat our goddess ill
> (Our muse we mean) to make her speak 'em;
> Like the verbum Græcum,
> Στερραγοραιολεκιθολαχανοπωλίδες,
> A word that ought only be said upon holidays,
> When one has nothing else to do!"

He describes the efforts made by Armorica to maintain her independence, the appearance of the Saxons in England, the emigration consequent thereon from the island of Britain to the continent of Bretagne, and the accompanying last dying lustres of the great Roman empire which, dead as she is, has left a chapter of her biography among the records of every nation of her own world. The accession and the conversion of Clovis give the author an opportunity which he does not neglect to be magniloquent upon the Papacy rather than upon the primitive Church; and he has some stirring pages upon the alliance of the royal convert with the Armoricans, and the fierce struggles carried on by the latter to fling off the yoke of

the Merovingians. He then approaches the consideration of a subject from which we shall make some extracts anon—viz., the establishment of Christianity in the West. In the notice upon the Churches of the Gauls and of Brittany we catch glimpses, with occasionally more satisfactory views, of such men as Pelagius—the Welchman whose British name of Morgan, or "one dwelling by the sea coast," has been translated into Pelagius—Celestius, St. Germain of Auxerre who crossed from Brittany to destroy Pelagianism in Britain; St. Patrick, St. Gregory the Great, St. Columban, and St. Augustine. This is a goodly array, and the chapter in which we find them, coupled with the establishment of Christianity in Armorica, and its general results, forms one of the most attractive in the book. The narrative of events, from the period when Pepin sent an army into Brittany until the country was delivered by the bravery of Alain with the twisted beard, and the devotion of the monks, is confused enough; but out of this confusion the enthusiastic author generally contrives to exhibit the Church in a station of calmness and of influence. It is only immediately subsequent to the period above-mentioned that the history assumes a progress of uninterrupted clearness and interest: and yet, singularly enough, it is precisely at this moment that the author checks its course and takes to discoursing learnedly upon the Breton institutions, the Kened, the Pencedl, the father of the household, marriage property, territorial succession, vassalage, lordship, villainage, and slavery. These topics he leaves, to pursue those of the political and judiciary institutions of Brittany; and he gives his readers more about national and local assemblies, military service and nobility, than the most enduring and patient will care to be told of. For these, however, we are compensated by an excellent chapter full of heroic details and exciting exploits, and embracing that noisy and splendid period which elapsed between the death of the great Rollo and the commencement of that first crusade, to which men of all degrees were led, as some affirm, moved by no other influences than insanity and a red rag. This period affords the author an opportunity which he does not neglect of indulging in one of his fondly cherished digressions, and he consequently turns once more from the stream of time, as it regards Brittany, to discourse upon the temporal power of the Popes, the distinctions to be drawn between the temporal and spiritual powers, the errors of Fleury, who of course is a writer by no means to his taste, the aggressions of feudality and the consequences of the crusades which, let them have commenced under what influences they may, resulted in failure and a new set of diseases.

In resuming the thread of his history the author finds a welcome theme, and treats it with corresponding ability, in describing the organization of the monastic orders, and discoursing of the scholastic philosophy which Abelard loved for a time more intensely than he did his Heloise. The concluding chapters are devoted to multifarious matters, many of which have an interest as attractive to British subjects as they are to the *Bretons bretonnantes* of Louis Philippe. Among these we may mention the Plantagenets, the oppressions endured by the Welsh and Irish, the reign of Geoffrey Plantagenet Duke of Britanny, the fortunes of that Lady Constance and Prince Arthur upon whom Shakespeare has shed his own peculiar immortality, the coming of John Lackland, and hard on that coming the disappearance of the young heir to an evil heritage —the murder of Arthur. The story of national independence terminates like a dramatic spectacle, with the espousals of Anne of Britanny and the king of France; and with the exception of the "Epilogue," to which we have already alluded, it is here that Monsieur de Courson utters his κροτειτε, and takes leave of his public with a "valete et plaudite!"

We probably cannot do better, in selecting extracts from this work for the gratification of our readers, than by confining ourselves, as much as possible, to those which illustrate the religious history of the period. To commence at once with the Druidism which the Romans found established in continental Britanny as in insular Britain, we may briefly say that the superstition so named exhibited a tenacity of life most remarkable, when we reflect upon the odds with which it had to contend—the odds of oppression and Paganism, and afterwards those of truth and Christianity. With all the errors of Druidism, we must acknowledge that it was wiser in dogma, more consoling in promises, and more moral in precept than the Heathen, or rather the Roman, Mytholygy.* The ancient

* In proof of the difficulty experienced by Christian Governments to destroy the roots of heathenism, Mr. Dudley, in his recently published "Naology," quotes the following from a Saxon MS. in the library of Christ College, Cambridge, from which it appears that, so lately as the tenth century, the heads of the Church had some difficulty in dealing with that inveterate superstition, the Odinic worship in England:—

"We entreat all and singular the ministers of the Christian religion, that they discourage, with all diligence, and to the utmost of their power, all fanciful mode of adoration, necromancy, divinations, incantations, and divine worship of men; together with all acts that drive men into sundry errors, as the worship of the goddess Frea in woods, as also the worship of the alder and other trees and of stones, and into fancies in regard to many things by which many persons are deceived, of whom better things might be expected."

It has been truly remarked that the above decree exhibits traces of a superstı-

doctrine continued to flourish long after even the establishment of Christianity, and that establishment itself, humanly speaking, was rendered more facile by conceding something to the non-essential requirements of the Druids and their followers. The resolution of Claudius to suppress Druidism in Brittany was a step productive of continual and bloody revolts, but we have not space to pause over them: suffice it to say that the morals, customs, language, and religion of Brittany endured under, and triumphed over, the long and heavy sway of pagan Rome. Not less triumphant was Christian Brittany, when, in the fifth century, Rome, herself half powerless, endeavoured to annihilate the hardy and religious rebels of Armorica. It is in this century that we meet with the first Christian saint who took part with the Bretons against their oppressors—we allude to St. Germain d' Auxerre: his portrait, half priest half paladin, is worth extracting as characteristic of some of the mailed bishops of the time. We need only premise, in order to render the extract intelligible, that the confederacy mentioned in it was that of certain Armorican chiefs against the Romans:—

"Ætius, furious at a resistance which compromised the fate of the empire attacked on its northern and southern frontier, determined upon the slaughter of the entire nation. A few years previously he had established a colony of the Alarii on the banks the Loire, in order to keep in check the Bagaudes of Armorica. It was to the chief of those Pagans, named Evearic, that the Roman patrician confided the mission of chastising Armorica. Under this unexpected attack the confederacy would have been infallibly crushed, had not God raised a defender of its cause in the person of St. Germain d' Auxerre. At this period Gaul could boast of no individual more worthy of the veneration of the people, nor more illustrious for his talents and his courage. Germain, the descendant of a senatorial family, had studied jurisprudence at Rome, and had pleaded there with great success. On

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tion much older than the Scandinavian—namely, the superstitions attached to Celtic worship; the vestiges of which, however, rapidly yielded before the opposition of the Church.

"It will be observed that in these edicts no order is given for the destruction of Celtic structures: that office, it should seem, had been performed long before. An edict of the Council of Nantes, of the seventh century, speaks thus:—'Bishops and their officers ought to provide that stones, which, standing in ruined and wild places, deluded persons' worship with sports diabolical, be entirely overthrown, and cast into places where they cannot be found by their worshippers.' In another edict it is declared that, if the bishop and those persons to whom the office of destroying these structures may belong neglect performance, he shall be deemed to incur the neglect of sacrilege; and if, after admonition, he do not amend the neglect, he shall be excommunicated."

Notwithstanding all this, relics both of Celtic and Roman superstition were discernible in England as late as the twelfth century; while remains of the former lingered in Britany even in the seventeenth,

his return to his native district of Auxerre, with the title of duke, and commander of the troops which the revolt of Armorica rendered necessary of being maintained in that province, he lived after the style of a great landed proprietor of Gaul, troubling himself about little but the chase at those times when his military duties did not require his presence with the army. But God reserved this man for higher destinies. One day, on entering fully armed into the Basilica at Auxerre, Amator, bishop of that city, advanced towards him, and having induced him to lay down his arms, he led him into the midst of the assembled clergy and proclaimed him his successor. After the death of Amator, Germain, in spite of his resistance, was actually raised to the episcopacy. From that day the new bishop afforded an example of the sublimest virtues. He lived only on barley bread made with his own hands, slept upon ashes, and never tasted wine. A hair cloth, a coarse tunic, had been substituted for the brilliant costume of the imperial commander. His wife was no more to him than his sister, and his patrimony became the property of the poor. Such was the man whose mediation was claimed by the Armoricans to arrest the ravages of the barbarians. Germaine had but recently returned from Great Britain, whither he had journied, for the second time, with Severus, Bishop of Troyes, the mission of both being to destroy that Pelagianism which had again begun to raise its head, when the Armorican deputies fell in with him. Notwithstanding the fatigues he had so recently experienced, the aged saint did not hesitate in setting forward to seek the monarch of the Alarii. 'In presence of this warlike people, (exclaims the hagiographer), before this king minister of idols, appears an old man, solitary, but stronger and more powerful than the whole of them, through the divine succour afforded him by Christ. At first, and by means of an interpreter, he makes use of sophistries; but observing that Evearic refuses to listen to him, he addresses him in a tone of the most stringent reproach, seizes with one hand the bridle of his horse, and on the spot stops in their course the entire army with their chief.' Astonished at this boldness, and full of admiration for the prelate, whose aspect alone exacted respect, the barbarian chief consented to retrace his steps, and to leave the Armoricans in tranquillity till such time as the emperor should decide upon their destiny. Who could be astonished, after such circumstances, that the people put confidence in their bishops alone? To whom, surrounded as they were by public and private misery, could the oppressed have recourse, but to those men of unwavering faith who never left their cenobitic solitude but to devote themselves to the salvation of their brethren, and whose virtues exercised such an influence over the barbarians themselves? It must be acknowledged that both the men and the things of those days must have appeared in a most miserable light to all, whether Christians or Pagans, compared with the Church and its Episcopacy."

At a later period we find the same great man, with his friend Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, dispatched into this island to give the death-blow to that Pelagian heresy which, after considerably

embarrassing St. Augustine, had been disavowed by him, and which moreover had, after a keen struggle, been driven out of Africa and of Italy. The following details are not without interest to British as well as Breton readers:—

"We have had occasion previously to cite some features in the life of St. Germain. That of the Bishop of Troyes was not less apostolical. Born, like his friend, of an illustrious family, Lupus had acquired at the bar and in the schools of rhetoricians a dazzling reputation for eloquence and ability. He had espoused Pemeniola, sister of St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles. But seven years had not yet completed their course since his marriage when the young Gallo-Roman and his wife separated by mutual consent, in order to lead a life of greater perfection. Lupus withdrew to Lerins, and there, under the direction of St. Honorat, abbot of that monastery, he passed several years in fasting, study, and prayer. The saint subsequently betook himself to Macon, and there he divided among the poor all that yet remained to him of his paternal inheritance. It was during his sojourn in this city that he was carried off, in spite of his tears and protestations, to be placed upon the episcopal throne of Troyes—a throne which he occupied during three years more than half a century. Such were the champions whom the Church had elected to combat the disciples of Morgan."

In recounting the adventures of these pious men within our sea girt isle, M. de Courson quotes *verbatim* from the Latin text of the "Life of St. Germain," written by Constantine. With the original we are not acquainted; but we cannot help remarking in the extracts made by M. de Courson the absence of all absurd, legendary, and fictitious-miracle nonsense which is so abundant in the "Lives of the Saints" published by certain Tractarians of yesterday, who (writers and publisher) are Papists of to-day. The following is interesting, natural, and credible. The people appear, for the most part, to have been heartily weary of the fascinations of that *Coluber Britannus* (as St. Prosper of Aquitaine called Pelagius) from whom St. Germain and Lupus had come to deliver them:—

"On their arrival in Britain, the two prelates beheld the entire population of the coast hasten to meet them; and very soon the whole island was eager to listen to their preaching. Germain and Lupus, both natives of Armorica, preached the word of God in the idiom of the country, which was also their own idiom. They did this not only in the churches, but still more frequently on the roadsides, in the recesses of the woods, and in the depths of the vallies. Science, virtue, authority, unlimited power, appeared to have been granted to these two missionaries. In consequence nearly the whole of the country returned without delay to the orthodox faith. The Pelagians concealed themselves. But, at length, fearing lest silence should pur-

chase for them the condemnation of the people, they determined upon offering their adversaries battle. On a given day they appeared in presence of the two prelates, surrounded by numerous 'clients,' and clothed in a costume of surpassing richness. An immense multitude, men, women, and children, had met together to be witnesses of the contest, and to pronounce an opinion (aderat populus spectator futurus et judex). These two parties stood face to face; on one side, says the pious hagiographer, was the divine authority; on the other, human pride; here stood faith, there rebellion; here Christ, there Pelagius. The holy bishops allowed the heretics to open the argument, and to waste themselves in fruitless reasoning: then, when those able orators had explained their doctrines, they crushed them beneath the thunders of their eloquence, drawn from the armouries of the Gospel and apostolic tradition. Not one objection maintained its ground: cunning dropped its mask, and pride was constrained to humble itself in presence of a multitude which could with difficulty put measure to its transports, and which proclaimed its judgment amid cries of enthusiasm. The Pelagians confessed themselves vanquished and withdrew. A great number, on submission, were admitted into communion with the Church."

Here is St. Germain under another aspect:—

"The Saxons who had united their forces with those of the Picts, in order to attack Britain, advanced in arms against their old allies. The Britons, incapable of offering effectual resistance to such numbers, panic-stricken took to flight, and implored assistance from the two apostles. The latter promised aid, and these two 'Generals of Christ,' says the hagiographer, succeeded in inspiring the islanders with such confidence that one might have imagined that a powerful reinforcement had been added to their ranks. It was then the season of Lent. The grave solemnities of that holy season had assumed, so to speak, a character of more than ordinary dignity. A great number of priests filled the British camp, and their voices were raised throughout every hour of the day, to summon to the fountain of baptism those who were not yet converted to Jesus Christ. A Church of simple foliage had been constructed in the open country. A portion of the army was there solemnly baptised; whereupon these newly received children of God, strongly animated with the grace so recently vouchsafed to them, began their march towards the field of battle. On hearing of these circumstances, the Saxons, who had assured themselves of an easy victory, advanced in all haste. St. Germain, warned by his scouts, immediately took the command of the army, posted his troops in ambush in a valley through which the enemy would defile, and exhorted them, as soon as the Saxons should appear, to raise the same war-cry which he himself should utter. The barbarians advanced full of confidence. Suddenly, however, at the command of St. Germain, the priests exclaimed three times with a loud voice—*Hallelujah!* That cry, taken up immediately by the entire army, and multiplied by the mountain echoes, threw terror into the ranks of the

foe. Persuaded that the rocks which surrounded them, and even the vault of heaven that was above them, were about to fall and bring annihilation on their heads, they flung away their arms and took to flight. The greater part perished in the river which they had previously crossed in order to make their onslaught on the Britons. After this double victory, St. Germain and St. Lupus occupied themselves with preparations for their return into Gaul. But this event did not take place until they had consolidated the triumph of the orthodox faith, and founded in the island of Britain many schools from which, at a later period, issued the civilizers of Armorica and of Septentrional Gaul."

Though this victory is known among our old writers as "the Hallelujah Victory," its locality is very uncertain. Usher declares it to have been gained at Maesgarmon (or the Field of the Germans), somewhere in the parish of Mold, Flintshire. This assertion, however, is met by the very obvious objection that Germain never visited Wales, and that the Saxon adventurers were not likely to have landed on the western instead of the eastern or southern coast of Britain. Be this as it may, of the struggle itself there is as little doubt as of its issue. Dr. Lingard, who never spares the ancient British Church when opportunity allows him to fling a shaft at it—this learned but somewhat prejudiced writer, in his "History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," discoursing on the circumstances of the rite of baptism being administered to a great portion of the British army, concludes therefrom that, "though the British hierarchy had existed above two hundred years, yet *one half of the population* were still either idolators, worshipping the gods of their fathers, or men who hesitated to be admitted into the Christian Church that they might with less restraint indulge in criminal gratification." This reasonable conclusion, as Dr. Lingard styles it, is, however, based on no better foundation than a misinterpretation of the original text. In speaking of the army noticed in the above extract, it is true that Constantine says: "Maxima exercitus multitudo undam lavacri salutaris expetiit," and that the venerable Bede says: "Recens de lavacro pars major exercitus;" but it by no means follows that, because a great portion of the army were unbaptized, one half of the entire population were therefore idolaters. We believe such an assertion to lie very wide of the truth. The population were not only not all soldiers, but it was a very common thing for soldiers newly converted to Christianity to withdraw at once from their old profession, and pursue a calling more agreeable to a religion which inculcates peace. Nor does it follow, because the majority of the army were unbaptized, that they

were consequently idolaters. It was no unusual circumstance for an adult convert to defer his baptism until the eve of some imminent peril, and this may have been the case with those who carried off the honours of the field of Maesgarmon. That the latter were born in a heathenish condition does appear at first sight, and only at first sight, to convey reproach against a want of zeal in the British hierarchy. Druidism was not altogether devoid of truth, nor of other excellences; while any of these were however retained, as acknowledged portions of the ancient superstition, it is probable that the venerable priesthood would refuse to give baptism to those whose conversion was impaired by the defect: and this course of conduct appears to us to be infinitely preferable to that adopted by Gregory the Great, with reference to the new Christians who occasionally looked back with a feeling of terrible admiration towards the horrors of the Odinic superstition. If our readers will turn to the orders given to the Anglo-Saxons by Gregory (Epist. lib. xi. lxxvi.), they will there find him giving permission to them to sacrifice to the saints, on their respective holidays, the victims which they had formerly offered to their gods. But as Dr. Lingard and Monsieur de Courson are ready to sneer at the non-efficacy of the ancient British Church in England, let us see if there were much to boast of, after more than two centuries of existence of the Romish Church in Gaul:—

"Under the Carlovingians the Church enjoyed all the prerogatives, and was subjected to all the obligations of feudality. Descended from the spiritual eminence where, thanks to the support of the holy see, it had so long maintained itself, the clergy daily drew nearer to the material world. The ecclesiastical vassals arose on all sides. There was no landowner of any importance who was not desirous of having on his estate a church which he caused to be served by mercenary priests. The ecclesiastical authority and the civil power were accounted of as nothing in these foundations. Worship had become a mere domestic question; the episcopal sees and the abbies were seized upon by men of warlike pursuits who divided them among their families, or gave them by dotation to their daughters. It was particularly under Charles Martel that this intrusion of laics into the monasteries and bishoprics took place; but the scandal was removed during the reign of the most pious princes of the Carlovingian dynasty. Charlemagne thus surrendered the monasteries of St. Sixtus of Rheims and of St. Memmius near Chalons. Louis le Debonnaire disposed in like fashion of the monasteries of Luxeiul and St. Wandrille. The same prince, at a later period, at a general council of the prelates of the empire, held at Aix le Chapelle in 817, proposed, it is true, measures for the reform of so many abuses. He wished to restore the liberty of election to the episcopal churches and abbies:

the bishops did their utmost to arrest the religious society in its descent into an abyss of ruin, but all was useless. Feudality, which was about to take place of royalty, continued to press heavily upon the Church. During the disorder of the Norman invasions, the bishoprics, monasteries, and the estates bequeathed by the piety of the faithful to the first apostles of Christianity in Gaul, became the prey of laics. Incapable of administering these churches by themselves, the despoilers entrusted the care of them to unworthy priests, to whom they assigned a miserable stipend. Others, in order to strengthen their usurpation, procured ordination for their children, without troubling themselves with any consideration of the question as to their qualification for the priesthood. The holy ministry confided to such hands was, of necessity, exposed to corruption. These sacrilegious priests went so far as even to publicly take upon themselves the bonds of matrimony, the only means they could adopt of preserving their paternal inheritance. Thence may we date those titles of *priestesses*, or *ecclesiastical children*, of which mention is continually made in the Acts of the eleventh century. The churches themselves were not secure from scenes of scandal. One day in the cathedral of Quimper, Onwert, wife of the Bishop Orscend, dared, at the very feet of the holy altar, to dispute or to claim precedency over Judith, Countess of Cornouailles. The Acts of Bretagne teach us that at the same period the bishops of Vannes, Nantes, and Rennes lived publicly with their wives, by whom they had several children. The concubinage of priests had become so common, says the 'Chronicle of St. Briene,' that it almost passed for a tolerated custom. The society even of St. Benedict, enriched by the munificence of Charlemagne and of Louis le Debonnaire, slumbered beneath the abundance of earthly treasures; while their stringent discipline and their austere regulations became completely enervated. The world, says St. Peter Damien, rushes precipitately into the abyss of all the vices; and the nearer it approaches to its end the greater becomes the enormous mass of its crimes. Ecclesiastical discipline is almost universally neglected; the holy canons are trampled on; and the ardour which ought to exist for the service of God is exclusively employed in the pursuit of the treasures of the earth. The legitimate order of marriage is thrown into confusion, and, to the shame of the Christian name, we live in the world like so many Jews. .....The entire world is as a sea tossed by the tempest. The churches have become the prey of such frightful calamities that they stand as though surrounded by the armies of Babylon, and resemble Jerusalem with her inhabitants enduring a siege. The seculars lay violent hands on the wealth of the Church, make seizure of her revenues, invade her possessions, and take possession of the substance of the poor, as though it were the substance of an enemy. The entire world is, in our days, nothing more than a theatre of intemperance, avarice, and libertinage; and as it was formerly subjected to three Cæsars, so does mankind now bend the neck beneath the yoke of three vices, and servilely obeys the laws of these tyrants."....

"These deplorable disorders (adds M. de Courson, somewhat

naively, after the evidence he has just cited), *which men in our times have been pleased to exaggerate considerably*, rendered the influence of the clergy in temporal matters indispensable. Princes and people confessed the necessity of placing themselves under the guardianship of that one among all the orders of the State, which, by its intelligence and its virtues, exercised the greatest authority in society, and was in some sort the solitary support of public order. Kings, constantly menaced by the revolts of their great vassals, endeavoured, as far as in them lay, to extend the power of the clergy; for, in the principles of Christianity, princes are the images of God upon earth, and the depositaries of his authority. The promulgation of this doctrine, amid the energetic populations which acknowledged no other bridle but that of religion, was, in the mediæval ages, the solitary safeguard of the crown. 'The influence of the clergy (says a lawyer of the last century) served the royal authority without emperilling it.' The Carlovingians were so persuaded of the necessity of this interference of the clergy in temporal affairs that we may affirm, without fear of being accused of exaggeration, that the main object of their policy was to multiply the ecclesiastical lordships in those parts of the empire the most difficult to be governed. Nor can this excite surprise."

It is hardly worth while to pause here for the sake of pointing out that the confusion into which society had been thrown was to the full as much the consequence of the neglect of duty by the sacred teachers, even of early days, as it was the result of men flinging off moral restraint, and heeding the impulses of an evil nature rather than that teaching which should subdue the hardest of hearts and the most stubborn of dispositions. And yet, from the most primitive of times, it is the habit of Romish writers to trace the existence of all good in society to the influences of the Vatican, and the presence of all evil to the blindness of men who refused to be impelled by any such influences. Mr. Digby, in his "Mores Catholici," is in himself the very concentrated essence of all such authors. All the virtue which lives in the world exists there, according to him, by power, not of Christianity, or, if so, by power of Christianity as interpreted by the Popes. At some distance, both in interest and ability, M. de Courson would fain persuade us of the same thing. It is clear that both these gentlemen—and, indeed, all other gentlemen who belong to the same communion—are disposed to maintain that learning, for instance, must have died of pure inanition if it had not been for the fostering patronage and protection of the Popes on all occasions. We believe that, with a little time allowed us for research, we should be enabled to prove that whether the maintenance of such an opinion be made to apply to Bretagne in particular, as in M. de Courson's book, or to Christendom generally, as is most stoutly maintained

by Mr. Kenelm Digby, the reverse would be nearer the truth. Opportunity enables us to offer one testimony, at least, against the idea of the encouragement of learning and virtue being inseparable from the Papal economy. We have now lying before us "The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici," as lately given to the public in one of Mr. Bohn's charming volumes, which continue to delight the literary world under the style and title of "The Standard Library." At pp. 121-2 of this volume we find the following; it is but a fragment, but "*ex pede, Herculem :*"—

"During the pontificate of Paul II., letters and science experienced at Rome a cruel and unrelenting persecution, and their professors exhibited in their sufferings a degree of constancy and resolution which, in another cause, might have advanced them to the rank of martyrs. The imprisonment of the historian Platina who, on being arbitrarily deprived of a respectable office to which he was appointed by Pius II., had dared to thunder in the ears of the Pope the dreaded name of a general council, might perhaps admit of some justification; but this was only a prelude to the devastation which Paul made amongst the men of learning who, during his pontificate, had chosen the city of Rome as their residence; a number of these uniting together had formed a society for the research of antiquities chiefly with a view to elucidate the works of the ancient authors, from medals, inscriptions, and other remains of art. As an incitement to, or as characteristic of, their studies, they had assumed classic names, and thereby gave the first instance of a practice which has since become general among the academicians of Italy. Whilst these men were employing themselves in a manner that did honour to their age and country, Paul was indulging his folly and his vanity in ridiculous and contemptible exhibitions, and happy had it been if he had confined his attention to these amusements; but, on the pretext of a conspiracy against his person, he seized upon many members of the academy, which he affected to consider as a dangerous and seditious assembly, accusing them of having, by their adoption of heathen names, marked their aversion to the Christian religion. Such of them as were so unfortunate as to fall into his hands he committed to prison, where they underwent the torture, in order to draw from them a confession of crimes which had no existence, and of heretical opinions which they had never avowed. Not being able to obtain any evidence of their guilt, and finding that they had resolution to suffer the last extremity rather than accuse themselves, Paul thought proper at length to acquit them of the charge; but at the same time, by a wanton abuse of power, he ordered that they should be detained in prison during a complete year from the time of their commitment, alleging that he did it *to fulfil a vow which he had made when he first imprisoned them.*"

We must, however, return to the Bretonic heroes of Monsieur de Courson; and although we are neither able to notice all, nor to dwell long upon those we do notice, we cannot, we think,

select better for our readers' amusement, or for our author's credit, than by taking from the pages of the latter some passages in the lives of two men who, to their contemporaries at least, appeared to possess the most undoubted claims to the "hero-worship," not of their own age alone, but of all time. Those men were Robert of Arbrissel, the founder of Fontevrault, and Abelard, that giant of the scholastic philosophy who was at once the teacher, lover, the evil and the saving genius of the gentle Heloise.

Arbrissel is, or was, a very small locality in the diocese of Rennes: one of the gates of the diocesan city still retains a trace of its old heathenism in an inscription almost as obliterated from the stone as Arbrissel from the map, dedicated by the town to the Emperor Gordian. It was through this gate that the ancient dukes of Brittany used to make their solemn entry into Rennes on their accession. Before they were permitted to pass this barrier, however, they pledged themselves by oath "to preserve the Catholic faith and the Church of Brittany"—to govern wisely and to execute justice. After this pledge exacted and delivered they were conducted into the church, where, on the expiration of two days spent in prayer, the golden circlet of authority was pressed upon their brow, and their loins girt with the ducal sword.

How often the oath was broken, and how great were the consequent evils, may be amply and frequently seen in M. de Courson's pages. The fault, however, does not seem always to have rested upon the sovereign dukes. If the latter were occasionally perjured, it was upon some of those occasions, by force of circumstances, which rendered it impossible for them to keep that which they were sworn to observe. They were bound, among other things, "to preserve the Catholic faith and the Church of Brittany;" but it was precisely because that Church regarded little its own good name, or the purer faith that had once been delivered to it, that the dukes became powerless and the people reprobate and rebellious. It was in one of those epochs that Robert of Arbrissel was born and flourished. His own ducal lord, Alain Fergent, who had borne himself valiantly against the Normans at home and the Saracens abroad, had, after working a reformation in the judiciary institutions of his dukedom, taken the cowl and retired into a monastery. But at this period, if faith existed not in the hearts of the people, neither did the spirit of penitence dwell within the cloisters. It was to "order these things better" that the young scholar of Arbrissel took upon himself the mission of reformation. If he did not go far, it was because he did not know much. Had he lived later

than the twelfth century he would have probably more nearly resembled, in his pious daring, those reformers who coming afterwards effected more. Nevertheless, from his contemporaries he deserved gratitude—from posterity, respect. If the monastic remedy which he invented for spiritual ills be not one applicable to similar ills in the present idiosyncrasy of the world's constitution, it may have been a palliative, although not a panacea, in the days of the founder of Fontevrault.

The ability of the youthful Robert had drawn him to Paris; his reputation there gained for him the friendship and patronage of La Guerche, Bishop of Rennes. During the four years that he resided with the bishop, he was chiefly employed in energetically denouncing the simony and incontinency of the priesthood. After the death of his patron, the clergy of the diocese of Rennes were sufficiently iniquitous and influential to compel him to resign his functions; whereupon, finding himself officeless by the wickedness of men, he confined himself to the office confided to him by God, and, retiring to the forest of Craon, he taught saving truths to multitudes of men who resorted thither under multitudes of motives.

It is said that his preaching converted thousands of both sexes, who immediately attached themselves to him as his followers, and who, of course, lived upon the charity of the public. The former, perhaps, considered that their penitence was a compensation for their uselessness to society, while the irreligious public deemed their good work of subscription a tolerable make-weight for their want of faith. In curing a great evil, Robert of Arbrissel only encountered an almost insurmountable difficulty. The congregating together, and the wanderings to and fro of such a number of enthusiastic persons of both sexes as followed the reformer before the reformation, naturally gave rise to sundry inconveniences. It was partly to remedy these that Robert founded at Fontevrault that abbey which became ultimately one of the most wealthy in France. He was followed to this retreat by a crowd of young men and women, amounting, it is said, to no less than three thousand. To those who are curious about the rule established there to keep order and maintain purity, we recommend a perusal of this portion of M. de Courson's book. For ourselves, we have only space further to say that one, at least, of the regulations had about it a tinge of singularity: viz., that which commanded even the monks to consider themselves as entirely subjected to the rule of the——lady abbess! Various explanations have been given by way of accounting for the reasonableness of this dependence of men on a female chief. One writer accounts for it by stating

that "God, at the end of the eleventh century, *underwent a change of sex*, and that *the Virgin had become the true God* (or Saviour) *of the world!*"—a phrase which, M. de Courson is too "wide awake" to acknowledge to be true, according to Romanism, yet which, as he says, at the time of its publication, "a fait fortune dans les ecoles"—that is, was found not to be without its advantages in the schools.

The Abbé de Vaulx Cernay has left a MS. biography of Robert, from which M. de Courson has made some translated extracts. One of these we will cite as a curious picture of the times and the manners in which this reformer lived. We fancy that the presence of an ordained minister of our Church in such a field of labour as that named in the following extract would, however blameless such presence, be followed by small results of good, and with heavy issues of anger and costs from some one or other of our ecclesiastical courts. For obvious reasons we make the quotation, as written originally by the biographer, in Latin:—

"Quadam die cum venisset Rothomagum, lupanar ingressus, sedensque ad focum, pedes calefacturus, meretricibus circumdatur existimantibus causâ fornicandi eis promittente, una e meretricibus, quæ cæteris præierat, dixit ei: 'Qui es tu qui talia loqueris?' Scias pro certo quia per viginti quinque annos quibus hanc domum ad perpetranda scelera sum ingressa, nunquam aliquis huc advenit qui de Deo loqueritur, vel de ejus misericordiâ præsumere nos faceret, tamen si scirem vera esse!"

If it be true that Robert gained over the lost creatures inhabiting the den of iniquity into which it appears he was not afraid to enter, it is certainly somewhat strange that his presence there at all, when followed by such results, should have called down upon him the reproaches of the Bishop of Rennes. M. de Courson quotes from this episcopal epistle a passage in which the founder of Fontevrault is directly accused of being given to illicit pleasures; while from other writers he quotes passages in which things are called by their names, and very vicious practices are declared to be common both with himself and among his followers. We are inclined, however, to think that his incontinent enemies may have been enraptured at an opportunity afforded them of charging the denouncer of a sin with its commission. However this may be, it is certain that the founder of Fontevrault terminated a life of very varied aspect in 1117. The abbey, which for some seven centuries was one of the glories of monastic France, crumbled away beneath the sacrilegious grasp of the revolutionary atheists; but its locality, or rather its ruins, are still rich, not only in its

memories but in its relics. All that was mortal of many of the Plantagenet Kings of England still repose there: and a moderate morning's ride will conduct the tourist from Candes, where St. Martin of Tours breathed his last, to the royal church of Fontevrault, where still lie the effigies, and amid whose aisles is scattered the dust, of Henry II., the very dean of the faculty of liars; and that of his wife, Eleanor of Guienne, whose dowry was a world of woe to two nations; of Richard of the Lion Heart, who, if he had not lived in the days when brute courage was accounted as a virtue, would have descended to posterity unhonoured by fame; and of Isabella of Angouleme, that consort of King John, whose gallants he was wont to hang over her own bed: so susceptible was he of wounds against his own honour, and so little regardless of inflicting any upon the honour of others, that to the licentiousness of his own amours may be traced the principal causes of the alienation of his barons, many of whom, we are told, had to lament and revenge the disgrace of a wife, or daughter, or sister. The effigies of these royal persons are, for the most part, of very remarkable beauty; and we can only hope, for the sake of those in England who take an interest in the relics of our early insular monarchy and continental vassalage, that, in some moment of generous inspiration, the French Government may make us a present of these relics of our past glory, which are evidently nothing to the French people, and are not accounted of as having any portion in that mass of apocrypha which entrances the Pays de Cocagne under the appellation of "toutes les gloires de la France."

But, after all, the most attractive sketch of Breton "illustrations" is that perhaps recounting the scholastic philosophy and the burning affection of that too celebrated pair, round whose fading immortality Pope has shed a lustre, and before whose shrine, in the Parisian City of the Dead, the liberal lovers of the capital devote themselves to an eternity of fidelity which has even been known to outlive the moon which presided over the perjuries at which 'tis said Jove laughs. We, of course, allude to the warm-hearted and ill-fated Abelard and Heloise. Some French writers see in the modern Breton reformer the Abbé de Lamennais, a reproduction of the old philosophical lover of ancient days; but this can only apply in one sense. The scholastic philosophy, advocated by Abelard and denounced by St. Bernard, professed to illuminate while it glorified the great truths of Christianity; but, like those honorary lights placed before the pictures of departed saints, it obscured with its smoke that which it professed to illumine with its rays. In this point of view the Abbé de Lamennais may bear some fan-

ciful resemblance to the monastic Atys of the moderns. Both, with the honest intention of lighting up the path to immortality, only rendered the heavens themselves more impenetrably obscure. But here the parallel ends. No one who remembers the enthusiastic and kind-hearted little author of the "*Paroles d'un Croyant*," during his residence at Kensington, his sojourning in Brittany, or his feverish career in the capital, will ever be disposed to imagine that, for his sake, there ever existed the Heloise who could ask herself—

"What means this tumult in a vestal's veins?"

The career of Abelard offers a striking contrast to that of Robert of Arbrissel; the latter was a man of action, the former one of meditation. Abelard was born in 1079, in the little village of Pallet, between Nantes and Clisson, and, like St. Bernard, he was brought up to the profession of arms. These two great adversaries, however, had more inclination for the study than for the tented field, and these sons of belted knights almost at the same moment renounced the then poetical life of the soldier, in order to devote themselves to the study of sciences both divine and profane. At an early age we find Pierre Abelard wandering about in search of antagonists, and as eager to enter with them upon the wordy contest of argument as Gil Blas when possessed of many rules of logic and few of common sense. We are not about to enter upon an analysis of any of the philosophies which at this period were agitating the society of the learned, and, under the name of mysticism, dialectics, or scholastic philosophy, managed so greatly to render obscure that which was delivered to man bright, clear, and intelligible. Our readers are probably well acquainted with these matters, and if not a glance at Mosheim will suffice to render them so. The spirit of Abelard may be seen in the reply made by him to his aged preceptor, Anselm of Loudon, who, on remarking that the proposition of Abelard to expound the difficulties of Ezekiel, after a single day's preparation, was perilous, and that such a task required time and study, was told by the young philosopher—"My custom is not to follow what is usual, but to obey the dictates of my own mind:" an answer that might have been given by the Abbé de Lamennais when he sat down to explain faith in legends, symbols, and musical phrases. But be this as it may, his commentaries upon the prophet conferred on him additional celebrity, and his crowd of disciples increased till he found himself surrounded by an audience of five thousand pupils of all nations, the honours of the Church showered on him, and pride whispering to him that there was but one God,

and Abelard his philosopher. And then ensued the fall that follows pride. But the true legend of the learned lovers shall be told by our author:—

"There was in the city a maiden named Heloise, the niece of canon Fulbert, and who resided with her uncle. Educated with great care, Heloise, who, on the maternal side, was descended, it is said, from the illustrious house of Montmorency, had become an accomplished woman. .....Her early youth had been spent in the solitude of the convent of Argenteuil; there she had learned Greek and Hebrew, and she wrote Latin in a style that the most accomplished professors of our day would attempt to reach in vain. With this young girl Abelard commenced an epistolary intercourse. Simple-minded and unsuspicious, she beheld in the eager attentions of 'Maitre Pierre' nothing more than ardent zeal for the progress of a pupil enthusiastic on subjects of science. But *he*, a prey to passions the more violent that they grew slowly, dreamed at last of nothing but satisfying them. In order to be near Heloise, he proposed to Fulbert to take her as *a boarder into his own house*. The *simple* canon, who ardently longed to see his daughter become perfect in knowledge, joyfully accepted the offer of the illustrious dialectician, and, to speak the language of a contemporary writer, he surrendered the innocent lamb to the fangs of the ravishing wolf. Abelard forgot what he owed to the noble confidence of Fulbert, and to the exalted rank which he himself held in the schools. Heloise equally forgot what was due to virgin modesty; and everything was soon sacrificed to their criminal affections. Disgusted with study, the hero of the dialectic philosophy closed Plato and Origen, and gave up his comments on Scripture, in order to compose in the vulgar tongue those love ditties which speedily became popular throughout France. Abelard, indeed, had all the genius of a troubadour. His poetical talent was the principal accomplice of his love. 'You possessed, (wrote Heloise to him long after his fall), 'you possessed two qualities that might have seduced any woman; they were the talent with which you recited, and the grace which you infused into your songs."

Though the suspicions of Fulbert induced him to separate the lovers, suspicion was aroused too late either to prevent or check the career of ruin into which they were plunged. Abelard discovered the retreat of his mistress, and boldly carried her off to the house of his sister, in Brittany, where she gave birth to a son, to whom the guilty parents gave the name of Astrolabe. It was insulting reparation for a priest vowed to celibacy to offer, as Abelard did, to espouse the object and the victim of his affections—provided, too, that the marriage were kept secret. The latter stipulation was, no doubt, prompted by his ambition to rise to a station of eminence in the Church, all hope of attaining which would have been destroyed for ever should his union with Heloise be discovered. The negotiation, if we may so call it, terminated by the latter retiring to the mo-

nastery of Argenteuil. It was then, when Fulbert saw himself for ever deprived of his niece, and his niece for ever deprived of her honour, that he executed that terrible vengeance on Abelard which filled France with horror and consternation. Accompanied by a number of his friends he obtained entrance into the sleeping apartment of the treacherous lover by night, and there mutilated the priest with a refinement of cruelty characteristic of the times.

> "Devolvit illa acutâ sibi pondera silice:
> Itaque et relicta sensit sibi membra sine viro."

"Stricken in his pride, and smitten by the hand of God in retribution of his crimes,* Pierre bowed his head and determined to embrace the monastic life. At his command, Heloise, who was yet only a novice, pronounced her vows. A few moments previous to the accomplishment of the great sacrifice the unfortunate lady had to undergo a last temptation. Persons of the highest rank, her relations and her friends, endeavoured to shake her firmness; but, ever submissive to the will of her well-beloved consort, she persisted in her resolution; and in spite of the tears which fell from her own eyes, and notwithstanding her personal distaste for the cloister, she walked with dignity towards the altar, repeating aloud the complaint which Lucian gives to Cornelia when, after Pharsalia, she again beholds Pompey, of whose ruin she believes herself to be the cause:—

> "'O maxime conjux
> O thalamis indigne meis, hoc juris habebat
> In tantum fortuna caput? Cur impia nupsi,
> Si miserum factura fui? Nunc accipe pœnas,
> Sed quas sponte luam.'"—*Luc. Phars.*, l. viii., v. 94.

The after-life of this mediæval Ariadne is too well known to our readers to render a recapitulation of it necessary. That of Abelard is hardly less so. It will be sufficient to say of him that he returned to the world—was followed by thousands of pupils—dwelt in various monasteries—held long and wordy warfare with St. Bernard, who denounced his theological errors—and, finally, after narrowly escaping being poisoned by the ferocious and beastly monks of St. Gildas de Rhuys, amongst whom, as abbot, he had in vain endeavoured to introduce the virtue of godliness, and its next accounting virtue of cleanliness, he died at Cluny, full of repentance for his sins and of hope for their forgiveness, but with an affection still ardent for the object and the victim of his early love, but so chastened and spiritualised

* "Nosti.....quid ibi (in the monastery of Argenteuil) tecum mea libidinis egerit intemperantia in quadâm etiam parte ipsius refectorii.....Nosti id impudentissime tunc actum esse in tam reverendo loco et summæ virgini consecrato."—*Abelard, Op.*, Epist. v.

that earthly passion had been entirely swallowed up in the heavenly sentiment.

The whole narrative involves in it a sweeping condemnation of that innovating rule of the Romanist Church which hurried into crime an ill-fated pair, who might have been virtuous and respected but for the vice-prolific canon enjoining the celibacy of the priesthood.

Although M. de Courson allows, with Origen, that the teachers of a revealed religion, both in Britain and Brittany, were "real Christian Druids," he struggles hard to prove that Druidism in no shape can be traced in this district of France, since it became, not merely Christian, but Roman Catholic to boot. His praise is high for the inhabitants of this yet, in some degree, semi-civilised province, who, when threatened with death by the ambulatory commissioners of the French Revolution, made no other reply than—"Make haste to guillotine us, that we may ascend to heaven in three days;" and they merit a great portion of all the encomium that our Breton author has lavished on them. But patient endurance under adversity, and contented indifference for all change of circumstances and manner of living, may arise from other sources than exalted ones. Love of country, patient endurance of every species of adversity, and a calm meeting with the angel of death at the striking of the inevitable hour, are worthy of all praise; but when the virtues so lauded are paraded as distinguishing the "catholic" Breton from the "heretic" Englishman, they are so lauded at the expense of truth and under the impulse of a vain and foolish malignity. The author himself exhibits what the scriptural teaching of Popery is, by gravely supposing that the expression made by a German traveller concerning the inhabitants of Brittany—viz., "there are giants here even in these days"—was so made in allusion to Napoleon: he has not the slightest idea, apparently at least, that the allusion may have been to the words of Scripture, "there were giants in those days;" and, by a false foot-note reference, he as good as tells his readers that it is not. His apparent ignorance of Scripture and his positive hatred of England are nearly on a level. The amount of ignorance and the quality of hatred are not uncommon in French writers who condescend to instruct the world. It is not three months since one of the naval historians of France, having occasion to speak of Nelson visiting the ships of the Copenhagen squadron in his "gig," gravely explained to his readers, in order to excite their scorn for the great admiral, that a "gig" was a one-horse chaise: one of those incontestable truths which misapplication metamorphoses into rank lies.

Divisions of rank exist even among the most miserable of the Breton classes. The privileged artizans of the Celtic tribes, the smiths, the farriers, and the workers in iron, still occupy the most distinguished position in Brittany. To be a miller is to be a knave in grain, while the tailor is looked upon with that degree of contempt which has been attached to his calling since he first drew needle like a woman. We doubt, however, if these distinctions be peculiar to Brittany. They are, we think, common to all nations. The early records at least of every country will show that strength always take precedence of dexterity. It is only civilization that places the man-milliner above the mason, and the wielder of the anvil-hammer below the plumassier.

We are glad to find that, among our cousins of Brittany, the word *union* is unknown, while that of *parish* is almost equivalent to *home.* The *Communists*, who are the Socialists of France, have effected no conversions in Britanny:—

"The Utopia of Socialism has been realized ages ago, thanks to the all-powerful influence of Christianity! Does a family of agriculturists desire to lay in its supply of linen? They announce that a *spinning* will take place on an appointed evening. At the time and locality named, all the neighbours go armed with their distaff and wheel; the flax is distributed to the women, and they set to work amid the singing of old Breton ballads. The following day before sunset the provision of thread is made at a small cost to the mistress of the house. A few 'basons' (a Breton word) of oaten gruel, pancakes of flour, and a little milk compose all the food required by the spinners.....At the termination of high mass, on Sundays, the crier ascends the steps of the cross in the cemetery, and announces to the inhabitants of the parish that on a certain day a great 'carrying' at Lessuir's of the village of Kerselie, or at Nedelek's at Plouesee will take place. Were three hundred carts necessary, the appointed hour would see them at the door of the man who needed their help. The wood or the stone would be carted, carried, and unloaded in the turning of a hand. During this time mountains of pancakes, and earthen vessels charged with bacon and potatoes, are placed by the mistress of the farm and by her servants upon tables formed out of long planks. As soon as the work is accomplished, the workmen meet; the repast forthwith commences; the cider sparkles in the glasses; jokes cross each other, and raillery replies to raillery. And then the *binious* is heard, and the universal joy is forthwith at its utmost height. Men and women, youths and maids, old age and childhood mingle in the dance. The musicians, mounted upon barrels, are breathless with blowing the liveliest and the most esteemed of the national airs; the beggars of the parish, without whom no festival would be complete, give their brazen throats to the traditional songs of their country; and the whole parish is in an intoxication of joy. But the sun dips

below the horizon. At the voice of an *elder* the dance ceases; and the festival terminates as it had begun, by a *De profundis* for the repose of the soul of the deceased relations of the entertainer."

This is, in most parts, pretty, true, and picturesque. Truth, indeed, M. de Courson almost assumes to be a Breton peculiarity. We doubt, however, if he possess it at all times himself. Thus he deliberately tells his readers that "it is in vain that the British Government has employed all its power *(s'est efforcé)* to annihilate the idiom of Taliessein in Wales. The bibles of Cambria are not in English but in Breton: twelve or fifteen journals or reviews are published in the latter language." As regards the British Government, at least, the first portion of the above paragraph is a wilful falsehood, the second only half true, and the concluding assertion a risible mistake.

Finally, while a modern tourist in Brittany may derive much advantage from the previous study of M. de Courson's pages, a very short experience of travelling will serve to convince him that these pages are not without their errors; and, above all, that whatever degree of religious spirituality may characterise the singular and ancient people of this province, Popery has neither succeeded in abolishing *all* the superstitions of the Druids, nor been without alacrity in introducing her own. The Druidical remains at Carace and Lokmariaker are regarded with other sentiments than those of mere admiration, perhaps respect, which are paid in this country to Stonehenge and the circle at Amesbury. The pilgrimages to fountains are still made with reference to some Undine, or spirit of the stream, by whose divine influence the waters are rendered salubrious; and the generating power is still acknowledged to reside in those mysterious blocks of stone against which the childless Breton's wife rubs her breasts at night, in order to gain the honours of maternity. The Breton calendar, again, is half occupied by Celtic saints with names "un-in-one-breath-utterable," and whose canonization dates from ancient days when yet the Papal power was not, and whose place in the hearts and the prayers of the people Popes have not ventured to disturb. Nay, even the remnants of heathenism have survived through the Druidical teaching of Unity and the Christian instruction of the Trinity. Near Baud the figure of the Gallic Isis of Quinipily was worshipped with foul, pagan, rites down to the middle of the seventeenth century; and this granite Venus is still the object of the superstitious veneration of the ignorant. The miracle-working Virgin at Avenieres is a type of the change, which, to say the least of it, Romanism allows. The church at Folgoat is in-

debted for half its sanctity, in the eyes of its Breton congregation, to the legend by which they are gravely informed that John de Montfort erected it in obedience to an intimation from the Virgin, who had caused lilies to grow upon the spot, the petals of which were inscribed with her holy name. At Quimperle the so-called "Catholic" customs observed at the grave of St. Gurlot are hardly less absurd than some of those that were wont to be practised in the days of the Odinic mythology. In full confidence of the saint's concurrence, rheumatic Bretons may be seen thrusting their arms through a hole in the tombstone as a specific for their pains. Thus is one superstition merely changed for its substitute. Nor indeed in some parts of Britanny has even so much as this been effected by the "ameliorating influences" of the Popish priesthood. At the church of St. Jean du Doigt, the two systems may be said to come into collision. In that church the preserved finger of the Baptist, or of the Evangelist, we really forget to which it is said to belong, exercises its peculiar potency; while in the chapel hard by, young girls make propitiatory offerings to the Virgin, by adopting the ancient Gaulish custom of cutting off their hair, and suspending the dissevered tresses before the figure of the "goddess" whose favour is thus strangely sought.

But in spite of all these things, upon which M. de Courson is profoundly silent, the author claims great honours due to the Romish Church for what she has effected in Brittany, and makes abundant promise of what she will yet effect. Judging from the time she has taken to extirpate Druidism, the promised morrow for the establishment of truth is, we fear, far distant.

Quam longe cras istud! Ubi est, aut unde petendum?

ART. VII.—*The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, written by himself: with portions of his Correspondence.* Edited by JOHN HAMILTON THOM. In 3 Vols. 8vo. London. 1845.

THIS book, which we are about to introduce to our readers, is a specimen of the only way in which biography can be truly written. It is divided into three parts, two of which were drawn up by Mr. White himself. The first is a narrative of his life up to 1826, in a series of letters to Archbishop Whately, including the years between 1775 and 1826. The second part is what he terms "A Sketch of my Mind in England." The third part was compiled from his journals, the note-books

in which he recorded reflections on his reading, such portions of his correspondence as were accessible, and chance entries in pocket-books and almanacks; and the editor of these documents is understood to have been his bosom friend. Admitting, then, the competency and sincerity of the writer and editor, more could not be required for constructing a perfect piece of history; for, after all, none can write the history of another's life. Even a trivial action can hardly be described with perfect accuracy by a looker-on, and still less can the motives which led to it be authoritatively assigned; but without these, biography is little more profitable than romance. It is a poor satisfaction to have read the history of the performances of a man's arms, and legs, and eyes, and ears (which is about the total of much of our biography), without being made a spectator of that which *alone* moved these puppets of the soul; and no less useless is it to have a record of debateable opinions, unless we are made acquainted with their origin and their influence upon the individual's own mental state. It is this bare anatomy which constitutes the value, and we may add danger, of these remarkable volumes. Had they been made up of the materials which constitute the fabric of so many of our biographies, such as that Mr. Blanco White was born in Spain, brought up a Roman Catholic, became an infidel, an atheist, then a believer in Christianity, then a clergyman of the English Church, and then a Unitarian, with the usual sprinkling of pungent anecdotes, imaginary conversations, *studied* letters, scraps of scandal, &c., we should have confidently predicted for the book the usual fate of such solemn trifles. But as we are bound to say that this work is altogether out of such classes, so we must predict for it a different destiny. It possesses all the dignity of earnestness and high intelligence in furnishing us with a rare opportunity of studying a human mind of no ordinary character. We had hesitated whether our duty to the Church would not be fulfilled by passing over in silence a work in which there is so much poison; but we concluded that, at all risks, we ought to enter our protest in detail against its daring conclusions, that the opinions of *nearly* all thinkers upon the dogmas of the New Testament are false, lest the silence of a journal set up for the defence of Christianity and the Anglican Church might be misconstrued.

Mr. Blanco White, though born in Spain, was descended from an Irish family, his grandfather having been sent abroad from Dublin to Seville to avoid the penal laws against Roman Catholics. His father inherited the business of a flourishing merchant at Seville, to which, when but eight years of age, the subject of this history was required to attend. Personal objec-

tions, backed by his mother's, to this kind of life prevailed, and when twelve years of age his wish to become a clergyman effected his emancipation from the counting-house. "Grave divines (he says) were consulted, who gave it as their opinion that I had a *true call.*" This is spoken sneeringly, and is thoroughly characteristic of Mr. White's mind. As a warm admirer of Shakspeare, he might have learnt the great sustaining truth—"there is a Providence that shapes our ways." At the age of twelve, why might not the strongly expressed wish of an amiable and intelligent boy, supported by a manifest dislike (proved by trial) to a secular profession, and supported by that of his parents, be regarded as pointing to the path of duty marked by Providence, which is all that can be meant by a "call?" It would, indeed, be a distressing thought to many to believe that the indefinite impulses and happily combining circumstances which led on their brothers to secular professions of power and usefulness were providentially sent as guides into a dark future, whilst the like impulses and circumstances which led another to college and the Church are to be denied this supporting interpretation. We think, too, that the *spirit* of the comment upon the only kind of education which *could* have been given him is wholly wrong. It may be quite right to point out to others the injurious tendency of the training of the Roman Catholic Church, whose strictness made him "dread the approach of Sunday; which required him to submit twice in a month to the practice of confession; to wait in the church nearly two hours before breakfast," &c. All this was doubtless painful, and might have been injudicious to one of Mr. White's keen sensibilities and love of freedom; but there are high considerations which he seems to have entirely overlooked. He was obeying the will of a most pious father whom he so nobly eulogizes, and a mother every way worthy of love, esteem, and admiration. Would the Providence of God (he might have asked himself) entirely desert such faithful followers in leading in the way in which he should go a beloved child? Might not this after all have been the *best* training for one of his peculiar temperament?

At fourteen years of age he entered the school of philosophy; at fifteen he gave up in despair the voluminous work on logic used in his class; read a work by Feyjoo in ten or twelve closely printed quarto volumes, from which, he says, he learnt the Baconian principle: and, henceforth, he openly ridiculed the logic of his college. In consequence of such qualifications, he told the college lecturers that their studies were not worth his attention and should never have it! All this is told of a

boy of fifteen! Mr. White's subsequent history strongly reminded us of the sentiment of the poet—"the boy is father of the man:" and also of the comment upon it by an accomplished judge of human nature, as applied to one formerly very high in her Majesty's service—"Lord ——— is just, and has been through life, what he was at Eton; and nearly all my contemporaries there have turned out in life as I knew them then." Accordingly Mr. White says—"A great love of knowledge and an equally great hatred of established errors were suddenly developed in my mind. I may say, with perfect truth, the spirit which then started up has never been laid in me. Nearly fifty years have elapsed, and now, more than ever, I recognize and rejoice in my intellectual identity with the boy of fifteen"—that is, as a boy of fifteen, he believed in the *errors* of a work he professed himself unable to understand. We must deny that this betokens a *genus* of mind that could be trusted as the world's guide to truth.

In a like spirit of opposition he tells us that when but six or seven years old he read a Spanish translation of Telemachus so often that he knew it almost by heart, and adds—"It is a curious fact that my first doubt of the truth of Christianity originated in that book before I was quite eight years of age." This betokens not health but radical disease. Such a deviation from the law of human nature, which makes faith in the boy a necessary instinct, and puts off the curse of doubts to distant years, we regard as something monstrous; for to suppose that *doubts* can have a just origin in the mind of even a precocious boy eight years old is absurd: in fact, they prove inherent obliquity; for a mind can only then be qualified for *doubting* when it has erected for itself a standard of truth. We must know truth before we can prove falsehood. Mr. White wrote this, which occurred in 1790, in 1830, and derives much satisfaction from contemplating the doubting man as the son of the doubting boy. Truly "the boy was father of the man." We really think this may be found to be the solution of the sad struggles of his life.

About this period he fell into the hands of a private friend, Don Manuel Maria de Arjona, a fellow of the Colegio Mayor, whose talents were of the highest order, and who appears to have had no small share in the formation of Mr. White's intellectual character. By Arjona's advice he acquired a knowledge of French and Italian, and carefully cultivated his taste and imagination. It is probable, too, that Arjona's career may have otherwise influenced him; for in this brilliant but unhappy man he chose to think that he saw a victim of Christianity, whereas

he saw but a picture of one who sought and failed to become a Christian, amidst circumstances which both its laws and its spirit condemn. Believing that Mr. White's excessive sensibilities through life exercised over his moral and intellectual conclusions an influence which he himself never truly apprehended, we cannot forbear giving the closing notice of his early friend Arjona: the scene alluded to was the act of his sister's profession for life; the remaining chief actors were Mr. White himself and the once high-minded, sincere, enthusiastic Arjona. The narrative proceeds thus:—

"Alas, what a spectacle must we have presented to the all-seeing eye of heaven! My early, my valuable friend, the most successful instructor of my opening mind had, by that time, fallen into habitual and reckless immorality. Whether he rejected all religion at heart I know not, but I was well aware of the utter wreck which his morals had made both *in theory* and practice. He wrote the greatest part of the sermon he was to preach at the approaching ceremony in a state bordering on intoxication, in order to show that the carousal in which he had been engaged during a day spent under the glorious sky of Spain, in the country, had not weakened his style of composition. The ceremony of profession lasted three hours, including the sermon and high mass, during which the heart of the officiating priest was in a state which only the infinite mercy as well as the infinite knowledge of Him who can unravel its secrets, and distinguish the effects of anguish from those of wickedness, could endure and forgive."

We are persuaded that Mr. White never shook off the influence of these early attacks on his sensibilities.

The description of his earliest confessor and the course of religious exercises required of him are all justificatory (as he thinks) of that early dislike which he imbibed toward Christianity. One task of devotion he expressly names as more irksome than all—that of reading audibly the whole service of the breviary for the day, which consumed an hour and a quarter. "Nothing (he thinks) could be more injudicious than this burden upon a boy of his temper and age." But then, we ask, who was to be the judge of this?—and who would be hardy enough to undertake the responsibility (if it had been possible) of making an exception to an universal practice for one mind? "From fourteen to twenty-seven (he adds) I never omitted this most burdensome practice excepting under serious illness." It is our opinion—which we think is the proper reply to all this—that life's duties habitually expose men to tasks far more arduous than this, which are yet borne without such formal querulousness. We imagine it might have been difficult to find any *yoke* which Mr. White would have borne with be-

coming patience. He mentions another task not less irksome, which is called *oracion mental*, being something like *mental prayer*. A kind of skeleton sermon, a dark room, a kneeling posture, closed eyes, attempts to spin out three or four points into sundry mental ponderings, interspersed with ejaculations, formed the principal ingredients of the task. If followed by tears it is the sign of progress, as the Church of Rome teaches that a propensity to shed tears *(donum lachrymans)* is a peculiar gift from heaven. We can quite comprehend that this discipline would be annoying to youth; but still we question if the *personal* annoyance (which Mr. White lays such stress upon) is the proper proof of its being erroneous. The discipline of our public schools is inexpressibly annoying to some minds. We accuse Mr. White, therefore, of using a false balance when he breaks out into vehement expressions against religion for having caused him so much suffering. We find no allusion whatever to one prime and priceless advantage of early trials—that it is good to bear the yoke in our youth. Had this system been devised for *him* alone we could have much more readily sympathised with his galled neck.

An interesting account of his first glimpse of life follows, and we sketch it because it throws further light upon the peculiarities of his character. Twice, between fourteen and twenty-one, at which he was to take sub-deacon's orders—so binding himself for life to the Church—he felt urged to quit it. "An ardent imagination at an early period had been developed in me, with a decided love of every enjoyment that kept it in play. An habitual stranger to amusements, the slightest draught of social pleasure turned my brain with joy." We well understand how such a temperament as this must have hated the yoke imposed upon its natural cravings; but we are decidedly of opinion that the restraints thus imposed must have been of the highest moral value. We have lived to know that a position and duties equally uncongenial to the intellect, the heart, the feelings, and the whole man, as Mr. White's was, may be looked back upon with a boundless gratitude, as the only probable defence against snares which, could the passionate wishes of the heart have been complied with for more congenial circumstances, would have most probably exchanged the recollections of a youth and early manhood of comparative innocence for those of remorse. We think, therefore, that the conditions of Mr. White's being able to enjoy Cadiz (as his worthy father called it, *old Babylon*,) with moral safety, were owing entirely to those which he so unsparingly abused. He often, with justifiable satisfaction, refers to his early purity;

but he does not attribute it, as we do, almost solely to the instrumentality of his early training. We trace the same shortness of view throughout his career. It is, of course, the characteristic of a doubting mind to see the evil and not to see also the good that is wrapped up with it; but it is essentially a defective mind whose conclusions are not to be trusted. We dwell upon such early scenes as these, because we are examining the peculiarities of the root to account for the anomalies in the full-blown shrub.

During his visit—he resided in a house near Cadiz—he illustrates one of the dangers of Romish doctrines, and for primary purposes we cannot pass it by. It was in his father's protocol that he should not visit *old Babylon*; but his friend the lady, with whom he was staying, thought it too hard for him to remain whilst her two companions went. But was it lawful to send him by stealth against his parent's injunctions?—"a knotty point this: but, in a country where every person's conscience is in the keeping of another, in an interminable succession of moral trusts, the individual conscience cannot be under the steady discipline of self-governing principle: all that is practised is *obedience* to the opinions of others, and even that obedience is inseparably connected with the idea of a dispensing power. If you can obtain an opinion favourable to your wishes the responsibility falls on the adviser, and you may enjoy yourself with safety. The adviser, on the other hand, having no consciousness of the action, has no sense of remorse; and thus, the whole morality of the country, except in very peculiar cases, wants the steady ground of individual responsibility." Such is the tendency of Romish doctrine! Accordingly, he adds, he went to Cadiz; and though he returned unharmed by its Babylonish allurements, yet his dislike to the Church was deepened; and the course of his life might thus have been altered, but for the remedy of the "Spiritual Exercises" of St. Ignatius Loyola—"the masterpiece of Church machinery." His descriptions of these are very effective. Under such a reader as Father Viga we can well understand how effects similar to what have often been told of Protestant fanatics were produced. "Agonizing screams, smiting the breast, calling for mercy, walking forth like persons who had just received sentence of death, then looking on the ground in the attitude of utter despair whilst the music was drowned in the convulsive cries of the congregation; all this was followed by general confession—*i.e.*, a detailed account of the previous life of the person who is to make the general confession. Every thought, word, and deed—nay, every doubt—every uncertainty of conscience that can be called to remembrance—must be

stated to the priest at whose feet the self-accuser kneels during the narration. This lasts, in individual cases, four or five days." Well may Mr. White urge that auricular confession is one of the most mischievous practices of the Romish Church. "It is directly calculated, in many cases, not only to check the healthy action of conscience, but to destroy it." He adds on this most important topic—which halting Protestants should well understand ere they expose themselves to dangers which will assuredly operate upon them as upon others —"I will not conceal the truth. Many, indeed, were the evils of which my subsequent unbelief in Christianity was the occasion; yet I firmly believe that, but for the buffettings of that peculiar storm, scarcely a remnant of the quick moral perception which God had naturally given my mind could have escaped destruction by the emaciating poison of confession. Like some wretched slaves, I should have been permanently worse from the custom of sinning and washing the sin by confession."

The result of these spiritual exercises—"when though tears flowed from his eyes, yet his natural taste revolted from that mixture of animal affection with spiritual matters which is of the very essence of enthusiasm"—was to bind him to the Church for life. Another visit of two months to Cadiz caused him to return home more averse than ever to a clergyman's life. He spoke of his fears to his mother, who, he adds, "from that moment never raised her eyes to me without tears." This maternal affection prevailed: "father, mother, confessor, all loved me—all were concerned in the plot of securing me to the Church!" How deeply melancholy is all this! What lessons to others does it loudly teach!—for how could the issue be otherwise than a rugged path along which he would have to walk with bleeding feet to his grave! He thus enters his vehement protest against the forced celibacy of the clergy:—

"Were it consistent with delicacy to detail the effects of that terrible law, which not only enforces celibacy on the clergy, but forbids their recovering their liberty by resigning their office, it might be proved to a demonstration that wherever such a law does exist the standard of morality must suffer a certain debasement, even in the minds of those who might be held up as patterns of purity in their conduct. There is not, there cannot be, a Spaniard high or low, clergyman or layman, ignorant of the fact that the celibacy of the clergy must be kept up at a certain loss of virtue in the country."

He resided as fellow of a college about four years, exchanging severe study for the best Spanish society, which enabled him still further to see the evils of this law. "It is a melancholy fact that the very best Spanish society is full of snares for a

young clergyman. Nothing but settled, selfish, cold-hearted profligacy can save him from great misery and mental distress."

He was ordained when twenty-five years of age, and elected rector of his college. In consideration of this rank the full exercise of the powers of the priesthood at the confessional were granted to him, which afforded him ample insight into the enormous evils of the conventual system. He had to listen to the narratives of nervous recluses, who scarcely deemed themselves safe from an insincere confession, when they had stated every thought, deed, and word, however innocent, which had occurred in the even tenor of their lives; or, to the really painful tales of hopeless misery. The direct tendency, he says, of their confinement is to produce lingering disease, and not unfrequently derangement. He adds—"The *idea* of a nunnery is most exalted, pure, and poetical, in a sermon or work on divinity. The *real* nunnery is a byword for weakness of intellect, fretfulness, and childishness."

Some there were, of course, of good sense and models of fortitude. But he declares that, though in the course of his life he has come into contact with the human mind at various stages of debasement, yet "*souls* more polluted than some of the professed vestals of the Church of Rome never fell within my observation." "It is but justice (Mr. White proceeds to say), that the undisguised disclosure of this melancholy state, made to me by the wretched victims, convinced me that their moral condition would have been much superior, had not the tyranny of their Church been relentless. I say thus much, under the fear of alarming delicacy. But as the policy of Rome reckons on the very feelings of delicacy as a security against the publication of facts which would raise a formidable cry of indignation in countries not completely under the Pope's authority, I feel bound to bear witness, in this manner, to the horrible results to which that Church shows itself utterly indifferent."

We earnestly intreat the attention of English fathers, and mothers, and daughters, to this view of that fascinating object to certain minds—a convent; and, lest it should be thought that Mr. White's private indignation gave too high a colouring to these facts, we subjoin the following note appended to it:—"All this has been read in December, 1840, under a most severe illness, attended with the persuasion that my departure from life is very near. Under these circumstances it is my duty to declare that I exaggerate nothing.—J. B. W."

In giving such extracts as these we have a two-fold object in view: first, to bring forward such *facts* as may serve to warn others of the real character of the Romish Church; and,

secondly, to exhibit these events which must have aided in giving that imperceptible bias to Mr. White's mind which, we fully believe, influenced him afterwards in judging of Christianity itself.

Mr. White soon after obtained an appointment in the Chapel Royal of St. Ferdinand, affording an honourable and comfortable subsistence, together with certain prospect of higher preferment. But the seeds sown began now to produce their fruit in his mind; for about this period he exchanged a sincere belief in the Roman Catholic creed for a total disbelief of Christianity. "My rejection of Christianity (he says) was the necessary result of a free examination of that spurious but admirably contrived form in which I had received it." We altogether deny this conclusion. Not having access to the work in which the origin of this change is described, we can only speak in general terms; but we cannot fail to recognize some radical defect in the structure of a thinking and enquiring mind which could reach the enormous conclusion, that, because the Romish religion contains much falsehood, therefore Christianity is false. We recognize this faulty intellect in Mr. White's subsequent enquiries.

Soon after this change he made the acquaintance of two clergymen, both of whom were violently anti-Christian. The bitterest of these was a dignitary who possessed a secret library of prohibited books, to which he gave Mr. White free access. To these he applied himself with indefatigable industry, and without doubt this period of his life fixed the results which the subsequent public events did only develope with regard to him. It absolutely, he says, settled his lot in life; "and yet such sufferings would be trifling compared with that I was doomed to experience, when an unhappy attachment condemned me to love by stealth, and to dissemble feelings which, being innocent in themselves, an accursed superstition had poisoned and degraded. My circumstances and the state of Spanish society could not but involve me in courses which ended in remorse." Here are important revelations of human weakness, which do not seem to us to be put upon a sound footing—he speaks of necessity for what no temptations could really justify.

We know but too well the lax way in which the world talks of such offences; but we cannot rate highly those moral perceptions which could decide thus of such a case. "I heartily thank God that I have faithfully performed every duty which the strictest morality could demand in consequence of that connection." Was there no possibility, under *any* circumstances of poverty even, of subsequent marriage? We must speak out thus: for after all, let the world say what it may in defence of its own indulgences, the miseries that almost always issue, on

one side at least, prove the violation of fundamental moral laws. There are two parties—the one may escape—but what becomes of the other? Let the merciful frequenter of the haunts of misery give the reply.

We are again arrested by another event to which already some allusion has been made, and to which again we refer, not only because it exercised much influence on Mr. White's plastic nature, but also on account of its public lessons. His sister had determined to take the veil: he saw the baseness of the machinery which effected her slavery. "Father ———, her confessor, was one of those priests who sinned and did penance by rotation."—"To see *him*, therefore, the instrument of consigning his sister to a nunnery—where the rule of St. Francis was observed with the greatest strictness—where the nuns were not allowed a bed and were obliged to sleep on a few planks raised about a foot from the ground—where the use of linen near the body was forbidden—where the nuns wore coarse open sandals, through which the bare foot was exposed to cold and wet—where the nearest relatives were not allowed to see the face of the recluse, except on certain days," &c.—she died about six years afterwards! We have no doubt of the truth of our *theory*, that such scenes as these exerted an influence on Mr. White's almost morbid sensibilities, which gave a bias to his mind in its future judgments upon Christian Churches.

But we must hurry on: circumstances conspired to reconcile his parents to his plan of quitting Spain: in fact, they feared heresy and its consequences. His own profession was now utterly intolerable; he "could not wash off the odious mark, even if he had tried to do it with his blood;" and in this state of mind he embarked at Cadiz for England, where he arrived, without one definite prospect, March 3, 1810. Here he found friends whose kindness saved him much probable distress. Subsequently he set up a Spanish journal which, after occasioning him many troubles (was there ever an editor without troubles?), and taxing very heavily his nervous system, ended in his obtaining from Government a pension of 250*l.* a-year.

Notwithstanding the labour of six hours daily entailed upon him by this journal, he eagerly pursued general knowledge, particularly the English language and Greek. To this he added the more important one of the Christian religion. And here at once we catch glimpses of that doubting mental tendency which ultimately led him downwards to depths in which, if he could swim, millions would utterly perish. He begins to assert the supremacy of reason by putting forth such sentiments as these:—

"I scarcely know a more grievous and general evil than the established habit of making inferences for others, and asserting that, by doubting or denying certain portions of the common systems, every man must doubt or deny the vital truths of Christianity. The general tendency could not exist, if men could as freely express their notions and sentiments on religion as upon other subjects."

There are fundamental errors involved in this mode of speaking which we cannot stop to point out, but the fact is not true; for men can and do speak out their sentiments, and the general consequences are the immoral infidelity which poisons so much of society. Where one like Mr. White rejects "common systems," through the love of abstract truth, thousands are proved to reject them, as Christ said they would—"Because they love darkness rather than light, their deeds being evil." Again he says—"This character breaks out in every thing I have written—*I must come and see*"—that is, faith is to be rejected and reason is to rule supreme. But the very form in which Mr. White chose to express this might almost appear designed to contradict the maxim of Christ—"Blessed are they who have not *seen* and yet have believed."

But we proceed with the narrative. We saw Mr. White landing in England, an unbeliever in Christianity. His studies again restored his belief; and, in accordance with this change, he commenced a residence at Oxford, solely for the purpose of perfecting his knowledge of Greek and extending that of divinity. Here he renewed his studies in good earnest, but his constitution was broken; and the distressing complaint which ever since had deprived him of comfort and strength, and at times made life a burden, was rapidly gaining ground. He struggled vigorously against it, "but his days were miserable and his nights wretched!" This plan was broken up by his accepting the tutorship of Lord Holland's son, which he retained for two years during much suffering. After quitting Holland House, we find him seeking the comforts of home in different places, until he is again settled at Oxford. Here the university complimented him with the degree of M.A., and here he wrote that piece of autobiography which has hitherto been our guide.

The next source of our information is obtained from a remarkably interesting document which is termed "A Sketch of his Mind in England." It was begun November 7, 1834, and ended August 8, 1839. In this he professes to give an account of the "intellectual workings of a man who has loved truth above all things." Here at once occurs a startling extract from a former journal—"when I made open profession of *atheism*." We suggest whether the mind which could ever be-

lieve that there was no God must not be charitably judged as somewhere radically defective. It is no disproof whatever, as we think, of this radical defect (so we charitably judge) to say that "Catholicism had worked him into that madness!" The inference from the falsehood of any one form of religion whatever to atheism is so complete a *non sequitur*, that we never could trust that intellect afterwards for any of its conclusions.

In this chapter we find ourselves at once launched out into the widest and most shoreless seas of controversy. In stating and commenting upon a few only of the more dangerous opinions, we hope to read an important lesson to others when we show the penalty which Mr. White paid for relinquishing the reins to reason alone, by exhibiting the awful conclusions he was thus necessarily led to embrace. We trust it may act upon many as the account of a fearful wreck, to which a daring captain had exposed his vessel, would act upon a sailor. Of course, Mr. White would soon find ample scope in the old field for doubts on miracles and inspiration, and he thus dogmatically puts forth his convictions —"The *grace* or *favour* of God, as manifested in his spiritual gifts, cannot but act in conformity with the laws of the human mind. It is impossible to distinguish the works of grace (as divines call them) from the works of our moral and intellectual nature." As this opinion lies at the root of Mr. White's discoveries we must briefly discuss it. Of course, we must admit the axiom—for such it must be called—that God does not act upon the human mind in violation of the laws which he himself assigned to it. The most thorough believers, like ourselves, in the miracles and inspiration of the Scriptures, do not suppose that, in the performance of miracles, any original law was violated. When Christ raised Lazarus from the dead, that act was actually agreeably to a published law; for the future resurrection of the dead is declared to be the work of Christ. Because the power of man over the machinery both of body and mind is limited by clear laws, it does not, therefore, follow that they are not susceptible of *higher* influences, of the same kind, from other sources. It may be as *natural, i.e.*, agreeable, to fixed laws that the body should be raised again as that it should die; and hence the fact of the resurrection of Lazarus may be more defintely spoken of than by the vague word *miracle*. So the mind of man is susceptible to various influences having their origin in this globe: our fellow-men—the objects of creation—the works of art—its own thoughts—all can move the mind and produce effects that cannot be always reduced to definite rules. But the enquiry which Mr. White omitted is this—is the human mind influenced by no objects but those strictly connected

with visible creation? We have no wish to lose sight of the plain truth that when God designed the soul of man to abide in this part of his creation, he impressed upon it certain laws or ideas without which it would have been no more fitted to live in it than the body, if that had not been constructed in reference to the peculiarity of the atmosphere and other agents of this globe. It must, therefore, be bound by terrestrial laws. But, did he who created the human soul so break off all connection with it as to leave himself without access to it? Cannot God act upon it, according to its own laws under which he sent it forth, and so produce higher effects upon it, without transgressing those laws, than any of the other known agents? This is, we think, the simple question of inspiration—whether God has so constructed the human soul as to leave himself without access to it, unless by violating the laws under which he sent it forth to dwell in this globe. Of course such access is possible.

Some will admit it is probable—we think itis certain. We suppose Mr. White would deny the *miracle* of St. Paul's conversion, and deny his power of "distinguishing grace from the workings of nature:" and yet there was no violation of the laws of the human mind: there was a light—this St. Paul saw agreeably to the visual laws of his nature: there was a voice—this he heard according to the auricular laws of his nature: he fell to the earth, rose up, was blasted by excess of light—all natural actions: where then, in all this, was the miracle? The historian of the scene says the effects were produced by what he calls "a light from heaven," and a "voice" purporting to come from Jesus Christ. Admitting only that God has not shut up all access to man, there was no violation of any laws in all this: the senses were appealed to and through them the soul was reached. St. Paul felt the difference between all other movements of his soul and this: no influences by which he was surrounded had ever wrought thus upon him before: human language had but one word to describe the conscious influence that had been exercised over his soul—it is that word which we have translated by *grace*; and yet Mr. White denies that any miracle can be proved, and denies grace and inspiration—probably he would have denied this history, or called it a myth. We must then, after all, measure Mr. White's belief and unbelief in this and similar events by another standard than want of evidence. Mr. White affirms that his disbelief was in accordance with *his own* intellectual nature: we must, then, put in the counter reply—we could not refuse to believe the truth of these miracles and deny their influences without doing violence to *our own* intellectual nature. And

hence we must conclude that there was something in the structure of Mr. White's mind different from that of nearly the whole of the educated and intellectual portion of the world, with whom we agree in our conclusions, and with whom Mr. White does not agree: this, we believe, is the judgment of charity in the case before us.

We cannot enter into all the reasons by which he professes to have been convinced of the falsehood of all views of Christianity but his own—his own "*mental* Christianity:" one instance, however, must include their substance:—

"When I became thoroughly convinced that revelation did not give mankind the means of infallible certainty in regard to its supposed disclosures, I had no more to do with the body of theological doctrines."

All this is, we conceive, founded upon false views of the moral and intellectual condition of our race; it belongs to what man *may* be, not what he is; for infallible certainty is neither found amongst us nor is required; for the most momentous affairs of life are conducted upon evidence far indeed removed from infallible;* and it is probable that this apparent defect imparts vigor to the mind in its movements, according to its constitution, the disadvantages being thus counteracted by other advantages. It ought not, therefore, to be a stumbling-block to find that God, in planning and imparting his revelation, has acted "according to the laws of the human mind" in this its state of imperfection. The apostle says, "we walk by faith, not by sight"—this involves the Christian's wholesome discipline; but it is quite incompatible with infallible certainty, which would tend to the destruction of the habit of faith; and what should we be, or do, without faith, since it is imposed upon us daily to make provisions and plans for the future, as to all that is dearest to us, although we cannot command the destroying events of the next hour?

Such are the tyrannous demands of reason unbalanced by its kindred coadjutors. It forced Mr. White to admit reluctantly, after examination, that Christianity "in its substance must be divine." But what that substance was, or where it was to be found, reason claimed alone to determine. Hence he would select portions of the received Gospel histories as truly telling what Christianity was, and would reject the rest—that is to say, he virtually accuses St. John and the others of falsifying the words and deeds of Christ.

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* See this illustrated in *The Church of England Quarterly Review*, No. XXXV., p. 75, "On the Natural Limits of Subscription."

As we watch the progress of his mind always, as we think, in a *downward* descent, other sentiments occur which tell but too plainly their own story. Thus, in abusing the English Prayer Book (because, as it elsewhere slips out, it reminded him of the hated breviary, his early tormentor), he talks of the "absolutely discordant traits in which the Deity is represented. At one moment he appears in the terrific aspect of a God of *pure might*—a Being whom there is no chance of propitiating but by the means which sometimes appease an eastern despot: the suppliant must stretch his neck and call himself most humiliating names," &c. Passing by the execrable taste of this mode of speaking of a book so dear to the hearts of thousands, it is liable to another charge—a false *subjective* interpretation; for to affirm that the compilers of the Prayer Book *meant* to give utterance to such sentiments is too gross to require contradiction. Mr. White put *his own* subjective interpretation upon words which admit of, and, in almost every other case, receive, another subjective interpretation; and this is the simple refutation of the libel. The sense of guilt, and therefore of provocations against the Deity, is stronger in some minds than in others, and thus the amount of import attached to certain phrases (*e. g.*, "Have mercy upon us miserable sinners") will vary in different minds. But that the majority of minds find epithets of the Deity in the Prayer Book to which they do or can attach such servile meanness, is altogether untrue. Mr. White denied the doctrine of what is called "original sin," and could not, therefore, approve of a book written by those, and for those, who are so far from denying it that they believe it to be impossible to account for the universal facts of human nature without it, independently of their believing it to be a clear point of revelation. Mr. White's own intellect and sensibilities were, however, evidently set up as the standard of God's moral government of the world: hence he presumes to measure the truth of the Old Testament histories, not by legitimate criticism, but by his own keen sensibilities. Thus, he tells us—"The massacre of the priests of Baal, and the horrible destruction of the last of the family of Saul, never failed to fill me with horror." * We may pity one who was so much the slave

* A note is appended to this, asking what lessons such tales can teach people but the injustice of God's government? This deduction is too far-fetched to be true. The lessons which such accounts teach the simple hearer are the sure punishment of sin. Nor is the equity of God doubted, because the full history is not given. The treatment of King Adonibezek would seem harsh; yet we hear his own confession—"Seventy kings, having their thumbs and their toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table. As I have done so hath God requited me."

of an useless compassion; but the following attack, resulting from it, is unjustifiable:—"Reason need not be too bold to suspect some foul play of the managers of the oracle with the monarch who had been set up by them to the exclusion of the family of Saul." Now, if there be any such thing in the world as *true* history, we believe it is found in the Old Testament. When we see this same King David's offences laid bare without mercy (as Mr. White has *not* laid bare his own offences) we are morally sure that, if the king had been infamous enough to corrupt God's priests for this purpose, his guilt would have been recorded. If this history is false we may disbelieve all history, even Mr. White's, and reject his own version of the deeds of his life for others more agreeable to the usual course of mankind. Surely the same sensibilities which Mr. White's reason set up for guaging the truth of history, the rectitude of God's moral administration, must have secretly condemned him for such evils as the earthquake at Lisbon and the great plagues which, at different times, have agonized the human race. He goes on to say—"I never heard the Old Testament lessons without pain." Well, and what then?—what does that prove? That the thousands, whose mental emotions during the same seasons are of a totally different kind, are wrong, and Mr. White's were right. We are astonished at such egotism. He immediately adds, elevating before us the same deified standard —"Let Christians be undeceived—let them listen to the voice of a man whose experience on these subjects must surpass whatever knowledge of faith and unbelief they themselves possess!" He then lets us into his disbelief of the Old Testament thus:—"A commentary upon the Old Testament Sunday lessons may be easily written which, proceeding upon the common notions of the infallibility and equal inspiration of the whole Bible, would make the merest clown turn away from the whole book with as much disdain as any philosopher of the old French school." At once we reply, such comments—hundreds of them—may be written, but would they be *true* ones?—true, as explaining what the writers intended to convey, for there is no other true commentary. We do not suppose Mr. White was so ignorant of infidel and blasphemous literature as not to know that such commentaries have been written; and the basest of human vice-steeped souls, we know but too well, find in them their appropriate food; but this cannot be avoided. To the pure all things are pure, and *vice versâ*. Tom Paine's imagination found the bestial carrion-food it craved for, and would have, in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel; but was that a *true* commentary?

Mr. White speaks of the "controversial spirit" of the Prayer Book. If we understand the import of the word *spirit* we must deny the charge, and again refer it to his own subjective standard of interpretation. He goes on to assert—"The baptismal service is controversial from beginning to end:" so it appeared to his doubting mind, which sought and found controversy everywhere. He taunts us with using the sacraments "as charms operating by means of invisible powers attached to certain things and words." This is but the chosen language of headlong infidelity for falsifying the Christian's views of what he believes to be Christ's own ordinances. The believer in the Gospels, having demonstrated as infallibly as his moral nature admits and requires for its practical wants that the sacrament of baptism is a divine ordinance, simply believes that God will bless it *as* his own ordinance. By what Mr. White sneeringly denominates "invisible powers," the Christian reverently means the promised agency of God upon the human soul, according to his own mode of influencing it. The natural world furnishes no evidences that God ever produces results but by appropriate means—*i.e.*, by means appointed by his own naked will. So we look for spiritual results only from appropriate means—*i.e.*, means devised by his own naked will, which we, through the ignorance of our terrestrial nature, are absolutely unable to question. Mr. White would deny the miracle of Christ curing the blind man by the arbitrarily chosen instrumentality of clay ointment: we as heartily believe it, upon evidence which completely satisfies every want and intellectual demand for proofs. Of course, therefore, we find not the slightest difficulty in believing that he who could arbitrarily bless clay can arbitrarily bless water, when used, *because*, and *as*, he directs it to be used. But to designate these effects by the word *charm* is merely ignorance, or wilful blindness, or perversion of terms.

He declaims against sermons in this way: "An impartial observation has convinced me that the established practice of a sermon, as a necessary part of the public worship, is productive of much evil. Preaching is regarded as a kind of sacrament—a charm which increases grace in the soul. The torrent of unmeaning words on a Sunday morning, poured forth in England and Ireland, must surely appal, unless habit had deprived of common sense." We produce this, which is mere declamation, not for refutation which it cannot require, but as a specimen of conclusions which were to lead to truth. In reading such ill-tempered attacks, we are reminded that Mr. White conducted most of his latter inquiries under constant bodily suffering. We

shall leave it to others to judge how little it is likely that poor human nature could escape the usual penalties which protracted bodily and mental sufferings exact both from the intellect and heart. We really deem this to be the judgment of charity.

We must yet linger about this period as that from which the rest of his life took its character. In August 1814, he signed the thirty-nine Articles, having been admitted by Dr. Howley as a clergyman of the English Church. He at once proceeded to the formal study of theology, and unfolds to us how he gradually arrived at the conclusion that the Bible is not an inspired book. We have no space for examining arguments which we think fallacious; but we must notice one on which he used much stress—"the authenticity of those writings is only historical probability." We have already shown that, by our providential dispensation, we neither can have, nor do we *practically* need, *certainty*. How can we be *certain* as to the authorship or contents of any historical document? The fact is, this bare imperfection, which, abstractedly regarded, may of course be proved to be an evil, is however accounted for, and practically met, by other considerations belonging to our nature and condition, and thus occasion but few real difficulties, and those mainly of speculation. Hence then the list which Mr. White gives of the *uncertainties* of the supposed *certainty* is a tissue of worthless sophistries. The conclusion of all his search, however, contains a moral which we would impress upon all. "Long, morally dangerous, and intellectually laborious, has been the process by which I arrived at this conclusion." The "moral danger" we conceive to be so dreadful, that if Mr. White did escape it (as he did not), he must owe it to some rare circumstances; for the proper goal of such a career would have been utter infidelity.

Formal notice is given about the time of the disease in his digestive organs, which had now made such rapid progress. We rather lean to the Frenchman's theory, that a man's philosophy a good deal depends upon his digestion. Ignorant of this, some one asked how it could be that his philosophy which, before dinner, seemed so sublime, after it seemed nonsense. There is a physical as well as a moral philosophy, and such a stern lover of truth as Mr. White, who sacrificed all to one, should have dealt in like manner with the other. "Prudence (says an American whom Mr. White would have admired) takes the laws of the world, whereby man's being is conditioned, as they are, and keeps these laws that it may enjoy their proper good. It respects space and time, climate, want, sleep, the law of polarity, growth, and death." The philosopher's objects in eating,

drinking, sleeping, and exercise, are to satisfy exactly the laws of this corporeal machine. A certain amount, and of a certain kind, of food and drink, fulfils these laws—more is a direct violation of them. Lord Holland's table, we think, must have severely tried the virtue of an anchoret even. It is with no gossiping spirit that we regret not to have found some declarations of his daily self-denialand primitive habits: of course, he was temperate in the popular sense; but we ask if he was, in the philosopher's sense—*i.e.*, of never eating and drinking *one morsel* and *one drop* beyond nature's requirements? We have our own theory of the effects of the body upon the intellect, and, therefore, we have never been able to disunite altogether Mr. White's strange intellectual conclusions from the bodily premises of incessant anguish.

Soon after this he quitted Oxford, having accepted the tutorship of Lord Holland's son. During the whole of this period his bodily sufferings became daily worse and intolerable; yet his religious fervour increased, and he observed his devotions and meditations with a kind of monastic regularity. To this are added specimens of his thoughts, which prove to us an unhealthy state of mind. In the midst of all this he pursued his studies with the utmost industry—never losing a moment he could call his own. But we find no proof that he observed the laws of health, which no *philosopher*, in our opinion, is justified in violating. The penalty always follows, and we find it—such is our own fixed opinion in Mr. White's writings and conclusions.

We find an account of the process by which he was led to reject the doctrines of the Trinity, the atonement, and original sin, which it is impossible can be an example for others. If truth cannot be arrived at but by such means, the multitudes must die in error. He proceeds—"My doubts on the Trinity, and the atonement, though exceedingly distressing, were stimulants to indefatigable study. Though extremely ill I continued the study of Hebrew. I studied the New Testament in Greek regularly every day. I availed myself of the best commentators." The result was, that in December he resolved to embrace Unitarianism. Thus, then, the great step in his life was taken, in perfect honesty, we doubt not; but how some of his strongest arguments could work conviction in his mind is a problem we are unable to solve. They are such as these—"I cannot find better authority in the Scripture for asserting that Christ is God who created the world—the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—than for defending transubstantiation; he who declares himself to be man cannot be God." Of course, all this had before passed through the minds of thousands, and received those simple replies that gave complete

satisfaction. The only novelty, then, is that they should have disturbed Mr. White.

One of his favourite themes was the evils of orthodoxy: in reference to this on one occasion he says—"Who can conceive the miseries of the mental slavery which I had tried so desperately to escape?" To all common minds such strong language must be quite unintelligible. "It might be imagined that, having so far successfully combatted the evils produced by orthodoxy—*i.e.*, the belief that right opinions in dogmatic theology are necessary to salvation, &c." As an abstract doctrine this, of course, admits of discussion. It is, however, perfectly certain, as a general truth, that right opinions must be necessary to salvation, because actions are the offspring of opinions. The worst crimes have been defended by attempts to prove that the opinions which led to them were right. All this is included in Pope's line—

"His (faith) can't be wrong whose life is in the right"—

Both this and Mr. White's opinions, however, are about as reasonable as it would be to say—if the tree does but bear fruit, what signifies whether it has any *root* or not?

We have hitherto followed two guides—the "Letter to Dr. Whately," and the "History of his own Mind." The larger portion of the volumes still lies expanded before us; but we can make little other use of it than to select and show the fallacy of a few more of his specimens, together with learning the remaining changes which took place in his outward life. In August, 1826, we find him at Oxford, where his name was entered at Oriel. Here he made acquaintance with men who have since stirred up society from its foundations—Dr. Whately, Mr. Newman, ("his deceiving pride is more deeply seated") Dr. Pusey ("a vain man"), Mr. Daniel, and others. In 1828, he took up his residence in London, for the purpose of editing the *London Review*, which, having entirely failed, he again returned to Oxford. In 1832, he visited Archbishop Whately and became tutor to his son; and, though from his want of the requisite talent for teaching he relinquished this charge, yet he found a happy home there and other advantages which followed him to the grave.

In reading extracts from his journals, we are struck with painful astonishment at the restlessness of a mind whose natural element seemed to be endless doubtings and sharp controversies. To us, some of these objects seem little more worthy of his grave wrath and serious onslaughts than Sancho's mills. One of our objects, however, in bringing forward so many of Mr. White's opinions is to warn others of what they will have to encounter, should they thus give the curbless rein to reason

and permit it daringly to combat every body and every thing. Thus he records his opinions of the Old Testament: "It is a collection of venerable records of the peculiar government of God in relation to that people from which Christ was to come. But why should an alternative be made, either to believe that the writers of these books never *added a miracle or an ornament?*" &c. We consider such unproved charges as these deserving of no meek rebukes; for could we imagine that one of these writers had fabricated a miracle, affirming it to be a work of God, whilst he knew he was uttering a lie, his object being the utterly base one of mere popular gratification, he would altogether lose our confidence in anything else he might say. In fact, we should probably include such a man in our definition of a blasphemer. This suspicion, however, proves how little he knew of the permanent effects which early habits had produced on his mind; for, in fact, this suspicion would not unnaturally occur to a mind which had been reared in a Church where such deceits were systematically practiced. The archbishop's sagacity perceived this bias, though Mr. White thought the allusion to it an insult: hence, on one occasion, he kindly warned him "of the necessity of being on his guard against reviving *early* prejudices of great horror against bishops and priests."

We cannot pass by, as showing the better parts of Mr. White's mind, the circumstances under which the next and the last important change took place in his life. He took alarm on one occasion at a remark made by Dr. Whately, that "nothing too radical ought to appear in writings dated from the episcopal palace." Instantly, he tells us, he felt the chains about him; and the agony of his mental conflict, as he at once determined on the self-sacrificing step, may be collected from such expressions as these—"But, alas! must I quit such dear friends as the Whatelys?—must I tear myself away from this circle of more than relatives—from the archbishop himself, who is more kind than any brother could be to me?" In the same sad strain he proceeds—"Among the evils which religion, represented as a sect held together by the possession of certain metaphysical doctrines, has so long inflicted on mankind, none is equal to that of the disturbance of friendship and of affection. And yet how incurable that evil appears, in spite of the monstrous unreasonableness by which it is supported and fed!" This we regard as mere utopianism, utterly inapplicable to the coarse realities of this world; for it is similarity of pursuits and opinions which form the natural basis of friendship; and hence, when any entire change of sentiments takes place on one

side, it is scarcely to be avoided that conversations and intercourse, which had once the real charm of *harmony*, should not now degenerate to the irritation of opposition. Moreover, so long as the head of a family holds a class of opinions which he deems vital to salvation, it is but natural that he should dread seeing his children and family exposed to examples and conversation directly subversive of them.

In a letter to Mr. Armstrong he says—"You must not suppose that I am a materialist, fatalist, &c.; I only hold the *indifference* of these theories." We must ask whether the reason which could reach such a conclusion as this could be trusted to conduct its unhappy servant to truth? If Mr. White could see no difference upon such points as these—foundation, vital points—the only reply we should think it necessary to give is this: no more does a blind man comprehend the difference between colours, when taking up a substance in which, to his perceptions, the important accidents, with which its maker has invested it, are unreal and of no consequence!

On January 2, 1835, he wrote to the archbishop, announcing his change of opinion and his resolution to take up his residence at Liverpool. He writes in his journal, January 9th, "Waiting in anguish for the hour of departure." January 10th, he notes his arrival at Liverpool thus: "My whole life has not had moments so bitter as those I have experienced within the last half hour." At Liverpool he spent the last days of his life—a martyr, we willingly admit, to what he believed to be truth.

In quoting a remark made to him by Dr. D——, "Take your religion from Paul, and read with humility; wait and you will be instructed"—amongst other angry comments upon this wholesome advice, we find the following: "Now, what we denote by *sense* does not lie in the words themselves any more than the perception of colour in the object that excites it: we call by that name the notions which they raise in each mind. What notions were in the mind of Paul when he wrote each sentence is known to God, but we cannot find it for certainty. Paul, therefore, to each of us is what we understand Paul to say." We conceive such monstrous sentiments to be totally subversive of that necessary confidence in language, as a vehicle of our thoughts to others, implanted in mankind in their original nature, without which the whole character of human intercourse must be changed. If this doctrine be true, a man may break the written laws of the land *ad libitum*, and shelter himself against the justice of punishment by affirming that "the law was to him what he understood the law to say." We do not

think that the conclusions of a mind which could adopt such extraordinary first principles of thought and language ought to shake the faith of any plain understanding. It is only to say in reply to them that Mr. White's reason forced him to put a sense upon certain words and phrases contrary to that which the reason of almost all the Christian world forces them to put: and no one need trouble himself further to read his subtle arguments. It is reduced to the controversy of the two knights before the black and white sides of the shield, who never could agree until the one could persuade himself that black meant white, and the other that white meant black.

Upon the Virgin's miraculous conception, he says—"In spite of the manuscripts and criticisms, I cannot doubt that this narrative has the impress of falsehood indelibly set upon it." Now, we ask in what sense this is the decision of lofty *reason?* He defies the manuscript and criticism, because they both prove that the chapter which contains the account of it is genuine; and so expects to be believed, because he does not think it is reasonable. Why this is not a step beyond the reason of Tom Paine and the men who trade in blasphemy!

The following piece of simplicity considerably lowered Mr. White's good sense in our estimation—"My friend the Archbishop of Dublin is *not* an Unitarian: I know the character of his mind, and from that knowledge, I may add, he never will become an Unitarian; not from want of candour—not from want of mental ability—but from a peculiar constructiveness (if I may use the language of phrenology) which fixes him immoveably to the views, which, with admirable talent and industry, he worked out for himself in his youth." In plain words, this must mean that the archbishop's reason was no guide to truth, in consequence of what we (to drop Mr. White's fine word and to use a plainer speaking one) must call his grace's pig-headed obstinacy in resisting conviction.

The editor, Mr. Thom, has set an excellent example to book-compilers in the generous spirit in which he has refused to bring forward letters whose private allusions might have annoyed the living and so procured a better sale for his books. This he mentions in the preface, and for it he deserves public thanks. But we fear he could not resist the temptation of disturbing the ashes of one noble proselyte to Unitarianism. That the late Lord Holland's opinions upon religious topics could be right must, we think, be almost reduced to the doctrine of chances. His lordship owns that his must be the opinions of an ignorant because of an unstudying man; and yet he adds in a letter (which, had we been in Mr. Thom's place,

we would have kept back upon his own principle), after some remarks proving his absolute unfitness for writing one syllable on a theme so solemn—"So you see we meet very nearly." We do not remember to have seen so much before of his lordship's theological opinions. We submit, however, that Mr. Thom must have mistaken the inevitable indirect inference as to the truth of the opinion.

Mr. White thus answers Pilate's celebrated question—What is truth?—"That which reason tells us to have been proved to exist, or to have existed." We write this surrounded by human beings engaged in absorbing rural employments, whose education, in many instances at least, is probably as good as the providence of God intended it should be; and when we measure the truth of this definition by its applicability to them as a legitimate standard—legitimate, because to know God and his will in reference to themselves, is as important to them, as it was to Mr. White—we feel how utterly erroneous it is; and as, after all, the whole fabric of Mr. White's new opinions rested upon it, their awful insecurity may be thus estimated.

We submit another consequence to those who will follow Mr. White's career. He says—"A firm belief in a never-ending life after death is demanded as a condition of Christianity. This and all similar demands of assent to facts beyond experience arise from the supposition that the first duty of a Christian is implicit belief in the Bible;" "I am not tempted to complain even when the *possiblity* of the cessation of my personality occurs to me." How most deeply heart-sinking is all this!—to doubt the immortality of the soul! What a price to pay for being a rationalist—for trusting to reason to settle questions which, if unprovoked, she would hardly dare to tamper with, so utterly beyond her grasp do they instinctively appear to be!

He gives such directions as these to a lady correspondent, whose enquiries and replies awakened more than once our indignation and pity at her teazed and embarrassed mind:—

"I do not say that social prayer is wrong; I only remind you that it has a bad tendency which must be guarded against: the silent prayer of the Quaker is infinitely better. The New Testament contains the purest spirit of Christianity; but that pure spirit must be drawn from it by means of the spirit within us; that spirit (the conscientious reason, which is God himself) must make the selection between what is human and what is divine in those books. The notion that these books are the source of Christianity is, in my view, a great and mischievous error."

Once more to the same misguided pupil he writes thus:—"What then is Christianity? Christianity was properly expressed by Jesus himself as liberty from dogmas and practices as means of spiritual safety—*i. e.* salvation, under the acknowledgment of God and of conscience, as his voice." We sincerely think that one of the best replies to Mr. White's demands of the world, to admit him as the discoverer of a new religion, is to bring forward tenets like these, as designed for the safe guidance of such beings as we are.

In the same self-confident tone he writes:—

"The moral picture of Jesus of Nazareth may be drawn from the Gospels in spite of their greatly corrupted historical character. But the original picture must be restored as an artist of genius restores an ancient statue by means of its incomplete fragments. The work here is not difficult, provided the *love* of the miraculous does not distract the moral sense; the fragments for the most part breathe the spirit of the whole. The image thus conceived by minds of congenial spirit is the only Christ we can possibly know."

That is to say, the Gospel histories are falsified, the writers having set down for facts what they knew were falsehoods; and Mr. White, by his own notion of the character of Christ, can construct gospels which shall contain only what Christ really spoke and did! If this is not self-conceit and presumption of no common degree, we have quite mistaken their ordinary symptoms. In every point of view in which we consider this statement, whether historical, critical, moral, or religious, we cannot resist the conclusion that the mind which could put it forth appears to us to be altogether unworthy of the confidence of sober thinkers.

One more of these rationalistic opinions and we have done. He calls Butler's "Analogy" "an inferior work." Now we own our profound admiration of this great performance. In endeavouring, then, to account for such discrepancy, not only between Mr. White and ourselves, but between Mr. White and (so far as we know) the whole reading and thinking world, the story occurred to us of the man confined as being of unsound mind, who, when asked the cause, replied—"Why, the world thought I was mad: and I, on the contrary, thought the world mad; but the world, being the majority, outvoted me, so here I am."

Mr. White began the year 1838 with these most melancholy words (but too true an echo of many former ones—of the words of one who had rejected the Comforter of the Gospel), "I have a hope it will be the last of my life—all hopes of usefulness have died with me." He lingered on, amidst great suffering

both mental and bodily, and died May 20th, aged sixty-six. He was buried in Renshaw-street Chapel, Liverpool.

We hardly think it necessary to apologise for the length to which our remarks have been drawn out, when we consider the excessive importance attached to these volumes by certain parties. A cursory notice would have been worse than useless. We should have felt ourselves exposed to the charge of sheltering ourselves under generals because we dared not encounter particulars. Enough, however, we hope, has been done to show that, though we should advise but few indeed to peruse these volumes, it is not because Mr. White has achieved his purpose of proving the falsehood of all that the English Church holds most dear. It is of the very nature of objects of pure faith that they lay open to the easy attacks of reason. We have never forgotten the warning given by a deep thinker of the last generation, that certain books should never be read by plain minds but as a *duty*. He illustrates the danger by saying that he once wantonly read the whole of Tom Paine's writings; and though he could, at the time, easily refute every one of his arguments, yet Satan made the contents of those books an instrument of torture during seasons of mental weakness throughout his subsequent life. Of course we are not instituting a disrespectful comparison between Mr. White and the immoral author of the "Age of Reason;" yet we would *equally* warn the general reader against both: for though but few could read and comprehend Mr. White's subtle metaphysics to their injury, yet all might the sneers, coütempt, and downright scorn with which he again and again speaks of the mysteries of of the Gospel. Altogether we regard the work as holding out one of the most fearful warnings that modern times have given of the dangers of submitting to the tyranny of reason alone: the puny dwarf self-confidently struggling to perform the feats of a giant. In Germany it led Schleiermacher to pantheism and Fichte to Atheism; and in England it led Mr. Blanco White to the very verge of utter infidelity. Reason can no more find out God by its own efforts than man can create an universe. To bring the world into being we must have recourse to God; and how much more, then, is it requisite to have recourse to him and divine revelation in order to know what that Being is who hath made the worlds? And we delight in the thought that there is an acquisition of still greater value than knowledge, into the possession of which we are brought by believing in Scripture—namely, BEING LIKE GOD.

ART. VIII.—*Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies, previous to the Independence of the United States, chiefly from the MS. Documents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* By ERNEST HAWKINS, B.D., Fellow of Exeter College, Prebendary of St. Paul's, &c. London: 1845.

AS we lingered over the interesting narrative which Mr. Hawkins has woven of zealous industry, rejoicing hope, and patience truly working by love, the lines of Wordsworth rose freshly to the recollection :—

> "Not sedentary all; there are who roam
> To scatter seeds of life on barbarous shores;
> Or quit with zealous step their knee-worn floors,
> To seek the general mart of Christendom;
> When they, like richly-laden merchants, come
> To their beloved cells."

The volume is devoted to the growth and progress of missionary enterprise in North America during the eighteenth century. It was at the commencement of that epoch—so prominent in the history of civilization and literature—that a society was organised with the sublime object of diffusing, by the agency of duly ordained ministers, the blessing of religious wisdom; of pouring into the thirstiest regions of the earth the clear streams of Gospel truth, through the golden pipes of Church services. We speak of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. During almost one hundred years the current of purifying doctrine flowed chiefly into the North American colonies, with the exception of Virginia and Maryland. Wonderful have been the changes of time! When the first mission of the society was established in New England, in 1702, the entire population of the North American colonies did not exceed 250,000: at the present day it amounts to 17,000,000, advancing every hour with tremendous strides. To trace the growth of divine truth in regions so rude and uncultivated—to mark its gradual putting forth of leaves and blossoms, until its boughs have stretched themselves to the river, giving protection to the wayfarer from the storm and shadow from the heat—is the aim of the book to which we are anxious to direct the attention of our readers. Nor is it easy to over-estimate its importance; being, in the words of the author, written not to supersede any other work upon the subject, but because no other existed. Some fragmentary information had been supplied, but rendered comparatively useless by the want of

continuity and completeness. Mr. Hawkins has filled up the gap by producing a narrative of missionary exertion, at once authentic and pleasing, and enriched by numerous extracts from original letters which his official connection with the society enabled him to consult. That the charm of the work should reside in its truth, and the copious assistance it affords to the future historian of the Colonial Church, is to be regarded as a remarkable instance of self-denial and religious humility in the author: he might have expanded and coloured his simple narrative into a succession of glowing pictures of enthusiastic faith and noble devotion; he might have built the temple, of which he has furnished the wood and marble; have given expression and beauty to the statue, of which he has so correctly indicated the features and costume. The literature of the Church may probably gain by a division of the toil: those histories have ever been the most excellent of which the materials being collected at one season the narrative was constructed at another: the enquiring eye is sometimes too eager, and the collecting hand too profuse. The calmer scrutiny of selection thus becomes advantageous. The records of the North American Missions require more than ordinary skill and grace in their composition to captivate the indifferent eye; they are, in a great degree, deficient in the attractive influences of association. Unlike the palm-groves of India, and the wildernesses of Africa, they make no immediate demand upon the sympathy of the reader; there is in them little poetry of recollection; the page glows with few stories of thrilling martyrdom or beautified genius. We read of no Schwartz, no Martyn, no Heber—the only name that largely partakes of this magical power is Berkley. He, indeed, might claim his place among apostles, as his piety would have lifted him among martyrs; of scholars the most accomplished, as of Christians the most alluring; the philosopher, the poet, the man of taste; the delight of the refined and of the good; beloved by saints for his heavenly conversation, and by men of wit for his intellectual elegance; a man whose conduct even Swift did not ridicule, who took the sting from the satire of Pope, and drew from the intemperate Atterbury the noble confession, "that so much understanding, so much knowledge, and so much humility, he did not think had been the portion of any but angels, until he saw that gentleman."

Other names, indeed, of historical brightness are incidentally or remotely connected with the propagation of the Gospel in North America, and especially those of the chivalrous Raleigh and his mathematical instructor Hariot. In 1589, Raleigh made a considerable donation, with the express object of plant-

ing the Christian religion; and Hariot, who accompanied him in the expedition of that year, was accustomed, in every town where he was able, to make declarations of the contents of the Bible; and certainly its reception appears to have been singularly animating and consolatory: many pressed forward "to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke all over their body with it, to show their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of." Nor was James himself indifferent to this good cause, as we may gather from the charter granted to the company for the improvement of trade and plantations in Virginia. We may remark that more than one of Donne's admirable sermons was preached before this company, of which Nicholas Ferrar is said to have been deputy governor or manager, and who, as might be expected, endeavoured to infuse into its character the religious zeal and purity of motive that distinguished his own.

Virginia was exclusively colonized by members of the Church of England, and the provision for the support of the clergy is sufficiently curious; it consisted of one thousand five hundred pounds of tobacco and sixteen barrels of flour annually for each incumbent; a piece of glebe being set apart for his use, as new boroughs were formed.

Cromwell is known to have contemplated a retirement among the Puritan settlements in America, and it will surprise some readers to hear that, in the early part of his Protectorate (1649), a Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England was assisted by parochial collections throughout England and Wales. At the Restoration it was enlarged and improved, under the influence of Clarendon, Boyle, and others; and, in 1685, Sir Leolyne Jenkins endowed two fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford, on condition that the candidates who were elected to fill them should enter into holy orders, and either place themselves under the direction of the Admiralty, or, in the absence of any naval expedition, be employed by the Bishop of London in missions to the royal plantations abroad; an additional stipend of 20*l.* being given to them while so engaged. The Christian generosity of the founder has been ill-applied. Except in the case of Mr. Nichols, who appears to have gone out to Pennsylvania in 1703, the objects of the endowment have been altogether lost sight of; and it is only within the last year that the Bishop of London—hitherto, we presume, unconscious of his corrective power in this particular—has communicated to the college his intention of sending out the two fellows who shall be elected, according to the express will and direction of Sir Leolyne Jenkins. They will find numerous clearings in the forest where their industry may be exerted with the hope of reward,

The difficulties the Church has to contend with in America are not always sufficiently understood. She does not find so much an uncultivated as a corrupted soil—not so much furrows that have not been turned up, as fields sown with unsifted grain. The seed of nonconformity has been broad cast over the length and breadth of the land: Massachussets was colonised by Independents, Maryland by Romanists, and Pennsylvania by Quakers. This harvest of heresy and schism had abundant time to grow and ripen before any sickle was put into it. Accordingly, in no field is the red flower which springs up among corn, and which is useless as it is gaudy, more abundant or offensive to the eye. In 1679, the vast continent of America contained only four episcopal clergymen; an important step was taken in the appointment of Dr. Bray, as ecclesiastical commissary, in 1796; and it speaks strongly in praise of his piety, though not with less emphasis in censure of the authorities at home, that the necessary funds for his passage could only be obtained by borrowing money and disposing of his effects.

The summer of 1701 must always be a remarkable period in the annals of the colonial Church; for, in the June of that year, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts received its charter. The primary object of the society was the religious oversight of our own people who had already gone out, or might, in future days, commit themselves to those rude homes in the wilderness: the conversion and building up of the heathen on the same holy faith was a secondary though a more important element in their theory of spiritual action. Our designs upon aliens and infidels, was the just remark of Bishop Burnet, must begin in the instructing and reforming our own people. The society lost no time in arranging its machinery or setting it in motion—the name of Nelson, the amiable author of the "Fasts and Festivals" being conspicuous in the list of diligent promoters of this cause.

The machinery was not, indeed, of much power, but it was worked with caution. A preliminary mission of enquiry was intrusted to the Rev. George Keith, who, after having been a fellow-student with Burnet, and taken a degree at Aberdeen, abandoned the Kirk of Scotland for Quakerism, from which, after an interval of error, he passed into the communion of the Church of England. The society's selection was a wise one. Possessing much local knowledge—he had gone to reside in Pennsylvania in 1689—he was enabled to supply the society with some valuable statistics of this important State, together with hints for the most eligible sites for the erection of churches. At that period, through the whole continent of

New England, a single church at Boston was the only representative of our Church and Government. Philadelphia had a congregation—so had New York and Rhode Island. Keith, who sailed on his mission in the April of 1702, was received with great bitterness by his former associates, being everywhere molested with the epitome of Quaker doctrine—that the light within every man was of itself, without anything else, sufficient for his salvation. He was accompanied by a Mr. Talbot whose letters supply some occasional information of interest. Thus, we are told of the Indians, that "five of their sachems or kings assured Lord Cornbury they were glad to hear that the sun shined in England again since King William's death. They did admire at first what was come to us, that we should have a squaw sachem, namely, a woman-king; but they hoped she would be a good mother and send them some to teach them religion and establish traffic among them, that they might be able to purchase a coat and not go to church in bear skins; and so they send our Queen a present, ten beaver skins to make her fine, and one fur muff to make her warm."

Indications of progress soon appeared: Pennsylvania possessed three churches, provided with clergymen; Philadelphia one, with an average congregation of about five hundred; one at Chester, with a congregation of two hundred; and one at Franckfort, with a congregation of one hundred and fifty.

The provinces of North and South Carolina had been granted by Charles II. to the Duke of Albermarle and other noblemen, who, however, replaced themselves under the royal protection, after an interval of about fifty-seven years. The first settlement at Charlestown was formed in 1672, and ten years later a wooden church was built. It startled us to find one of the earliest missionaries of the society, in this part of America, a believer in witchcraft; and we certainly think that the open expression of such an opinion ought to have occasioned his immediate recall.

It was during these early days of the Church in South Carolina that Whitfield pursued in the same country his extraordinary career. It may be easy to judge of the temperance and humility of his piety by his declaration, that Archbishop Tillotson knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet! The present volume contains several notices of his inflammatory proceedings, although we must with painful recollections admit the remark of the late John Foster, that the style of preaching in the English Church in the eighteenth century was peculiarly adapted to throw that of Whitfield into vivid prominence and relief; to offer such a contrast as could not fail to magnify him into a

stupendous prodigy. We must also confess that the impetuosity, the irregularity, the fitfulness of his manner, were likely to produce the liveliest and most instantaneous effect upon the masses whom he addressed. His discourses had nothing in them of the harmony of taste or the graceful transitions of preparation. The fire might be smoky and unhealthful, but it was fire. If it could have been purified, moderated, and conducted, what benefits might it not have bestowed upon all whom it reached?—for we must agree with Mr. Foster in believing the united testimony of all who heard him, that he had an energy and happy combination of the passions so extraordinary, as to constitute a commanding species of sublimity: in their swell, their fluctuations, their turbulence, following the nature of the subject with so natural a faithfulness as never to appear, in their most ungovernable emotions, extravagant or ludicrous to any but the profanest and coldest mind. That his published discourses should give few, if any, indications of these high qualities, may be regarded as the surest sign of their presence. Those flashes of zeal—the lightning of a kindled mind—which descend, with the swiftest and brightest illumination into the dark heart, vanish from the eye as quickly as they shine into it: they cannot be reduced to the fetters of type. Such was the case with Chatham and Fox.

> ———"Those powers that raise the soul to flame,
> Catch every nerve, and vibrate through the frame—"

must ever be the result of impulse—the spontaneous gleam of the fire within.

But we do distinctly deny the assertion of some of Whitfield's ablest defenders that he was a preacher strictly orthodox, resolutely recollecting the Articles of the Church, and obstinately carrying the spirit of the Liturgy into his sermons. This is quite contrary to the fact, unless, indeed, the rhapsodies of Ossian be composed according to the rules of Aristotle, and polished with the fastidious taste of Virgil.

North Carolina was under a thick cloud in the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1702, the population of European descent is said not to have exceeded six thousand, scattered widely over a dreary country. The roads, if such they could be called, were across rivers, and among forests and swamps, the difficulty of which was not always lightened by kindness. The missionary reaped the full harvest of toil and suffering. Sometimes the Quakers monopolized the passage of a river, while marriages were perquisites belonging to the magistrates.

The inhabitants were not less hard than their soil; Quakers, Presbyterians, and nominal Churchmen, differing in orders of

worship, seemed to unite in discountenancing the growth of an establishment, that might ultimately make an appeal to their pockets as well as to their consciences. During twenty-one years the Province had been without a priest or an altar. In 1711 one of the society's missionaries wrote that he was obliged to sustain the lives of himself and his family, for "many a day, on a dry crust and a draught of salt water out of the sound;" adding that he "was forced to work hard with axe, hoe, and spade," and to cut down every stick that he wanted for use. Perhaps of all the husbandmen whom the society sent out to plough in these desolate regions, Clement Hall was the most laborious. During twelve years of active employment in the cause of God he baptized ten thousand persons.

As Carolina recalls the name of Whitfield, that of Wesley is intimately connected with Georgia, the last colony founded by Great Britain in America. Mr. Hawkins mentions a circumstance in the life of Wesley which has escaped the notice of all his biographers—his having been proposed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and accepted by them as missionary to Georgia. He possessed a large share of that lofty self-denying temper which can alone fit a man to do the work of an evangelist. The following extract from his journal puts his industry in a very pleasing light:—

"Saturday, October 29, 1737.—Some of the French of Savannah were present at the prayers at Highgate. The next day I received a message from them all: 'That as I read prayers to the French of Highgate, who were but few, they hoped I would do the same to those of Savannah, where there was a large number who did not understand English.' Sunday, 30th, I began to do so, and now I had full employment for that holy day. The first English prayers lasted from five to half-past six. The Italian, which I read to a few Vaudois, began at nine. The divine service for the English (including the sermon and the holy communion) continued from half an hour past ten to half an hour past twelve. The French service began at one. At two I catechised the children. About three I began the English service. After this was ended, I had the happiness of joining with as many as my largest room would hold in reading, prayer, and singing praise; and about six the service of the Moravians, so called, began, at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher, but a learner."

This is an example of energy and devotion not easily to be exceeded. The cause of his abandonment of the missionary enterprise is sufficiently known; but he left behind him memorials that might quicken the courage and patience of them who followed in his footprints; sleeping often upon the ground, wading through swamps, swimming over rivers, and then travelling till his clothes were dry. The records of the society

supply evidence of his disinterestedness: resolute to avoid worldly desires and cares, he had determined to receive nothing of any man but food to eat and raiment to put on; but, in deference to the remonstrances of his friends, he subsequently accepted the bounty of the society which he needed not for his own personal subsistence, but felt that he could profitably distribute among the necessitous members of his flock. As Wesley entered the Downs on his return to England a ship passed him, outward-bound, in which Whitfield had taken his passage for the very mission which his friend had just abandoned. Wesley, desiring to recall him, contrived to despatch the following note —"When I saw God by the wind which was carrying you out, brought me in, I asked counsel of God (by which is to be understood that he referred the question to chance and drew lots); his answer you have inclosed." It was in a slip of paper in these words—"Let him return to London." Whitfield, however, seems to have entertained some doubt of the infallibility of the direction so singularly communicated to him, and pursued his course, while Wesley returned to the land in which he was to erect an enduring monument of his zeal. We quote, in this place, as a pleasing instance of calm and tolerant composition, Mr. Hawkins's remarks on Whitfield's labours in America:—

"On the first occasion his stay was limited to a few months, for he arrived in May, 1738, and was back in London again before the end of the year. For the short time he remained, however, it appears that he was indefatigable in the discharge of his professional duties, saying prayers and preaching twice every week-day, and four times on Sunday. He returned to Georgia in 1739, after a tour of preaching in the northern States, in which he created the most powerful sensation. Whitfield's great work in America was the foundation of an orphan-house. A plot of ground containing five hundred acres, at the distance of ten miles from Savannah, had been selected for the purpose, of which Whitfield took formal possession on the 24th of January, 1740, and immediately commenced the building of his institution to which he gave the name of Bethesda. The necessary funds he collected after sermons which he preached in all parts of the States, to immense congregations. The reports of the society make mention of the 'wild doings of enthusiasm;' they state that, in consequence of the preaching of Whitfield, many illiterate persons pretended a call to exercise publicly their gifts of praying and preaching, insomuch that tailors, shoemakers, and, not only women, but boys and girls had become (as their term was) 'exhorters.' And although, undoubtedly, much distraction must have arisen from the prevailing fanaticism, it is reputed to have had the effect of directing the attention of the more serious to the liturgy of the Church, and bringing many considerable families, especially at Stratford, within its pale."

The recent publication of the correspondence of Mr. John Foster supplies us with a slight but not uninteresting illustration of the life of Wesley, whose moderation in sleep and perseverance in early rising having been mentioned in the presence of a gentleman (Mr. Thos. Bradburn), who had been his constant travelling companion for many years, he remembered that Wesley generally slept several hours in the course of the day, frequently protracting his repose during the space of three hours; thus he had accustomed himself to take his rest in his carriage while upon journeys, as regularly, easily, and soundly, as if he had gone to bed. It is noticed by Foster, that a jealous and ignorant methodist, considering Wesley to be altogether an angel and superior to common wants, exclaimed with indignation, upon hearing this anecdote, that the narrator must be a liar. We may remark, in addition, that the rosy tinge on the cheek of the aged preacher is supposed not to have been entirely unindebted to artificial appliances; and we are enabled to assert, on the authority of the late Mr. Bacon, the sculptor, that the white tresses which floated so gracefully down the neck were the production of the—wig-maker: we do not believe that this circumstance was known to any of Wesley's biographers. One of the most interesting chapters in this volume is that containing the notices of Berkley. It was in 1725, and soon after his elevation to the valuable deanery of Derry, that he published his celebrated proposal for the better supplying of churches in our foreign plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity. He hoped to promote this noble object by the erection of a college in Bermuda, with a view of educating, for missionary exertions, the children of the planters and native Americans. The execution of the design was not less sublime than its conception; its qualities even break through the satirical description of Swift to Lord Carteret;—"There is a gentleman of this kingdom just gone for England; it is Dr. George Berkley, dean of Derry, the best preferment among us, being worth about £1,100 a year; he showed me a little tract which he designs to publish, and there your Excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposeth a whole hundred pounds a year for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break if his deanery be not taken from him and left to your excellency's disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do."

He sailed in September, 1728, for Rhode Island, intending to

purchase lands for the endowment of his college; but the promise of pecuniary support from the Government was soon found to be imaginary; the larger portion of the fund, out of which the purchase money of the college estates was to be paid, had already been appropriated to the dowry of the Princess Royal; and to Walpole is assigned the unhappy distinction of having, in the words of Mr. Hawkins, defeated the two noblest projects ever formed for the benefit of the American Church—the one for the erection of four bishoprics, in 1715, and the other for the establishment of a missionary college at Bermuda, in 1729. Disappointed in his sacred hopes, impoverished in fortune, impaired in health, Berkley returned to England, and in February, 1721, preached the anniversary sermon for the Society for Propagating the Gospel. The flame of his enthusiasm, however, did not go out: as Bishop of Cloyne, he remembered the institution that had awakened the zeal and warmed the heart of the Dean of Derry: he directed the balance of unclaimed subscriptions to the Bermuda college, to be given to the society for the furtherance of its plans in the colonies; suggesting the application of a part of the sum—£50—to the purchase of theological books for Havard college, near Boston. To Yale college he gave an estate which is now known as the Dean's Farm.

In the concluding chapter of his most interesting memorials, Mr. Hawkins presents us with a history of the struggle for the episcopate in the American Church. The absence of that legislative and correctional economy had long been painfully felt: the engine was effective, but it could not be worked to its full power without the direction of a chief overseer. In 1607, an English clergyman had sown the seed of Church principles in Virginia; but one hundred and seventy years rolled by before one bishop was consecrated for any district in North America. Archbishop Laud, indeed, so far back as 1638, had designed the establishment of episcopal authority in New England; and, after the Restoration, it is known that Clarendon was anxious to form Virginia into a diocese, exercising a general superintendence over the other provinces. The first design was checked by the troubles in Scotland; the second, by the accession of the Cabal ministry; though Secker, as quoted by Mr. Hawkins, attributes the failure to the endowment being made payable out of the Customs.

The first consecration of a bishop for the American Church was received from the hands of the Scottish bishops. Dr. Tenbury, one of the society's missionaries in Long Island, had been elected to be their bishop, by the clergy of Connecticut, in 1783. On coming to England, to adopt the narrative of Mr.

Granville Sharp, he applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Moore, for consecration. The primate expressing a desire to consider the proposal, Dr. Tenbury abruptly left the room, saying:—"If your grace will not grant me consecration, I know where to obtain it;" and immediately set off to Aberdeen. He was consecrated, Nov. 14, 1784, by Bishops Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner. Three years later, the English Church affixed her own seal to the American episcopate; on the 4th of Feb. 1787, the Rev. W. White and the Rev. S. Provoost, who had been duly elected to the sees of Pennsylvania and New York, were consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace.

"Thus, at last (are the words of Mr. Hawkins), after nearly two centuries of struggle, the Church was perfected in America, and from this moment her course has been actively progressive. The Church in the colonies, at the period of their independence, was indeed in a 'great strait.' Unorganized and imperfect, it was little able to meet and triumph over the persecution to which on all sides it was exposed; for while 'without were fightings, within were fears.' Yet these troubles, threatening as they seemed, were overruled by a merciful Providence for the ultimate benefit of the Church, and were, perhaps, even necessary for its restoration. At the time when it seemed almost in danger of dissolution, it was providentially empowered to renew its strength and to mount up. That Church which, in 1784, ran the risk of being betrayed into some modification of Presbyterianism, now numbers twenty-six bishops, and twelve hundred and thirty-one clergymen, within its proper borders."

Nor is this energy of spiritual life altogether confined to home cultivation: other lands and other nations may hope to share in its warmth and fruitfulness. Two bishops, we learn, have been consecrated for the superintendence of foreign Missions—one for China and the other for Turkey. In closing this book, with the highest feelings of respect and gratitude towards the author, we have written in its last leaf the lines of Keble—

> "Apostles, prophets, pastors, all
> Shall feel the shower of mercy fall,
> And, starting at th' Almighty's call,
> Give what He gave;
> Till their high deeds the world appal,
> And sinners save."

ART. IX.—*The Real Danger of the Church of England.* By the Rev. W. GRESLEY, M.A., Prebendary of Lichfield. Third Edition: London, Burns, 1846.

2. *An Apology for the Evangelical Party; being a Reply to the Pamphlet of the Rev. W. Gresley, A.M., on "The Real Danger of the Church."* By the Rev. F. CLOSE, A.M., Perpetual Curate of Cheltenham. London: Hatchards; and Hamilton and Co. 1846.

OUR readers have, doubtless, remarked many articles in our pages upon the leading points of the great controversy that has agitated the Church during the last few years, and at the same time observed] that the tendency of the arguments that have been put forward in them has uniformly been in arrest of the extreme movement we had to notice. No opportunity, however, has been allowed us until now of speaking upon the subject with perfect freedom. We have been obliged to use strong language—too often, indeed, without the admission of mitigating topics—simply because there were in the cases before us no extenuating circumstances to allow of our coming to more favourable conclusions; or because the circumstances that were depended upon to produce that effect were put forth by the parties immediately concerned with too much confidence, and urged upon us with too much pertinacity. The opportunity, however, is at length afforded us; and we avail ourselves of it to show that, though we have been obliged to speak as we have alluded to, views directly opposite to those we condemned are not necessarily correct or supposed to be so by us—that something short of the opposite extreme must be taken up by those who would read us right.

No two works could possibly be better adapted for this purpose than those which we have placed at the head of this article, as they are the productions of moderate men of the two opposite parties in the Church, and are therefore best suited for the examination of their respective merits. We are not, indeed, about to say that there is nothing in the manner of these writers to call for disapproval: it is not in that sense that we speak of moderation; but the theology they profess is not carried to those extremes that some, who are to be ranked as their friends, would advocate, whether we look to the right or to the left. Ultra indiscretions are repudiated by both gentlemen: the one will not admit that he is a Romanizer;

the other that he is a Puritan: they are short of these extremes, yet opposed to each other.

Mr. Gresley comes forward in defence of Church principles, and mourns that their influence is giving way under a reaction produced by the evangelical party, which he asserts is at issue with the Church as to what the true Gospel really is; and Mr. Close comes forward to remove the impression that has been made on men's minds by Mr. Gresley, by showing that the evangelical party are not what Mr. Gresley has said of them, and that he is proud to belong to them and ever shall be so, notwithstanding the urgency of the arguments of his opponent. Of course we are directed to fundamentals by Mr. Close as well as by Mr. Gresley, and upon the correctness of these fundamentals all the controversy turns. If Mr. Gresley be right, the evangelicals are doing much mischief; if Mr. Close be right, the Anglicans are making demands that ought not for a moment to be listened to. The great thing, then, that we have to do is to settle the fundamentals: the corollaries that spring out of their settlement will follow as a matter of course.

A challenge of a most spirited nature has been given by Mr. Gresley to the evangelical party, and Mr. Close seems fully aware of it; but, what is much more to the purpose, it is put into such a shape as hardly to permit of the evasion of an authoritative decision. It is not like Mr. Ward's challenge, which defeated itself by being mixed up with extraneous matter, and matter that was objectionable as well as extraneous: it is to the point, and wanders not from that point but to show the practical working of the doctrine which the author exposes. There is a great deal of matter besides that which is fundamental, but it is all relative: there is nothing which is not in subordination to the main position. One could not attend to the challenge of Mr. Ward, which amounted to this—that those who opposed him should state their opinions as unreservedly as he did his, and that he should take his chance of the comparison; because there was not only *reserve* upon the part of his extreme opponent, but no decision could be arrived at by that process. It is not by comparing one error with another that we come to an opinion of the faults of any, but by comparing their sayings and doings with a recognised standard; and it is precisely in this way that Mr. Gresley has brought his opponent to book. We are much mistaken if it result not in the inconvenience of the evangelical party or their champion, Mr. Close, of Cheltenham; for that gentleman, in coming forward to defend his

party, is pleased to make an exposition of his views which is *no less inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church than was the doctrine of Messrs. Ward and Oakeley*; and we do most unhesitatingly say that, if it was right to punish those gentlemen, it must be right to punish him. Messrs. Ward and Oakeley were not punished merely for holding Roman doctrine, *but for holding that which was disapproved by the Church while they held Church preferment or remained in office;* and it is but right that Mr. Close, and those other gentlemen who *avow doctrines that are equally disapproved by the Church*, should be brought under the notice of the Church and be formally tried, even though the doctrines they hold spring out of different principles. We ought not to be satisfied with punishing only the men who stray from her paths on one side: we ought to look to the right hand and to the left, and repress the desire to wander wherever we find it in operation. This may appear harsh, but it is necessary in the present state of the Church: we do not see how it can possibly be avoided.

Mr. Close, indeed, says (p. 15) that the doctrine repudiated by the extreme section of his party is not the Church's doctrine, or the Scripture doctrine of baptismal regeneration; but only that view of it which Mr. Gresley and his friends adopt. But he afterwards admits that he has no means of judging whether the Church and Mr. Gresley agree—an admission which seems to us to strike at the root of this allegation. He certainly cannot say that the Church has not put forth her view of the doctrine in question. Any uncertainty, therefore, that he may have as to the agreement of that view with Mr. Gresley must arise from Mr. Gresley's silence—the strangest of all possible foundations for such a plea. How can they answer what has never been published? How can they repudiate what they do not know? It is a very pretty piece of special pleading this of Mr. Close's; but for the logic we will not answer. We give it as much for the amusement as the instruction of our readers, and very amusing they will find it. Quoting Mr. Gresley, he says:—

"'*The denial of baptismal regeneration is* THE LEADING DOCTRINE not *only of Dissenters* from the Church, but *of the Evangelical or Puritan party within it.*' (p 23). Were I to stigmatize this statement as both false and invidious I should do it justice. And upon what is this sweeping accusation based? Upon two or three solitary extracts from fugitive tracts, and from a few paragraphs from the *Record* newspaper! Are these sufficient to establish such a charge as this against the whole evangelical body? Besides, if we could see the context of these very passages, we should probably find that it was neither the Church's nor the Scripture doctrine of baptis-

mal regeneration, which even these writers abjure, but only *that view of it* which Mr. G. and his friends adopt. And this is the clue which leads us easily out of this difficult labyrinth in which Mr. G. would involve us. He uses this expression—'THE *doctrine of baptismal regeneration*,' as if it were a term as well defined and understood as the first definition of Euclid; but he never stops to explain what he means by it. He wisely abstains 'from entering into the *scriptural proof* of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration;' that task he might have found a difficult one. If his view of baptismal regeneration be what I suspect, he would find more *proofs* multiplied to him in the writers of the middle ages than in the Scriptures. He attempts to show that the Church holds THE DOCTRINE of baptismal regeneration, while he only proves that she holds 'baptismal regeneration.' But whether she holds '*the doctrine*' which Mr. G. espouses we have no means of judging."—(*Close*, pp. 15, 16.)

The evangelicals have no means of judging of Mr. Gresley's view of baptismal regeneration that shall authorize their repudiation of it, seeing that Mr. Gresley has not announced it sufficiently for that purpose: we have symptoms, however, in the pamphlet before us, and very gratifying they are. We have, indeed, to thank Mr. Gresley that he has given us no more than these symptoms: had he gone farther, his statement would have been called an opinion, and put upon the shelf as Mr. Ward's very properly was: it is because he has confined himself to the statement of the doctrine of the Church that this pamphlet is valuable. We have just been quoting Mr. Close—now we will turn to Mr. Gresley:—

"For the sake of those amongst my readers, if any there be, who may not be familiar with the subject, I will set down a few short passages from the baptismal service.

"'Dearly beloved (it begins), forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin, and that our Saviour Christ saith, none can enter into the kingdom of God except he be *regenerate*, and born anew *of water and of the Holy Ghost*, I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that, of His bounteous mercy, He will grant to this child that thing which by nature he cannot have; that he may be baptised with water *and the Holy Ghost*, and received into Christ's holy Church, and be made a lively member of the same.'

"The priest and people then pray on the child's behalf—'Almighty and everlasting God, who.....didst sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin, we beseech Thee, for Thine infinite mercies, that Thou wilt mercifully look upon this child, wash him, and sanctify him with *the Holy Ghost*.'

"Again: 'We call upon Thee for this infant, that he, coming to Thy holy baptism, may receive remission of his sins by *spiritual regeneration*.'

"Again: the priest says—'Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin; and grant that this child, now to be baptised therein, may *receive the fulness of Thy grace*.'

"The child is then baptised, and the priest addresses the congregation —'Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church, let us give hearty thanks to Almighty God for their benefits.'

"[In the office for private baptism the words are even more precise: 'Seeing that this child is *by baptism* regenerate.']

"Then all kneeling say—'We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that *it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this child with Thy Holy Spirit.*'

"Often and often as these passages have been quoted in recent controversy, I transcribe them once more; and would appeal to any man of common understanding, from the most unlettered peasant to the ablest in the land; or to any jury of twelve honest men, be they Dissenters or be they Romanists; or the first twelve one might meet in the streets of London, and submit to their judgment, whether it is possible for a doctrine to be couched in plainer or more positive words—whether there can be the shadow of a doubt that the Church of England holds the doctrine of baptismal regeneration—whether the denial of baptismal regeneration be not as clearly contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England as the maintenance of transubstantiation or the Pope's supremacy—and whether it is not one of the most astounding facts in religious controversy that ministers of the Church of England should, Sunday after Sunday, use this service, should baptise infants brought to them, and then call on the congregation to join with them in thanking God for that it hath pleased Him to regenerate each child, and yet hold the opinion either that the child has not been regenerated at all, or that his regeneration is 'hypothetical.'"—(*Gresley*, pp. 17-19).

Mr. Gresley does not say that this is the *aim* of the Church or that, but he says this is the *teaching* of the Church; and he brings forward evidence to prove that the Church holds the doctrine of absolute unconditional regeneration at the very moment of baptism, by bringing forward the very words of her formularies; and he, properly enough, asks how that doctrine can be positively denied or explained away by the substitution of hypothetical constructions by any of the ministers of the Church. To meet this challenge—for it is an undoubted challenge on the part of the learned *Prebendary* of Lichfield, (not *prebend* as Mr. Close unlearnedly calls him)—it is absolutely necessary to show that the evangelicals do not deny that doctrine, or do not limit it by hypothetical construction; or that the statement upon which it is founded is incorrect. Mr. Close does not attempt any one of these *impossibilities*. In his pamphlet (p. 5) he admits that some of the quotations given by Mr. Gresley from the writings of extreme members of the evangelical party are extravagant and indiscreet; and as these very quotations do explicitly deny the doctrine in question, he could not allege that none of his

party did so. But his dismissal of them without a denial of the charge involves the admission of it, which is all that we have to show with regard to them. In a paragraph that we shall have occasion presently to adduce, he admits that the hypothetical construction is adopted by himself; and in no one single passage can we possibly detect the least approach to the allegation of incorrectness against Mr. Gresley's statement. None of the necessaries are complied with—the charge involved in the challenge of Mr. Gresley is proved. After Mr. Close had given birth to the amusing paragraph we have already cited, he immediately subjoins:—

"I can speak not only for myself, but for very many of my brethren with whose opinions I am acquainted, and I can assure our most uncandid accuser that he has charged us falsely. I hope I have not ministered six-and-twenty years in one common sanctuary without conscientiously weighing the services of our Church, and that of baptism especially. And I hope I should sooner renounce all connection with the Church than be guilty thousands of times of the 'solemn mockery of uttering before God what I altogether disbelieve and deny.' Greater hypocrisy and wickedness in sacred things could hardly be conceived. In the Church's language, I pray for the spiritual blessing to accompany the outward ordinance administered, according to the command of Christ, to our dear children. Most scripturally the Church calls upon me not to doubt, but earnestly to believe that the prayer of faith has been heard and answered: and in reliance on the general promises of God to believing prayer, I give thanks to God for the blessing vouchsafed: and, until a wicked life and hopeless death *prove* that the blessing was not granted, I never question it. This is simply the view I have ever taken of this difficult and much debated point. And to all curious and ecclesiastical querists as to the exact nature of the spiritual benefit conferred, I am ever disposed to reply, 'The wind bloweth where it listeth and ye hear the sound thereof, and cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit.' Far from bringing up my children as heathens, I hope I have educated them as those who have the vows and privileges of infant baptism upon them; and in like manner have I dealt with the hundreds of young persons who have passed through my hands for the interesting and primitive rite of confirmation. In these feelings, though it may be with some shades of speculative difference in detail, I am confident that the great body whom Mr. Gresley has so calumniated sympathize; and that in the use of this initiatory sacrament of our Church they are as honest as he is himself. But if by '*the doctrine* of baptismal regeneration' he means that, in every case and in all cases of infant baptism, *effectual grace* is imparted, and that the child's moral nature undergoes that spiritual change which fits it for the kingdom of God, I have no hesitation in avowing my disbelief of any such theory, which I regard as nothing more nor less than the *opus operatum* of the papists. If, for this confession, I deserve all the

vituperative language of Mr. Gresley, I am quite content to endure it"—(*Close*, pp. 16, 17).

Mr. Close, then, and the friends for whom he speaks (and he himself says they are very many of his brethren), are hypothetical regeneratists—that is, persons who believe in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, but do not suppose it to apply to all that are baptized. They grant it unto all, to a certain period, out of charity only, and believe that they were mistaken in those instances in which sin is afterwards found to prevail, from which moment they say that they were wrong in supposing that those persons were blessed in baptism. The Church, however, broadly states that *all* are regenerate who are baptized, as she expressly says so, through her ministers, *in the case of every child who is brought to the font and is baptized*—a very wide difference this, as any one will allow. Mr. Close says—"I give thanks to God for the blessing vouchsafed; and, until a wicked life and hopeless death *prove* that the blessing was not granted, I never question it"—that is, he admits the doctrine with reservations; says (that he may not speak harshly of any) that all are regenerate at baptism, but doubts whether he may not have to change his opinion of some of them afterwards, whose lives seem to preclude that possibility. The truth is, that evangelicals and dissenters take up the idea that grace is *to keep us out of harm's way by its overpowering influence*, instead of *to enable us to avoid harm by assisting us to repel it;* and so Mr. Close and his very many brethren cannot see how the very plain assertion of the Church, that "this child is regenerate," can hold good in all cases. But this favourite doctrine of the evangelicals is not, for a moment, countenanced by the Church, as every sound churchman very well knows. If Mr. Close will turn to the sixteenth Article he will find that it treats of *sin after baptism*, and that the Church therein asserts that, after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives, so that the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism; which manifestly pre-supposes that we received the Holy Ghost in baptism, or, in other words, were regenerated by God's Holy Spirit then; and which as manifestly declares that, notwithstanding that regeneration, we may and sometimes do fall into sin, otherwise the whole of the Article would be unmeaning. But this is not all: Mr. Close and his very many brethren are not content to insinuate that men, who afterwards sin, could never have been regenerated by the Holy Spirit, *contrary to the express declaration of*

the service of the Church of which he is a minister; but he proceeds to doubt the efficacy of the sacrament. Of Mr. Gresley he says—"But if, by '*the doctrine* of baptismal regeneration,' he means that in every case and in all cases of infant baptism *effectual grace* is imparted, and that the child's moral nature undergoes that spiritual change which fits it for the kingdom of God, I have no hesitation in avowing my disbelief of any such theory, which I regard as nothing more nor less than the *opus operatum* of papists." Now, there is certainly some ambiguity in this expression, as the reverend gentleman does not explain what he means by "the kingdom of God." Evangelicals are fond of metaphors: they save them from speaking out. There are, however, but two senses in which that expression can be used and we give Mr. Close his choice. If, by "the kingdom of God," he means the Church of Christ, which is sometimes spoken of in Scripture under that name, then is he wholly wrong in the doctrine implied in the denial of the supposed doctrine of Mr. Gresley: but, if by the "kingdom of God," he means heaven, then is he partly wrong and partly right. If he means to say that effectual grace is not given in all cases of infant baptism, and that in all cases the child's moral nature does not undergo that spiritual change which fits it for entrance into the Church of Christ, then he is wrong both as to the denial of grace and the denial of the moral change. But if he means to say that effectual grace is not given in all cases of infant baptism, and that the child's moral nature does not undergo that spiritual nature that *fits* it for *heaven*, then he is wrong in the denial of effectual grace, but right as to the extent of the change; for baptism is but the new birth unto righteousness, and, therefore, supposes no more than the beginning of Christian life—an after-growth is to be acquired by us in most instances. Children who are baptized, it is true, are undoubtedly saved if they die before they commit actual sin: but, if they live after the period at which they can do so, they will want continual refreshments of grace before they will be fit for heaven. Inasmuch, then, as in both of the only two constructions which Mr. Close's assertion will admit, effectual grace is denied, he must be wrong and has exposed himself to condemnation. Let us prove this assertion by reference to the Articles. We turn to the twenty-fifth and the twenty-seventh:—

"Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us; by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but

also strengthen and confirm our faith in him. There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord."—(*Twenty-fifth Article : of the Sacraments*)".

"Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ."—(*Twenty-seventh Article : of Baptism*).

No effectual grace in baptism! What then is the meaning of all this language we have just quoted? As Mr. Gresley says, as to the doctrine of regeneration taught by the Church in the baptismal service—"I would appeal to any man of common understanding from the most unlettered peasant to the ablest in the land; or to any jury of twelve honest men be they Dissenters or be they Romanists; or to the first twelve one might meet in the streets of London, and submit to their judgment whether it is possible for a doctrine to be couched in plainer or more positive words"—so would we say, as to the doctrine of effectual grace in the sacrament; for nothing can be more plain or positive than what we have just quoted from the Articles upon that subject. If men are not to differ from the Church, and it was *for that* that Messrs. Ward and Oakeley were punished, let this difference that we have detected be brought under the notice of the authorities for an accurate investigation.

This, however, is not the whole of the matter. Mr. Close is not only an hypothetical regeneratist, and one who denies the effectual grace of baptism, but he is pleased to say that the service of the Church is inconsistent with her dogmatic teaching upon the subject of baptism; for he appends the following to the last passage we quoted from his precious pamphlet:—

"This then is really the only doctrinal error which Mr. Gresley attempts to fasten upon us—an error, if it be one, even more prevalent in the Church than Mr. Gresley at all supposes. There is no one subject on which there are so many shades of opinion among *all parties* as on this; and I would dismiss it with an expression of my conviction that it is a point not clearly defined by the Church herself, and upon which her services are not easily and palpably reconcileable with her more dogmatic teaching."—(*Close*, p. 17).

Any one who will take the pains to compare the baptismal

service with the Articles we have quoted will be surprised at this assertion; but, if he reflect upon the effect that is produced upon the judgment by over-attachment to an hypothesis, he will see how this most wonderful discovery was made. Mr. Close's opinion is inconsistent with the Articles of the Church of England, and he fancies that his opinion coincides with the Church service; and, therefore, he naturally enough supposes that the service and the teaching of the Church do not agree. But lookers-on will see his mistake and acquit the Church of this inconsistency: they cannot do otherwise, if they turn their attention to the fact that the service and Articles both insist on the regenerating influence of baptism in every case, and to the fact now equally *patent*—as Mr. Close himself would say—that our evangelical theologian denies it in some, nay, perhaps, in very many instances.

But the Church is not only charged with inconsistency with herself but with inconsistency with the Bible. In a passage already quoted our readers will remember the following observations as to Mr. Gresley—"He uses this expression, '*the doctrine* of baptismal regeneration,' as if it were a term as well defined and understood as the first definition of Euclid; *but he never stops to explain what he means by it.* He wisely abstains from entering into the scriptural proof of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration: that task he might have found a difficult one." Mr. Close will, of course, say in answer to this that he was speaking of Mr. Gresley's view of the doctrine of regeneration, and not of the doctrine held by the Church; but as he says, which we have already noticed and will be found immediately afterwards, that "whether she admits the doctrine that Mr. Gresley espouses we have no means of judging," and also that Mr. Gresley never stops to explain what he means by it, it is obvious that it is the doctrine of the Church which it is supposed cannot be proved from Scripture. For if, as is true, Mr. Gresley never states his own opinion, but merely gives the doctrine of the Church in her own words, and Mr. Close says he is wise in abstaining from the attempt to prove it by Scripture, we have a perfect demonstration of the fact to which we draw the notice of our readers—that Mr. Close thinks the doctrine of the Church contrary to the doctrine of Scripture; and we need hardly add that such a position can not be allowed consistently with the maintenance of true discipline; as our readers may convince themselves if they will turn to the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth canons. They are as follow—

3. "*The Church of England, a true and apostolical Church.*

"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the Church of England, by law established under the king's Majesty, is not a true and apostolical Church, teaching and maintaining the doctrine of the apostles; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of this his wicked error.

"4. *Impugners of the public worship of God, established in the Church of England, censured.*

"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the form of God's worship in the Church of England, established by law, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer and adminstration of the sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but by the bishop of the place or archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of such his wicked errors.

"5. *Impugners of the Articles of Religion, established in the Church of England, censured.*

"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that any of the nine and thirty Articles agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty-two, for avoiding diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of such his wicked errrors.

"6. *Impugners of the Rites and Ceremonies, established in the Church of England, censured.*

"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England by law established are wicked, antichristian, or superstitious, or such as being commanded by lawful authority, men who are zealously and godly affected may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or as occasion requireth subscribe unto them; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored until he repent and publicly revoke such his wicked errors."—(*Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*, 1603).

By all or any of these Mr. Close may be condemned, and those very many brethren of his for whom he speaks, "*the pious men*" who are most "*earnest Christians*;" and they ought to be brought to account, as their declension from the doctrine of the Church is of no trivial character. Others have erred in holding that which was not in set terms forbidden by the Scriptures, but discountenanced by the Church on account of its superstitious tendency; but here we have the denial of that which is held by the Church, and imposed upon the Church by Scripture as a necessary doctrine—a far more

serious affair. What Mr. Gresley says upon this point we most fully approve:—

"It is beside my argument to enter upon the scriptural proof of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. What I maintain is, that it is the undoubted doctrine of the English Church. There can be no question, however, that it is proved by many more direct and convincing texts than any that can be brought forward against the Romish doctrines concerning purgatory, pardons, or transubstantiation. These are dangerous and erroneous opinions, which our Church declares to be fond things, 'vainly invented, and grounded on no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.' The denial of the right doctrine of baptism is the denial of a doctrine which St. Paul classes amongst the first 'principles of the doctrine of Christ' and foundations of our faith; one which the universal Church places amongst the Articles of the creed, and the acceptance or rejection of which practically changes the whole character of the Christian religion.

"The whole character, I say, of the Christian religion, depends on this primary doctrine. The maintenance or denial of this doctrine gives practically a completely different turn to the treatment of a Christian soul. Is the child whom we have to train for heaven regenerate or unregenerate?—is he a child of grace or a child of wrath?—is he in a state of salvation or in a state of condemnation? If regenerate—a child of grace, an heir of salvation—then clearly the chief endeavour of parents, sponsors, and ministers, must be directed *to keep him what he is;* so that what he is on the day of his baptism, such he may be, as to his spiritual state, the next day and the next. We must train him onward, always in a state of grace; so that, as the awakening energies dawn, the rising tendencies of evil shall be kept under subjection, and every motion of the Spirit promoted and encouraged. All our efforts and prayers must be devoted to keep the child, by the grace of God, in the 'state of salvation' in which he was placed at baptism; so that he may perform those good works which God hath prepared for him to walk in, continuing free from the dominion of sin, and advancing ever in ripeness for the kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, if the child is unregenerate—a child of wrath—in a state of condemnation, our endeavours must be directed to rescue him from his perilous state.

"What course does the Church herself pursue? What does she tell the child of himself? Look only at the very words she puts into his mouth—the first words of the Church catechism: 'What is your name? N. or M. Who gave you this name? My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was made a *member of Christ, a child of God*, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven'

"For ministers of the Church to teach these things to children—to tell them they are members of Christ and children of God, when they believe them never to have been really made so—is to be paralleled only by the mockery of their thanking God that each child is regenerate when they altogether disbelieve and deny it.

"Again: the right of confirmation is absolutely changed in its cha-

racter, if we deny the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. In the Church's view, it is the *strengthening and forwarding* the child in the path in which he is already walking, the *continuation or enlargement* of grace, whereby he may be enabled to persevere in godliness. 'Almighty and everlasting God (thus the bishop prays), *who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants* by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given them forgiveness of all their sins, *strengthen them*, we beseech thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter; *increase* in them thy manifold gifts of grace,' &c.

"The denier of baptismal regeneration, on the other hand, looks on confirmation in the light of conversion—a favourable time for the commencement of a religious life—which, with the true Churchman, was commenced at the time when, in the sacrament of baptism, the heavenly Spirit first lighted like a dove on the regenerated babe.

"Thus, in early life, the whole character of the treatment of our children is altogether changed, accordingly as we receive or deny the Church's doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Nay, even in addressing the sinner in middle life, or the dying penitent, the theory of, I might almost say, the *two religions* is quite different: the denier of baptismal regeneration treats him as an unconverted heathen, while the minister of the Church appeals to him as one who once had the grace of God though he has put it from him; once was a member of Christ, though now a son of perdition; once a child of God, though now a prodigal. It may well be doubted whether the greater part of the nation's sin, the desperate wickedness of the mass of our population, and the general worldliness of all classes, may not be traced to this denial of baptismal regeneration.

"No care is taken to train them as members of Christ and children of God; the grace given them at baptism is never cherished or called forth; their sinful nature is suffered to rise up and become predominant; thus, the great vantage-ground of their Christian calling is abandoned, never, alas, to be regained! They grow up practically without God in the world; and, if some few here and there are brought to repentance and saved, the mass, it is feared, never return from their wallowing with the swine: they live and die ungodly. Thousands who once were made members of Christ and children of God are thus eternally lost, mainly in consequence of this great heresy, whereby our country, and even our Church, is overrun."—(*Gresley*, pp. 19-23).

Of course, Mr. Close lays hold of that portion of this argument which talks of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration being proved by many more direct and convincing texts than any that can be brought forward against the Romish doctrines concerning purgatory, pardons, or transubstantiation, and certain other portions of the pamphlet which speak of those members, who, in the process of fermentation, have been thrown off from our communion, to justify his abuse of Mr. Gresley; for, though *he cannot say what his opinions are*, he

does not scruple to say that he looks upon Mr. Gresley as an embryo Papist; but this is unfair in the extreme. Mr. Gresley neither defends those who have seceded from the Church nor the doctrines they have advocated: he merely protests against the vulgar abuse of people who were once his friends, and, whatever their errors may be, have acted conscientiously, and against that inequality in the exercise of justice that will strain at a gnat and swallow a camel: and when Mr. Close comes to concentrate his bitterness against Mr. Gresley into one point, his unfairness is most *patent.* Quoting Mr. Gresley, he says:—

"He protests against 'any attempt to mix up *this school* with the *Romanizers which have* left us;' to do so proves either *ignorance* or *a deliberate intention of causing prejudice.* (p. 5). True, (he adds,) that to *a certain extent,* and before the principles of each were fully understood, *they have acted and sympathized* together. *Reverence for the Church was their bond!*' 'Perhaps,' also, '*some Romanists* IN HEART *may yet be left behind;* but to represent them *as identified in principle with the Anglican body is an unfair and disingenuous manœuvre unworthy of an honest controversialist.*'

"What strange admissions have we here, ill-concealed by the threats which accompany them! Will Mr. Gresley kindly tell us, in order that we may escape these heavy censures, how we are to discover these '*Romanists in heart*' amidst 'the Anglican body?' Does he triumphantly reply, you may know the genuine Anglicans '*by their* devoted *attachment to their own Church?*' Alas! *all* of those who have deserted to Rome once made the same professions, and were held up by some of these 'Anglicans *who remain*' as the only champions fit to contend with Popery; and, if I mistake not, a distinguished divine with whom it appears from this pamphlet Mr. Gresley fraternises closely, once talked of nailing his colours to the mast of the ship commanded by Mr. Newman! How then can Mr. Gresley expect for a moment that the Church, or the world, can make the distinctions which he so loudly requires? 'YOUNG ENGLAND' has been brought up at the feet of that Gamaliel who now sits at the footstool of Peter; all the '*earnest Christians*' of the *Anglican school* have been educated by the leaders who are now Papists; they have conspired to form a new and influential and most dangerous party in the Church; and now Mr. Gresley is offended, accuses us of dishonesty and ignorance, and I know not what, if we confound them. For myself, I assure him I never should confound them, or suppose that the zealous Anglicans are identical with the lapsed Romanists—there is as much difference between them as there is between the egg and the chicken; nothing can be more different in appearance; but some day the egg will produce a chicken; and so surely do I believe that *the Church principles* advocated by Mr. Gresley are only Popery in the egg; when hatched and fledged they will furnish wings, on which Mr. Gresley may fly away after his brethren,

with whom it is evident he has at heart more sympathy than he has for a large and influential party in his own Church."—(*Close*, pp. 29-30.)

Can anything be less unfair than to judge of those who remain by those who are gone?—or less unfair than to judge of Mr. Gresley by Dr. Hook, or Dr. Hook by Mr. Newman. Granted, that they sympathized at one time, must they sympathize always?—or is it absolutely necessary that sympathy must go on when circumstances alter? If so, how is it that Lord George Bentinck opposes the present Government, or those noble members of the Upper House who formerly supported Ministers with a zeal in no way inferior to that which they now evince in opposition? It is about as fair as it would be to charge Mr. Close with the indiscretions of the extreme section of his own party when he himself repudiates them. Mr. Gresley has not been guilty of anything like that, and Mr. Close ought not to have been guilty of the insinuations we are noticing, unless he wished, as he appears, to have a monopoly of unfairness and abuse.

Mr. Gresley has spoken strongly enough and exposed that which he conceived to be grossly dishonest; and he may have gone to a needless extent in using the word "*Puritans;*" but he abuses no man, and charges no one unfairly, with harbouring doctrines that are inconsistent with his avowals. He has taken the extreme section of a party, and argued as if the party all had the same view: he has no where said that those who deny that view are not to be believed in their denial. Those who do not go to that extent were allowed to deny it; and Mr. Close has come forward to do so "for self and friends;" but, as Mr. Gresley probably foresaw, he has but got out of the frying-pan into the fire. His plea is admissible, so far as it is negative of extreme views; but it is not admissible as a negation of heresy, for it proves the very point that it should have denied, were it to be taken for that purpose.

We have not to deal with the question of more or less, but with that of truth or error; and it is because there is the most palpable error in Mr. Close's doctrine that we speak out. No arguments will ever persuade us that it is right to condemn one man's error and to allow another's to pass unnoticed; and, in the instance before us, there is nothing to amount to an exception to the rule upon which our conviction proceeds. Nay, we think it is more than usually necessary that an accurate judicial investigation should be instituted into the tenets of any that may be supposed to be in error, since such investigations have already commenced. If all had been left alone, it might be a question whether we should now plunge the

Church into difficulty ,by urging the adoption of legal proceedings against any. But the Church will, under existing circumstances, be compromised if she be silent. Having taken up the business of correcting error she must go on, or she will adopt into her system all those errors she does not repudiate. Having punished some she must punish others, or she will be convicting herself of unfairness towards those she has punished. She must, at least, make examples in every class; and those who come forward as the champions of several sections are the most proper persons to select for that purpose.

We have not altered our opinions of Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley, or of those other gentlemen who seceded from the Church without so near an approach to expulsion: neither do we think it at all probable that we ever shall; but we cannot think it right that the doctrine of the Church should be set at nought by others, simply because those others were not Romanizers. If the Church be injured by the admission of erroneous doctrine, and morality be infringed by the dishonest occupation of places of trust by persons who are not what they pretend to be, we should like to see our rulers at work, in the repression of the one and in the expulsion of the other, in as short time as possible. If, from any respect of persons either on the one side or the other, or from any fear of the number that may be involved, the authorities of the Church do not act, it is idle to talk of doctrine or discipline—we shall have, henceforth, neither the one nor the other.

It may be said, indeed, that, as all of the Romanizing party were not brought into court, some who hold erroneous doctrines have been allowed to escape; and if some have, why not others? But this is easily answered—the principle claimed has been solemnly repudiated—and this is sufficient for the present: others have been satisfied that they were wrong by the judgments pronounced, and have voluntarily "gone over;" if, in time, all do not, such as may be detected in error will be expelled: but the principle of the extreme opposite party has not been adjudicated upon—as yet no example is made—as yet, therefore, nothing is done to free the Church of their presence. It was believed, at one time, that a large party existed who denied the doctrines of the Church and yet held office in it; and so it was thought necessary that something should be done to get rid of this anomaly; and now that doctrines which are, at least, equally erroneous are avowed on behalf of another and much larger party, who are *quite as tenacious of their places*, it is absolutely necessary to

go on, unless their number is to be taken to decide the matter, which we cannot allow.

There are very many estimable men, no doubt, in the party of which we are now speaking—men whose feelings or whose prospects we would not unnecessarily injure; but there are very many estimable men also among *Dissenters*, whom we take care to exclude; and why are these to be excluded, if the party we have spoken of be retained? There may be differences in the detail of the doctrines they advocate, but the principle they advocate is the same: as Mr. Ward would say, it is altogether "*outrageous*" to think of it: either we must admit those who are now excluded, or exclude those that are at present in the Church with no better title; otherwise, we shall not only become the laughing-stock of the world but pronounce our own condemnation.

While all was quiet, and no one made a display of his tenets, much as it was to be lamented if there was in any of our ministers want of allegiance to the Church, it was, comparatively speaking, a matter of little importance; but now that the stillness of the Church has been broken in upon, and men are set upon the open advocacy of their opinions, without regarding, for one moment, either the authority of the Church or the peculiarity of their position, it is necessary that we should act, and act promptly. It is like a fire, which we may be excused if we do not observe while it slumbers in a corner, but which the general danger demands that we should extinguish as soon as it breaks out; and we cannot refuse our attention to it without criminality. But it is worse than any such mere temporal calamity, as it destroys the integrity of the Church and endangers souls. Any argument, therefore, that may be derived from the case to which it is analogous must be carried out to a larger extent, and not be allowed to be contracted. Contraction and, much more, negation are out of the question: if, in the case of fire, we must put it out if possible, or in some way secure the neighbourhood, much more, in the case of heresy, we must put it out, or secure the Church: we have no alternative—that is the only course we can pursue; circumstances force it upon us.

We have read both of these pamphlets with great care—one of them with great sorrow, as we consider it to be not only indicative of the presence of a most subtle heresy in the Church, but also of an attempt to inflame prejudices to cover it. We need hardly say we allude to the pamphlet of Mr. Close, the heretical part of which we have set before our readers, and with the otherwise objectionable part of which we

might fill volumes. But we do not want to dwell upon mere matters of taste: our care is about the doctrine and the Church. Our purpose now is not to defend Mr. Gresley—he is very well able to do that office for himself, and we are satisfied that he is more than a match for his opponent—but to put the matter before the Church in its most important light, and to urge upon the consideration of the friends of the Church the necessity of the adoption of even-handed justice.

If it was right to suspend Mr. Oakeley and to degrade Mr. Ward—and of that we neither have doubted nor do doubt—it must be right to bring Mr. Close's pamphlet before some authorized tribunal; otherwise we shall be attempting to keep out ubiquitous evils by one-sided measures—an attempt which will utterly fail us. The Church cannot, under existing circumstances, rest without the repudiation of heresy, wherever it may be found to arise; and we must not be afraid to repudiate it, even though it should spring from the foes of Rome and come to us immediately from Geneva. In running away from one we must not throw ourselves into the arms of the other—that would be a very sad error.

ART. X.—ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ: *or, The Revelation of Jesus Christ Minutely Interpreted and Considered, in Relation to the Church's Expectation of the Nearness of the Lord's Appearing and Kingdom.* By the Rev. JOHN HOOPER, Rector of Albury, Surrey; Author of "The Ecclesia," &c., London: Painter. 1846.

THE last of the books of Scripture is that portion of the sacred volume which has met with the most unequal treatment from the Church, having been in some ages omitted from the canon, and at other times held in peculiar veneration; and, amongst those who have regarded it with the greatest reverence, there are to be found almost as many different systems of interpretation as there are interpreters. Moreover, many of those who hold the Apocalypse in reverence, and mean to treat it with honour in their interpretations, are so inconsistent in the application of their own system, or so blend it with other inconsistent systems, as to arrive at conclusions the fallacy of which they would perceive if based on any other book of Scripture—having been misled by loose applications of the symbols in the Apocalypse, forgetting that the very purpose for which symbols are introduced is to give greater

precision, and to bind us down to the reality by another sense, and body forth the coming events in visible form, as well as describe them in explicit terms.

The Apocalypse, as one of the sacred books, requires the same critical knowledge of language, the same just appreciation of sound doctrine, the same steadfast abiding in the orthodox faith, in the man who would correctly interpret it as in arriving at the true meaning of any other book of Scripture; but, being a symbolical book, it also requires strict attention to this peculiar—this additional element, which does not run counter to or supersede the general principles of interpretation common to all the books of Scripture, but, retaining all these, contains, in addition, the symbolical principle to give greater clearness and force to the instruction conveyed.

We must assume the Apocalypse to be that which it professes to be, and therefore that it is intended to forewarn and forearm the Church by showing her the things which would shortly come to pass: but, being meant for all generations of the Church, instruction is conveyed to those who lived at the time when the revelation was given, and is meant for us, also, who live so much nearer the end of time: for all are expected to watch and to be prepared for the coming of the Lord, who saith, "Behold, I come quickly and my reward is with me, to give to every man according as his work shall be." This instruction it may seem possible to impart, either by narrating the order of events in regular sequence or by symbols, representing, in living pictures, the chief incidents which would arise and the course of action which would be pursued. It is obvious that a narrative of the regular succession of events could only be clear and intelligible where these events were of a connected character, and proceeded in orderly sequence; but that jarring elements of any kind, and above all those which involved contingencies—where one course of conduct would lead to one result, another course of conduct would lead to a widely different result—instruction to meet such contingencies could only be given through symbols.

The Church for whose use the instruction was intended kept not an uniform course, and the enemies with which she had to contend were of many kinds, and her prosperity or adversity would depend upon the steadfastness with which she might keep the faith, and so receive continual blessing from God; or the loss of faith, whereby she would lose also the favour of God and become a prey to those who are, at the same time, both his enemies and her own. Christ, in warning the disciples concerning the coming judgments, and the course

of events until the end of the world, in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, did all that was possible for conveying instruction to us in the way of narrative; yet we know that very different interpretations have been proposed for this discourse of our Lord: it is, therefore, no valid objection to the Apocalypse, either that it is a symbolical book, or that its meaning is not so clear as to obtain the assent of *all*; for the obscurity is in the nature of the subject, and not in the manner of conveying instruction, since the discourses of Him, who spake as never man spake, have been, on these subjects, open to the same objection.

The Church is affected in three ways—by the spiritual condition of its members as individuals: by the ecclesiastical polity of the whole as a body: and by the conduct of the state or the world towards it. If the Church is to be warned concerning her perils from these three quarters, it does not appear how it could be more significantly done than by symbols: such as the contrast between a modest and immodest woman—or the difference between shepherds and lords in God's heritage—and the Church free or under the oppression of the dragon, and the beast, and the false prophet: such warnings can only be given hypothetically, because the evils are contingent and consequent upon a state of things which, being contrary to the purpose of God, ought not to have come to pass, and, in their occurring, are so many repetitions of the sin through which Adam at first fell.

But, as the whole Church was to be instructed and warned, these symbolical representations must cover all time, and each generation must take only its own proper share of the instruction and warning, so as not to distort truths of universal application by forcing them all into connection with the events of any one age. We know, from St. Paul's epistles to the Thessalonians, that there was, even then, a tendency to regard the mere buddings of Christianity, and the few Churches scattered here and there in Greece and Asia Minor, as the body in which the promises of God should be fulfilled—as the generation in whose time the day of the Lord would come: and after the Apocalypse was written, and the long series of events foreshadowed in that book might seem to necessitate a long period of time for their accomplishment, the early Church still continued to cherish the idea that the day of the Lord was at hand, and strained the historical facts, and contracted or crushed the prophetic symbols into a forced correspondence—looking to such events as the destruction of Jerusalem to find the judgments predicted; and, at a sub

sequent period, caricaturing the millenium, by affecting to find it accomplished in the conversion of Constantine and the Roman empire becoming nominally Christian.

Time, in rolling on, explodes these errors one after another, and they cease to be held systematically, or as coming up to the full meaning of the symbols; yet the error often cleaves to the fragments after the system is broken, and is handed down piecemeal in traditional interpretations of the symbols which were given at a time when the symbols had a supposed connection which no longer exists, and yet the interpretation remains. And as, in connection with these symbols, numbers and dates are also given, and these numbers are symbolical, and are spoken of as days, or months, or years, or times; so men have endeavoured to connect every great historical crisis with one or other of these numbers; and, when they have erred, find it very difficult to extricate themselves, and probably leave the subject embarrassed with more complicated difficulties than before.

The interpretations of the Apocalypse have been very numerous, and some of them from the earliest times. The greater number of these are not systematic, but lay hold on those salient points which could be brought into connection with the prominent events at that time occupying the attention of the Church. In the contentions for supremacy between the patriarchs of *old* and *new* Rome each characterized the other as the mystical Babylon, and affected to see the other symbols realized in Rome looked at from the east, or in Constantinople looked at from the west; and again, when internal corruptions provoked the remonstrances of holy men within the communion of the Church of Rome, the corruptions were usually associated with some of the symbols under which these forms of evil were supposed to be denounced in the Apocalypse; and since the Reformation, Brightman and Cressener, and innumerable Protestant writers, have applied to the Papal system, pre-eminently and almost exclusively, the evils which are charged upon Babylon, and have been expecting the correspondent judgments which are denounced in like manner to ensue.

Joseph Mede deserves honourable mention among these interpreters, as having laid the foundation of a more close and accurate method of study than had been hitherto pursued; for he insisted upon the necessity of interpreting the symbols precisely, not loosely; and on the necessity of understanding the same symbol in the same sense, wheresoever it occurred. He also was the first to insist on the parallelism of large por-

tions of the Apocalypse, and on the necessity of fixing this parallelism by determining at what points these several portions coincide: this he did by finding the catch-words, or marks of synchronism, in any two chapters which are parallel, and which will demonstrate, when the synchronism is proved, that those chapters are not consecutive, but that the portions between the catch-words relate to the same period of time, and are only different aspects of contemporaneous events.

Mede and all the other interpreters were each of them useful in his day, but of little value beyond the time in which each of them lived; for every revolving year opens fresh matter and multiplies the points of comparison between the predictions and their accomplishment—narrowing the sphere of unaccomplished prophecy, and giving increased facility to the interpretation of the parts which are yet future: and, above all, that great Revolution which Newton had the sagacity to foresee, and the character of which would be such as both to turn men's attention upon prophecy and also to enable them better to understand it, has given to all those who have lived since the French Revolution advantages which were not possessed by those who lived before that great catastrophe. The effect which it had on the study of prophecy is evident in the number of works which have appeared; but we could wish that they had taken a more independent standing from the vantage ground which that Revolution gave them, and that they had adopted no traditional interpretations whatever, but only the principles of interpretation; for it is to be remembered that though truth is invariable, the *principles* alone of interpretation belong to truth and are invariable; the interpretation gathers strength or requires modification, from time to time, according as the forthcoming events throw more and more light on the subject.

It has been very generally held by modern interpreters that the seventh seal shall be opened, the seventh trumpet shall be sounded, and the seventh vial be poured out, at the same time; and that these symbols therefore denote three continuous principles or courses of action, which, having all been in operation together thus far, are all at one time brought to a crisis, or cut short in their career. Those who hold this coincidence, and believe that the seventh seal, trumpet, and vial, commence at the same time, must be prepared to admit, that, *to some extent*, the six preceeding seals, trumpets, and vials, are parallel. But Mr. Hooper is the only writer that we have met with who maintains that they are *parallel throughout;* and he moreover maintains that the seven epistles to the Churches are

in like manner intended for all times, and that each epistle has its correspondent seal, and trumpet, and vial, which indicate the prevalent condition of the Church external and internal at the time; and show the judgments which the ungodly would suffer. Mr. Hooper, therefore, regards those four sets of symbols as pertaining to the Church universal under the following points of view—the epistles describe the spiritual aspect of the Church in seven periods extending from the beginning to the end; the seals represent its external aspect as a kingdom or subduing all nations to the faith; the trumpets represent its ecclesiastical aspect during the same periods of advance or decline; and the vials show the judgments which should come on all those who should forsake the faith, or oppose the truth at these several times. And Mr. Hooper divides these periods according to the events—making the first to reach to the end of the second century; the second to reach to the age of Constantine; the third from Constantine to Justinian; the fourth from 533 to the Reformation; the fifth from the Reformation to 1793; the sixth from 1793 to the second advent; and the seventh a period during which all the enemies of Christ will be destroyed, and his everlasting kingdom will be established.

This is we believe a new arrangement of the Apocalypse, and a new view of the whole subject; but it is a most important view if it can be satisfactorily established. Where there are four sets of symbols, each consisting of seven, four parallel columns, in which the numbers of all should correspond, would seem to be the obvious and natural arrangement. It is probable, therefore, that such an arrangement has occurred to the minds of others, and has been laid aside by them on account of insuperable objections. Lapse of time, and fresh data, from the opening of fresh pages of history, may have now removed many of those difficulties, but we think that Mr. Hooper will find that his work is not yet done: he will find that one volume of two hundred and eighty pages will not suffice to supersede the many volumes which have been written on this subject, and that he will have to meet a great number of objections which he does not anticipate, and must go on with his exposition, treating each subject as a separate head, with more specific reference to historical facts on the one hand, and more minute attention to the symbolical allusions on the other.

Waiving the objections which may possibly be raised, and assuming that Mr. Hooper is able to carry on his exposition, so as to fill the details, we see no *prima facie* difficulty in the

way of such an interpretation as this. To those who grant a connection between the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse, the numbers of Daniel will furnish dates to complete the numbers in the Apocalypse, and the symbols of the Old Testament and the New will be interpreted in the same manner. And as Daniel's great period of 2,300 years (viii. 14), falls into two portions of 490 and 1810, viz., the seventy weeks of ix. 24, and the times of the Gentiles following—so dating the times of the Gentiles from the conversion of Cornelius, A.D. 37, they would expire A.D. 1847. Nor does there appear to be any great objection to dividing the next great period of 1260 into one portion of 1000 years from the time of Justinian to the Reformation, and another portion of 260 years from the Reformation to the French Revolution; but on the contrary it rather commends itself in giving a prominent place to the Reformation, which certainly had a great influence upon the whole Church, although it is wholly omitted in many modern expositions of the Apocalypse.

The symbols of Daniel and the Apocalypse throw so much light upon each other that the importance of studying them in connection cannot be overrated. All the beasts in the Apocalypse have reference to the beasts in Daniel's visions, in which visions their nature and actions are far more fully described than in the book of St. John; and, above all, that whole vision of the seventh chapter of Daniel, which terminates in the coming of the Son of Man to set up his everlasting kingdom, is an epitome of the whole Apocalypse; and, being interpreted by the angel to Daniel, teaches us how the Apocalypse ought to be interpreted. But it also throws us back upon the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in the second chapter of Daniel, since the consummation is the same in both, and the consequence of the destruction of the image in the dream is also the setting up of that kingdom of God which shall never be destroyed; and this image is the symbol which gives the true interpretation to the word Babylon in the Apocalypse, for the image set up in Babylon signified the four monarchies, the first of which then subsisted; and each of the others as it took the place of the first would receive symbolically the name of the first. Now the Roman empire was to be the last of the four, and to it the name Babylon was given in the Apocalypse; and the Church of Rome only became Babylon at the time when she claimed a dominion analogous with that which was exercised by Nebuchadnezzar, and she deservedly retains that name just in proportion as she continues to make such a claim. And we hold it to be essential

to the sound interpretation of symbols, that each should have but one signification, and that, a definite meaning, which can be strictly adhered to under all circumstances.

And as the visions, both in the second and seventh chapters of Daniel, run on from that day to the time of the end, and so are parallel visions or different aspects of the same course of events—the former being the political or worldly aspect, the latter the ecclesiastical or heavenly aspect—so we entertain no doubt that the different visions of the Apocalypse are parallel, not consecutive, and they all run on from the time of St. John to the end—namely, the coming of the Son of Man, to take to himself that kingdom prepared for him from the foundation of the world.

But there may be a general parallelism between all the visions, regarding each *as a whole*, which may not extend to the *subdivisions*, so as to make all these correspond—that is to say, the seven seals and seven trumpets may begin and end at the same time; but the second seal may not begin at the same time as the second trumpet, nor the third seal at the same time as the third trumpet, and so on. We think that the most formidable obstacle to the reception of Mr. Hooper's scheme will be found here; and that so strong a case has been made out in favour of Constantine as symbolized by the white horse, and for the Turks under the fifth trumpet, that these former interpretations must be shown to be untenable before those who have held them can be expected to receive another interpretation. We are speaking rather of what we imagine to be the case with others than of ourselves; for we have never *held* any of the former interpretations to be *so conclusive* as to find any difficulty in abandoning them when a more satisfactory interpretation should be proposed, and in some respects the present interpretation is more satisfactory than those which have preceded it. For ourselves, we look most to the *present* time; not only as being in itself surpassingly interesting from its pre-eminence in knowledge of every kind, and from the deep principles which are at work, leavening or undermining all things, as though preparing for some great crisis unprecedented in its extent and consequences; not only as being our own time—the brief span on the right employment of which our own future destinies will depend—but as the travail time of the whole world preceding that great turning point which all revelation either expressly declares or implicitly assumes—the new creation—the full and abiding manifestation of the purpose of God. That this is preparing for by preaching the Gospel, and by all the other

means entrusted to the Church for this end, we know; and that up to a certain point there will be no departure from the orderly course of Providence we fully believe, and act upon the persuasion. Therefore, it behoves men to be diligent in the use of all the ordinary means—both those of grace to ensure salvation and attain personal holiness, and those of understanding the Scriptures by all critical helps, and by availing themselves of the united labours of others. Yet, after all these *ordinary* means have been used to the utmost, the conviction will force itself upon the mind that an adjustment of all things natural as well as moral, and an adaptation of the powers of each to the place it was destined to occupy, and a co-operation of all without jarring to one harmonions display of perfect wisdom and goodness, is worthy of God: and that it must be accomplished by *supernatural* means is attested by the whole world's history, and the whole tenor of divine revelation. We do not expect to forsee so exactly as to be able to adjust the circumstances which shall usher in, much less those which shall be accomplished, during this day of the Lord; and we believe that the obscurity which hangs over it hangs in some degree over all the events which lead to it, requiring us to exercise modesty and self-controul in interpreting the past actings of God towards the Church and the world. The light which will burst upon the Church when the Lord shall be revealed will not only disclose things to her which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and which it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive; but it will cast a stream of reflected light upon all the past history of the Church and of the world, which will put to shame the vain and contradictory, the presumptuous and confident speculations of carnal short-sighted philosophy.

The chief value of correct interpretations of those symbols which apply to past events is, that they are taken out of the way by being put beyond question; and so the sphere is narrowed and the attention concentrated on fewer objects, and we can give undivided consideration to those parts of the prophecy which yet remain to be fulfilled; and if it be true that six of the symbols in the four series are now past, and that only the last of each remains future, and that futurity may be close at hand, then our thoughts may be collected into a very narrow compass, which yet may involve the most important, and, if neglected, the most tremendous issues.

In the early ages of the Church men were led astray from wrongfully applying the whole of the Apocalypse to the events of their own day, and so crowding that revelation, which was

meant *for all time*, into *one or two centuries*: which false interpretation failing in the lapse of time, men, for the most part, gave up the study, till some crisis arose, attracting attention for a time and again subsiding. In these late ages of the Church, men are in danger of being led astray by an opposite tendency: we are much more likely to *procrastinate* than to *anticipate* the fulfilment of the final destinies of the Church; more especially, too, when we consider the *opposite conditions* of the Church at these two periods, shall we think an opposite tendency probable. The early Church was poor, outcast, and persecuted: the whole world was combined *against it*; and thus every thought of joy, all hope of security and peace, were fixed on things above, and that kingdom of heaven about to be revealed. The visible Church is now in credit among men, respectable at the least, courted in general, and having the world more *in its favour* than against it in all the countries of Europe. Thus the Church now has more inducements to fix her thoughts on present things, and hope for the continuance and enlargement of her present means, expecting thereby to slide easily, and without a shock, into that state of prosperity which is spoken of in Scripture as the kingdom of heaven: thus avoiding that tribulation to herself, and those judgments upon the world, which are everywhere spoken of in the same Scriptures as ushering in the day of the Lord.

The Church should gratefully acknowledge, and use with diligence, and direct to the glory of God, all the gifts of providence, and all the means of grace which she at the present time possesses in so large a measure. But she should never forget that this world is not her home; and that, in the way to that eternal rest which remains for the people of God, she will have a time of tribulation to pass through which will try her to the utmost; that she is warned of it beforehand in order that she may not be overtaken by that day as a thief in the night; and, being thus warned, if she continue unprepared, she will either fall altogether, or, if delivered at all, be saved so as by fire. The figure of being saved as by fire indicates that nothing which man devises—nothing which rests on conjecture—nothing which is agreeable to the natural inclinations of fallen man—can stand the scrutiny of that day of the Lord; but that the purpose of God, prepared at creation, announced throughout the whole of the sacred records, and to be brought into manifestation through Christ and the Church, shall then be completed, and shall stand for ever.

ART. XI.—*Modern Painters. Vol. II., containing Part III., Sections* 1 *and* 2. *Of the Imaginative and Theoretic Faculties.* By A GRADUATE OF OXFORD. London: 1846.

IT may, perhaps, be in the recollection of some of our readers that in our number for January, 1844, we noticed, in terms of no ordinary eulogium, the first volume of this remarkable work; and we are very widely wrong indeed if the quotations which we then made have not so far justified the opinion we confidently pronounced on the vigour and originality of the author's mind, and the boldness of his crusade—for it was nothing short of a crusade against "time-honoured" prejudice—as to have created an anxious expectation for the promised continuance of the theme; and that is now before us. It was an experiment arising out of no ordinary courage to challenge public attention by an octavo of upwards of four hundred pages, on a subject which, in these days of utilitarianism, could scarcely be expected to interest the reading public to an extent remunerative of paper and print; yet we find a third edition of the first volume announced. The influence of that volume in raising the price of modern pictures, we mean by British artists, to the depreciation of the works of the ancient masters—whether justly or not, we do not venture to decide—has been exemplified in a very striking degree by the result of several recent sales. We know, also, that its effect on public opinion has been such that many persons intimately connected with art and artists, and even artists themselves, who first received the volume with wonder, if not with a less flattering feeling, at the rashness and quixotism of of the assault "against the world in arms," have greatly moderated their tone, and many have become converts to opinions evidently based on a profound knowledge of Art, and a still more profound knowledge of Nature, the legitimate parent of all art. It happened to us, within the last few weeks, to be a guest at a meeting of the Graphic Society, when some drawings from the pencil of the gentleman to whom the authorship of this work is ascribed were exhibited, and on that occasion a member of the Royal Academy, after examining one of the subjects with much attention, exclaimed in our hearing—"The man who can draw like that may write anything he pleases upon art."

There is a very marked difference between the volume before us and its precursor, both in style and tone—the style of the second volume possessing fewer of the elements of popularity than that of the former, while the tone is more elevated. There is another point in which the difference is still more striking; for

while the first volume was almost exclusively devoted to the works of Turner and to a comparison of other modern artists with that master, the second volume has little reference to him—a circumstance which, with all our admiration of the painter of *Mercury and Argus*,* we do not regret. We have said that the former volume had in it more of the elements of popularity than the present; its poetry had more of the dash and the sparkle, but withal the power, of the mountain cataract; the poetry of the second has the solemn depth and volume of the broad and vast river. There is, too, a serious spirituality about it; a *wresting*, if we may be permitted the expression, of all things in Nature to the glory of Nature's God, which would win for it the title of *Religio Pictoris*—for it is in very truth the religion of painting. The author evinces a solemn sense of responsibility in the undertaking which we shall best exemplify by a quotation from the last page:—

"There is not the thing left to the choice of man to do or not to do, but there is some sort or degree of duty involved in his determination; and by how much the more, therefore, our subject becomes embarrassed by the cross influences of variously admitted passion, administered discipline, or encouraged affection, upon the minds of men, by so much the more it becomes matter of weight and import to observe by what laws we should be guided, and of what responsibilities regardful, in all that we admit, administer, or encourage."

"Art, properly so called (says our Graduate in the immediately following paragraph), is no recreation; it cannot be learned at spare moments, nor pursued when we have nothing better to do. It is no handiwork for drawing-room tables; no relief of the ennui of boudoirs; it must be understood and undertaken seriously, or not at all. To advance it, men's lives must be given, and to receive it, their hearts. 'Le peintre Rubens s'amuse á être ambassadeur' said one with whom, but for his own words, we might have thought that effort had been absorbed in power, and the labour of his art in its felicity. 'E faticoso lo studio della pittura, et sempre si fa il mare maggiore' said he, who of all men was least likely to have left us a discouraging report of anything that majesty of intellect could grasp, or continuity of labour overcome. But that this labour, the necessity of which in all ages has been most frankly admitted by the greatest men, is justifiable in a moral point of view—that it is not the pouring out of men's lives upon the ground—that it has functions of usefulness addressed to the weightiest of human interests—and that the objects of it have calls

* A splendid picture, which has been admirably rendered in "black and white" by Wilmore, and will remain an imperishable memorial of the genius of the painter and faithful skill of the engraver, when the *ad captandum* publications of modern printsellers shall be forgotten as they deserve to be.

upon us which it is inconsistent alike with our human dignity and our heavenward duty to disobey—has never been boldly asserted nor fairly admitted: least of all is it likely to be so in these days of dispatch and display, where vanity on the one side supplies the place of that love of art which is the only effective patronage; and on the other, of the incorruptible and earnest pride which no applause, no reprobation, can blind to its shortcomings, nor beguile of its hope."

The author illustrates his views by some passages which it would be unjust alike to him and to our readers to withhold:—

"Man's use and function (and let him who will not grant me this follow me no further, for this I purpose always to assume) is, to be the witness of the glory of God, and to advance that glory by his reasonable obedience and resultant happiness. Whatever enables us to fulfil this function is, in the pure and just sense of the word, useful to us. Pre-eminently, therefore, whatever sets the glory of God more brightly before us. But things that only help us to exist are, in a secondary and mean sense, useful, or rather, if they be looked for alone, they are useless, and worse; for it would be better that we should not exist than that we should guiltily disappoint the purposes of existence.

"And yet people speak in this working age, when they speak from their heart, as if houses, and lands, and food, and raiment were alone useful, and as if Lights, Thought, and Admiration were all profitless; so that men insolently call themselves Utilitarians who would turn, if they had their way, themselves and their race into vegetables—men who think, as far as such can be said to think, that the meat is more than the life, and the raiment more than the body; who look to the earth as a stable, and to its fruit as fodder; vinedressers and husbandmen, who love the corn they grind and the grapes they crush better than the gardens of the angels upon the slopes of Eden; hewers of wood and drawers of water, who think that the wood they hew and the water they draw are better than the pine forests that cover the mountains like the shadow of God, and than the great rivers that move like his eternity. And so comes upon us that woe of the preacher, that, though God hath made everything beautiful in his time, also he hath set the world in their heart, so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end.

"This Nebuchadnezzar curse, that sends us to grass like oxen, seems to follow but too closely on the excess or continuance of national power and peace. In the perplexities of nations, in their struggles for existence, in their infancy, their impotence, or even their disorganization, they have higher hopes and nobler passions. Out of the suffering comes the serious mind; out of the salvation, the grateful heart; out of the endurance, the fortitude; out of the deliverance, the faith; but now, when they have learned to live under providence of laws, and with decency and justice of regard for each other, and when they have done away with violent and external sources of suffering, worse evils seem arising out of their rest, evils that vex less and mortify more, that suck the blood, though they do not shed it, and

ossify the heart, though they do not torture it. And deep though the causes of thankfulness must be to every people at peace with others, and at unity in itself, there are causes of fear also, a fear greater than of sword and sedition—that dependence on God may be forgotten, because the bread is given and the water sure; that gratitude to him may cease, because his constancy of protection has taken the semblance of a natural law; that heavenly hope may grow faint amidst the full fruition of the world; that selfishness may take the place of undemanded devotion, compassion be lost in vainglory, and love in dissimulation; that enervation may succeed to strength, apathy to patience, and the noise of jesting words and foulness of dark thoughts to the earnest purity of the girded loins and the burning lamp. About the river of human life there is a wintry wind, though a heavenly sunshine; the iris colours its agitation, the frost fixes upon its repose. Let us beware that our rest become not the rest of stones, which, so long as they are torrent-tossed and thunder-stricken, maintain their majesty; but when the stream is silent, and the storm passed, suffer the grass to cover them, and the lichen to feed on them, and are ploughed down into the dust."

The designation which we have ventured to give to this volume—the Religion of Painting—may appear to be hyperbolical; but we think that had we adopted the stronger phrase of the *Christianity* of Painting, the following passage, and indeed many others which we could quote, would fully bear us out:—

"Nor is what the world commonly understands by the cultivation of taste anything more or better than this, at least in times of corrupt and over-pampered civilization, when men build palaces, and plant groves, and gather luxuries, that they and their devices may hang on the corners of the world like fine-spun cobwebs, with greedy, puffed up, spider-like lusts in the middle. And this, which, in Christian times, is the abuse and corruption of the sense of beauty, was, in that Pagan life of which St. Paul speaks, little less than the essence of it, and the best they had; for I know not that, of the expressions of affection towards external nature to be found among heathen writers, there are any of which the balance and leading thought cleaves not towards the sensual parts of her. Her beneficence they sought and her power they shunned—her teaching through both they understood never. The pleasant influences of soft winds, and ringing streamlets, and shady coverts—of the violet couch and plane-tree shade—they received, perhaps, in a more noble way than we; but they found not anything except fear upon the bare mountain, or in the ghostly glen. The Hybla heather they loved more for its sweet hives than its purple hues. But the Christian Theoria seeks not, though it accepts and touches with its own purity, what the Epicurean sought, but finds its food and the objects of its love everywhere—in what is harsh and fearful as well as what is kind—nay, even in all that seems coarse and

commonplace, seizing that which is good, and delighting more sometimes at finding its table spread in strange places, and in the presence of its enemies, and its honey coming out of the rock, than if all were harmonized into a less wondrous pleasure; hating only what is self-sighted and insolent of men's work—despising all that is not of God, unless reminding it of God; yet able to find evidence of him still where all seems forgetful of him, and to turn that into a witness of his working which was meant to obscure it, and so, with clear and unoffended sight, beholding him for ever according to the written promise—'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.'"

In our notice of this extraordinary volume, we do not profess to do more than to put our readers in possession of its scope and bearing; for to deal critically with its points would involve a knowledge of art that cannot be gleaned in even the longest literary life. There are many volumes that come under the notice of the reviewer of an order which his mind can master, and on the subject of which he may legitimately be supposed to know as much or more than the author; others there are again, in which it is the prudent as it is certainly the modest part of the critic to enact the *cicerone*, and to no higher function do we on the present occasion aspire.

We have mentioned, not invidiously we feel, as a matter of congratulation, that the volume before us is less exclusive, or rather less individual in its character, than its precursor: in fact, it is more generally philosophic, and embraces more of historical art as found in the old masters. Perhaps we cannot better show the nature and design of the work than by quoting some of the titles of the chapters sequent to those from which we have quoted:—

"Chap. V. Of Typical Beauty. First of Infinity; or the Type of Divine Incomprehensibility.
"Chap. VI. Of Unity; or the Type of Divine Comprehensiveness.
"Chap. VII. Of Repose; or the Type of Divine Permanence.
"Chap. VIII. Of Symmetry; or the Type of Divine Justice.
"Chap. IX. Of Purity; or the Type of Divine Energy.
"Chap. X. Of Moderation; or the Type of Government by Law."

Among the prominent original views promulged in this volume, none, perhaps, are more striking than the author's notions on "Vital Beauty in Man:"—

"Those signs of evil which are commonly most manifest on the human features are roughly divisible into these four kinds—the signs of pride, of sensuality, of fear, and of cruelty; any one of which will destroy the ideal character of the countenance and body."

Regretting that our space admits not of a quotation under

each of these four divisions, we extract that which refers to pride, as especially exemplifying the manly and fearless scorn with which our Graduate strips off the adventitious aids of the pomp and splendour of external things:—

"Now, of these the first, pride, is perhaps the most destructive of all the four, seeing it is the undermost and original story of all sin, and it is base, also, from the necessary foolishness of it; because at its best—that is, when grounded on a just estimation of our own elevation or superiority above certain others—it cannot but imply that our eyes look downward only, and have never been raised above our own measure; for there is not the man so lofty in his standing nor capacity but he must be humble in thinking of the cloud habitation and far sight of the angelic intelligences above him, and in perceiving what infinity there is of things he cannot know nor even reach unto, as it stands compared with that little body of things he can reach, and of which, nevertheless, he can altogether understand not one: not to speak of that wicked and fond attributing of such excellency as he may have to himself, and thinking of it as his own getting, which is the real essence and criminality of pride; nor of those viler forms of it founded on false estimation of things beneath us and irrational contemning of them: but, taken at its best, it is still base to that degree that there is no grandeur of feature which it cannot destroy and make despicable, so that the first step towards the ennobling of any face is the ridding it of its vanity; to which aim there cannot be anything more contrary than that principle of portraiture which prevails with us in these days, whose end seems to be the expression of vanity throughout in face and in all circumstances of accompaniment, tending constantly to insolence of attitude and levity and haughtiness of expression, and worked out farther in mean accompaniments of worldly splendour and possession, together with hints or proclamations of what the person has done or supposes himself to have done, which, if known, it is gratuitous in the portrait to exhibit; and, if unknown, it is insolent in the portrait to proclaim: whence has arisen such a school of portraiture as must make the people of the nineteenth century the shame of their descendants and the butt of all time: to which practices are to be opposed both the glorious severity of Holbein, and the mighty and simple modesty of Raffaelle, Titian, Giorgione and Tintoret, with whom armour does not constitute the warrior, neither silk the dame. And from what feeling the dignity of that portraiture arose is best traceable at Venice, where we find their victorious doges painted neither in the toil of battle nor the triumph of return, nor set forth with thrones and curtains of state, but kneeling always crownless and returning thanks to God for his help, or as priests interceding for the nation in its affliction, which feeling and its results have been so well traced out by Rio* that I need not speak of it farther."

Listen, too, to the summary and masterly style in which our

* De la Poesie Chretienne. Forme de l'Art. Chap viii.

author disposes of the heresy propounded by Schiller, "that the sense of beauty never furthered the performance of a single duty."

"Although this gross and inconceivable falsity will hardly be accepted by any one in so many terms, seeing that there are few so utterly lost but that they receive and know that they receive, at certain moments, strength of some kind or rebuke from the appealings of outward things; and that it is not possible for a Christian man to walk across so much as a rood of the natural earth, with mind unagitated and rightly poised, without receiving strength and hope from some stone, flower, leaf, or sound, nor without a sense of a dew falling upon him out of the sky—though, I say, this falsity is not wholly and in terms admitted, yet it seems to be partly and practically so in much of the doing and teaching even of holy men, who, in recommending the love of God to us, refer but seldom to those things in which it is most abundantly and immediately shown. Though they insist much on his giving of bread, and raiment, and health (which he gives to all inferior creatures), they require us not to thank him for that glory of his works which he has permitted us alone to perceive: they tell us often to meditate in the closet, but they send us not, like Isaac, into the fields at even: they dwell on the duty of self-denial, but they exhibit not the duty of delight! Now, there are reasons for this, manifold, in the toil and warfare of an earnest mind, which, in its efforts at the raising of men from utter loss and misery, has often but little time or disposition to take heed of anything more than the bare life, and of those so occupied it is not for us to judge; but I think that of the weaknesses, distresses, vanities, schisms, and sins, which often, even in the holiest men, diminish their usefulness and mar their happiness, there would be fewer if, in their struggle with nature fallen, they sought for more aid from nature undestroyed. It seems to me that the real sources of bluntness in the feelings towards the splendour of the grass and glory of the flower are less to be found in ardour of occupation, in seriousness of compassion, or heavenliness of desire, than in the turning of the eye at intervals of rest too selfishly within; the want of power to shake off the anxieties of actual and near interest, and to leave results in God's hands; the scorn of all that does not seem immediately apt for our purposes or open to our understanding, and, perhaps, something of pride, which desires rather to investigate than to feel. I believe that the root of almost every schism and heresy from which the Christian Church has ever suffered has been the effort of men to earn rather than to receive their salvation; and that the reason that preaching is so commonly ineffectual is, that it calls on men oftener to work for God than to behold God working for them. If for every rebuke that we utter of men's vices we put forth a claim upon their hearts—if for every assertion of God's demands from them we could substitute a display of his kindness to them—if side by side with every warning of death we could exhibit proofs and promises of immortality—if, in fine, instead of assuming the being of an awful Deity which men, though they cannot and dare not

deny, are always unwilling — sometimes unable — to conceive, we were to show them a near, visible, inevitable, but all beneficent Deity, whose presence makes the earth itself a heaven, I think there would be fewer deaf children sitting in the market-place. At all events, whatever may be the inability in this present life to mingle the full enjoyment of the divine works with the full discharge of every practical duty, and confessedly in many cases this must be, let us not attribute the inconsistency to any indignity of the faculty of contemplation, but to the sin and the suffering of the fallen state, and the change of order from the keeping of the garden to the tilling of the ground. We cannot say how far it is right or agreeable with God's will, while men are perishing round about us—while grief, and pain, and wrath, and impiety, and death, and all the powers of the air are working wildly and evermore, and the cry of blood going up to heaven—that any of us should take hand from the plough; but this we know, that there will come a time when the service of God shall be the beholding of him; and though in these stormy seas, where we are now driven up and down, his Spirit is dimly seen on the face of the waters, and we are left to cast anchors out of the stern, and wish for the day, that day will come, when, with the evangelists on the crystal and stable sea, all the creatures of God shall be full of eyes within, and there shall be 'no more curse, but his servants shall serve him, and shall see his face.'"

We cannot more appropriately, nor we believe more acceptably to our readers, close our extracts, than by quoting the concluding two pages of the second volume of "Modern Painters," to be followed, the author promises—and we hope soon—by a third, with pictorial illustrations:—

"Of repose, and its exalting power, I have already said enough for our present purpose, though I have not insisted on the peculiar manifestation of it in the Christian ideal as opposed to the Pagan: but this, as well as all other questions relating to the particular development of the Greek mind, is foreign to the immediate enquiry, which, therefore, I shall here conclude in the hope of resuming it in detail after examining the laws of beauty in the inanimate creation; always, however, holding this for certain, that of whatever kind or degree the short-coming may be, it is not possible but that short-coming should be visible in every Pagan conception, when set beside Christian; and, believing for my own part, that there is not only deficiency, but such difference in kind, as must make all Greek conception full of danger to the student in proportion to his admiration of it; as I think has been fatally seen in its effect on the Italian schools, when its pernicious element first mingled with their solemn purity, and recently in its influence on the French historical painters: neither can I from my present knowledge fix upon an ancient statue which expresses by the countenance any one elevated character of soul, or any single enthusiastic self-abandoning affection, much less any such majesty of feeling as might mark the features for super-

natural. The Greek could not conceive a spirit; he could do nothing without limbs; his God is a finite God, talking, pursuing, and going journey:* if at any time he was touched with a true feeling of the unseen powers around him, it was in the field of poised battle, for there is something in the near coming of the shadow of death, something in the devoted fulfilment of mortal duty, that reveals the real God, though darkly; that pause on the field of Plataea was not one of vain superstition; the two white figures that blazed along the Delphic plain, when the earthquake and the fire led the charge from Olympus, were more than sunbeams on the battle dust; the sacred cloud, with its lance light and triumph singing, that went down to brood over the masts of Salamis, was more than morning mist among the olives: and yet what were the Greek's thoughts of his God of Battle? No Spirit power was in the vision—it was a being of clay strength and human passion, foul, fierce, and changeful—of penetrable arms and vulnerable flesh. Gather what we may of great from Pagan chisel or Pagan dream, and set it beside the orderer of Christian warfare, Michael the Archangel: not Milton's 'with hostile brow and vision all enflamed,'—not even Milton's in kingly treading of the hills of Paradise—not Raffaelle's with the expanded wings and brandished spear—but Perugino's with his triple crest of traceless plume unshaken in heaven, his hand fallen on his crossletted sword, the truth girdle binding his undinted armour: God has put his power upon him, resistless radiance is on his limbs, no lines are there of earthly strength, no trace on the divine features of earthly anger; trustful and thoughtful, fearless but full of love, incapable except of the repose of eternal conquest, vessel and instrument of Omnipotence, filled like a cloud with the victor light, the dust of principalities and powers beneath his feet, the murmur of hell against him heard by his spiritual ear like the winding of a shell on the far off sea shore.

"It is vain to attempt to pursue the comparison; the two orders of art have in them nothing common, and the field of sacred history, the intent and scope of Christian feeling, are too wide and exalted to admit of the juxtaposition of any other sphere or order of conception; they embrace all other fields like the dome of heaven. With what comparison shall we compare the types of the martyr saints, the St. Stephen of Fra Bartolomeo, with his calm forehead crowned by the stony diadem, or the St. Catherine of Raffaelle looking up to heaven in the dawn of the eternal day, with her lips parted in the resting from her pain?—or with what the Madonnas of Francia, and Pinturicchio, in whom the hues of the morning, and the solemnity of eve, the gladness in accomplished promise, and sorrow of the sword-pierced heart are gathered into one human lamp of ineffable love?—or with what the angel choirs of Angelico, with the

* I know not anything in the range of art more unspiritual than the Apollo Belvidere; the raising of the fingers of the right hand in surprise at the truth of the arrow is altogether human, and would be vulgar in a prince much more in a deity. The sandals destroy the divinity of the foot, and the lip is curled with mortal passion.

flames on their white foreheads waving brighter as they move, and the sparkles streaming from their purple wings like the glitter of many suns upon a sounding sea, listening, in the pauses of alternate song, for the prolonging of the trumpet blast, and the answering of psaltery and cymbal, throughout the endless deep and from all the star shores of heaven ?"

Nothing can be more eloquent, as nothing can be more true, than the quotation with which we dismiss this volume from our hands. Without reference to the age or position of the author, it is one of the most marvellous productions of modern times; but when we consider the fact, very generally understood, that the writer is a very young man, and in circumstances which render the ordinary rewards and stimulants of authorship valueless, we know not which the more to admire, the vigour, purity, and ripeness of thought which have combined to produce such a work; or the noble, generous, and fearless devotion of those high powers to prove that art is only to be valued as it shall contribute to the glory of Him who is the source of all power, harmony, and beauty. Whether the author has always succeeded in conveying to the ordinary reader, or whether *any* force of language could so convey, his lofty and original conceptions is to us, we confess, a matter of some doubt. Others, again, though we are not of the number, may doubt if he have fully established the theory he set out to prove; but the chivalry, for such it is of the highest because the holiest order, which has instigated the attempt, can scarcely be dimmed even by failure; while success, to however modified an extent, must contribute largely to the moral well-being of his fellow-men and to his own undying fame.

Notices of Books.

1. *Tales from Boccaccio with Modern Illustrations, and other Poems.* London: Bentley. 1846.

2. *The New Timon, a Romance of London.* London: Colburn. 1846.

SATIRE, we thought, had now-a-days scarcely a name to live; not that nothing remains for its shafts, but that the prudishness of modern manners had repudiated the form of composition as unpolite and coarse. The style of the time is flattery—we are all of us lovers of pleasure rather than of truth—puffing of all kinds is in high flower—manly criticism is scarcely possible: positive censure were alarming, shocking—almost revolution and sedition against the state of cliquism, both in politics and literature. Much surprised, therefore, have we been, in finding the two popular publishers of the time each issuing his satire, differing in form, in merit, and execution, indeed: but alike in aim and purpose—to expose, according to the views of each writer, the follies and vices of the time. Sufficient power is manifested in both productions to justify the respective publishers in the experiment: but, of the two, the "Tales from Boccaccio" comes recommended by the greatest amount of daring and novelty, both in spirit and form.

By those who perceive no more than the externals of literature, and have not learned that in its every phase it is a manifestation of the age's intelligence, Boccaccio has been esteemed an immoral writer; but those who have deeper insight have accepted Boccaccio as a pioneer of religious reformation. In exposing the vices of the Roman clergy he had a delicate and difficult task to perform; but those who are best acquainted with the "Decameron" will be the first to acknowledge that he performed it, on the whole, with much prudent reserve and cautious respect. The writer before us, indeed, and we think justly, gives Boccaccio credit for a vein of irony in his composition of that wonderful work which shows that, at any rate, he had no tendency to exaggeration, but rather cunningly suggested censure than blurtingly expressed it. The laity had to be relieved from a priestly authority that no longer represented the sincerity which it was ordained by precept and example to illustrate, and to Boccaccio's genius was en-

trusted the duty of undermining its foundations and exposing their awful rottenness; better so, than that the building, for the want of such exposure, should topple down suddenly, and the temple bury, without warning, the worshippers in its fall and ruin.

In the execution of his important mission it was, of course, impossible for Boccaccio to overlook the absurd pretensions to celibacy made by the Romish clergy. Had it been a real celibacy, however nature might have revolted against such enforced constraint—whatever might have been the resulting evil—the priesthood of Rome might have claimed credit for sincerity, and been honoured as martyrs for the self-sacrifice implied in the abstinence which they observed. But it was no such thing—it was mere hypocrisy. The law proposing it was one which relieved them from a yoke which they imposed upon the laity—from the burthen of a duty, while they retained the privilege of indulgence and enjoyment in even a fuller measure, stopping short, in fact, at no licentiousness, which at length was flagrantly exhibited, without remorse or shame, by almost all without exception. Such a horrid and unnatural state of things excited the indignation of every honest mind, and to the earnest and right-thinking among his fellow-citizens Boccaccio appealed in his admirable tales.

The "Tales from Boccaccio" before us are a few versified from the "Decameron," upon a peculiar principle. They are accompanied, as the title page suggests, with "Modern Illustrations"—that is, the narrative starts off in digression and reflection, and alludes to persons and things of the day we live in. It would appear that the author thinks that the Puseyism of the day requires a Boccaccio plaster, and it must be confessed that he exhibits the prescription with no little vigour. We cannot say that we altogether approve of the extensive personality in which his poems indulge; but no doubt can exist that the volume exhibits ability of no ordinary kind and degree. The variety of talent is also extraordinary. It can scarcely be conceived that "The Abbot of Florence," and the story of "Salvestra," could have been written by the same pen. If they were, the versatility is as remarkable as the amount of genius displayed in these two free and easy but striking and eminently meritorious productions.

The "Abbot of Florence" is a direct attack by Boccaccio on the pretended hypocritic celibacy of the Romish clergy, and the correlative licentiousness in which they indulged. This practical exposure Boccaccio corrected with a doctrinal one—the abuse of the dogma of purgatory—thus hitting two

errors at one blow. The story is well known. An amorous abbot invents a purgatorial punishment for a jealous husband, and takes advantage of his absence most amply to justify his suspicions. The scruples of the wife he sets at rest with this unanswerable argument:—

> " The lady and the abbot soon agreed
> That old Ferando should be straitway sent
> Where he would all their pious masses need,
> To get his spirit out of punishment:
> The abbot swore it was a holy deed,
> And that her conscience never would repent!
> But added, if it came to that conclusion,
> He'd ease her with a little absolution!"

The same argument, also, is adduced, on a similar occasion, in the poem of " Salvestra:"—

> " What of Lebrun? Sin was to him no shame!
> He could absolve whate'er was done amiss—
> Conscience for him had no reproof or blame;
> His scheme had failed: he felt annoyed at this,
> But nothing further;—compensating bliss
> He found in what remained. What he began
> He finished as of course, nor feared the hiss
> Of censure. Why? The office saves the man,
> And others too with him, whom he can bless or ban."

There are, likewise, notes to the poems, in which the abuse of the absolving power assumed by the Roman Catholic Church is exposed by signal examples. Sad it is that the clergy of any period should thus abuse their undoubted privileges and scandalize the noblest of professions! More sad to think that our own age and our own Church are not exempt, and that we have reason to be thankful that a powerful satirist, like our present story-teller, has chosen to look at the subject through the spectacles of Boccaccio: a more direct inspection might have been the occasion of much offence; as it is, some of the moral applications in the volume are not altogether agreeable to our feelings.

The introduction to the book contains the following striking passage:—

" Once upon a time the fowls of heaven took it into their wise heads to plant a grove of oaks, which the Druids might worship in, and thus make sacred. Property had not yet put up her pales, but when the oaks had grown to their full majesty, and enclosed the space which became sacred by acts of devotion, the awe which they excited made them respected; and, in course of time, old age and custom made them

venerable. But, at length, the Druids ceased to worship beneath the shadow of their branches; nevertheless the awe with which they were at first invested still continued, though that which had inspired it was no more. Fine and noble trees were those old oaks, but the breadth of their ramification injured contiguous growth; and, as they had attained all the perfection of which they were capable, the period was nigh when they would begin to decline in vigour, and become unsound in substance. Ere long, they would gradually decay on the soil on which they had grown, if left to the process of unassisted nature. But, happily, the lord of the soil wanted the wood for naval construction; and decided, though not without much remorse and misgiving, that the venerable oaks of the Druids required the operation of the axe. And thus, before the timber was good for nothing, were the oaks, though once sacred, cut down; room thereby being made for the rising underwood to branch out and strengthen in its turn.

"Such are human institutions. Seldom attaining in less than a century to their full growth, seldom do they retain for much more than a century their strength and utility. Nations, it is said, unhappily obey the fate of their institutions, and wither with them, when they prop and plumb and plaster too carefully their decaying establishments; but recover, on the contrary, a juvenile and vernal invigoration, by the excision of mouldering branches, parasitical plants, and crowded scantlings and stifling shade. The Druids had ceased to worship within the grove of sacred oaks when Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio began to utter their parables in rhyme or numerous prose. To be sure there were still mummers who mimicked the forms and ceremonies of the old religion, and claimed to be the rightful owners of the spot. But these men were so immoral, ignorant, and oppressive; became so infamous, both by the precepts they uttered and the example that they set up, that there was scarcely a child or a public beggar who was not cognizant of the cheat, and despised them as wretched pretenders and unholy hypocrites. Descendants from the veritable and venerable Druids they might have been; but they had long ago abdicated their commissions as the maintainers of the true Druidical culture, and were no longer entitled to speak with authority, or to mediate for the people with the Object of adoration. The salt had lost its savour, and there was nothing wherewith it could be salted anew.

"What the children and the Lazzaroni of Italy saw plainly, such men as Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio could not fail to see still more distinctly. Dante set, indeed, a precedent and example for the most vehement protestation against the abuses and corruptions of the Church of Rome. A new life of thought and feeling had, in fact, been for some time in progress. This Petrarca most unreservedly expressed, filled to overflowing, as he was, with the mighty impulse which was then agitating the heart of Christendom; to the impetus of which he likewise contributed by adding thereto the tone and voice of love—thus advancing mysticism under the disguise of passion. Still true religion remained the property of the poet and the mystic, or the sage; it had not yet been made the inheritance of the people. This was reserved for Boccaccio, to whom was committed the task of rendering

it more attractive, by investing it with a romantic costume. His romance had a burgher and civic character—precisely the popular element fitted to serve and to support the movement in a descending direction, till safely planted in the middle and lower ranks of society. It is true that his aim was more negative than positive. The exposure of vices among the clergy occupied a more prominent position than the exhibition of virtues among the laity; this, however, was the law of the time, unavoidable by him, and marking a transitional age which should lead to another both constitutive and conservative of good.

"This was the first step towards the instruction of the middle class; a service of danger both to government and people—the former retaining still the obsolete ignorance which had permitted the evil to happen, and the false philosophy which had sanctioned that ignorance: while the latter advanced in merit, science, and talent, and refused to proceed in error at the bidding of unenlightened power. Education entitles its possessor to a formal interference in public affairs, and, when sufficiently spread among the people, renders prudent a provision to that end, perhaps an elective constitution necessary. Wisdom and confidence are needed to obtain the obedience of the instructed, but ignorance and falsehood having formed themselves into a system, the ancient order has had ever to be dissolved ere place for a better could be found. The defence of the tottering system is for awhile reckoned of more importance than the concession of progressive reforms; and to extinguish the approaching light, accordingly, no means have been considered too atrocious. The massacre of St. Bartholomew appeared only a 'good work' to many pious and prejudiced minds—for what were the lives of fifty thousand persons to the safety of the long-established superstition? Thank heaven, however, man is so constituted that such crimes induce such re-actions as make their repetition impracticable. Nevertheless at all times—even in these—there may be found infatuated men who, with more zeal than discretion, feel as if they could *murder* all who demand a purer creed than that which has of old been sanctioned by external authority. Dr. Pusey, for instance, thought himself justified, even so late as the year 1843, in protesting against the expediency of celebrating the great Protestant deliverance on the 5th of November; and entering into a *quasi* defence of the wholesale assassination intended. Nor have there been wanting others who have uttered from the pulpit the same sentiments in a still bolder form—men who would confessedly revive all the severities of the holy office. By such men the Church of the Reformation in England has been now assailed for a number of years, during which they endeavoured to conceal their Jesuitism and Romanism under a mask; but it having been at length torn from them, they have since openly gone over to Rome. For these men the late Professor Sewell has, forsooth, in another 5th of November sermon in the present year, published an apology—'The Plea of Conscience,' and 'The Process of Conscience,' by which they might and have arrived at the last stage of apostasy, and seceded to the Mother of Harlots. It seems that these 'sanctified traitors' might have been, and were justified in their secession, by 'their weariness with the sins of Christ's servants' in the

Protestant Church, 'the dreariness of the world, and the madness of the people.' We are next charitably called on 'to compare ourselves with those who are gone—men of zeal, men of piety, men of prayer, and watchings, and fastings, and almsgiving, and purity of life.' No; we have a higher duty than that!—to compare the Church they have gone to with the Church they have left—to contrast the corruption of the one with the purity of the other: this is what the controversy demands—this is what the honest Protestant would esteem his duty. What care we, though the superstitious and jesuitical quit the pale of our glorious National Establishment? We are well rid of them. We have left, and always had, many nobler sons than they—men who disdain the adoption, whether speculatively or practically, of the scandalous assumption that the end justifies the means, however unworthy, base, or vile—men who have never shown themselves willing, for any cause, to shed the blood or even to calumniate the saints—men who have never, like the Tractarians, heaped and accumulated, without regard to persons, every possible term of abuse, not only on those who were against them, but on those who were simply not for them—men who were and are above the meanness of retaining the Protestant revenues, and deriving from them the sinews of a war directed against the Protestant Establishment; such men as these have always illustrated and still adorn the Church of England, which can therefore well afford to lose those discontented spirits whose fanatical conduct left us in doubt whether they were knaves or madmen, until the issue proved that they had all along been fools and traitors—dupes of a corrupt superstition, and Iscariots to the purified ritual in which they had been educated and to which they had vowed allegiance.

"These things being considered, no time could be better suited to revive the testimony of a Boccaccio to the corruptions of the Church of Rome than the present."

But we must not part from the poem without adducing a specimen both of its force and its feeling:—

"By heavens! it must be a pleasant thing
To live and die within a garden land,—
To see the bursting herbage in the spring,
And watch as day by day the buds expand!
To hear the sweet birds in the morning sing,
Those songs which the pure heart can understand!
To sit at noon beneath the leafy tree,
Whose rustling makes a music like the sea.

"And then to watch the twilight shadows creep
Over the mighty heavens, like a thought
Glooming the mind; to know the world asleep
And nature to the breast of midnight caught!
To feel the silence passionately deep,
'Till every sense is to its climax wrought!—
For one sweet year of life like this, I'd give
In glad exchange the years I have to live."

The story of Salvestra is of a more serious character, and is written not in *ottava rima* but in Spenserian stanzas. It is a tale of a rich merchant's son *(Girolamo)*, whom his widowed mother sent from Florence to Paris to be out of the way of a tailor's daughter (*Salvestra*), whom he had affected from infancy. When he returns he finds the forsaken Salvestra married to a rustic: forcing his way at night to her chamber he wakes her up from beside her husband, excites her pity to his evident grief and suffering, and then lying down beside her, by a compulsory retention of his breath, produces asphyxia whereof he dies. The poor woman attends his funeral, and, throwing herself on the dead body in the church, expires of a broken heart! These incidents are told with great dramatic and poetic fervour, interspersed with satirical contemporary allusions. We give specimens. The young man is sent away, *vid* the Arno, in a merchant's vessel:—

"Aboard! aboard! Adown the Arno gliding,
The argosy sails proudly beautiful;
More treasure now within her bosom hiding
Than all the wealth that clothes and crowns the dull—
A lover's heart, of dreams and passions full
Of fancies rich and gorgeous and divine,
Like a great poet's brain, whose tide to lull,
Star-spheres do sing, and the chaste moon doth shine
Reaching the cerebral mass through his admiring eyne.

"Bright Arno! Who'd not rest upon thy billow,
Like a rapt bridegroom, if his heart were free
To wed thee, as upon a fluid pillow
That yielded to the pressure pleasingly?
Who'd not an Adriatic make of thee,
And with a ducal ring espouse thy wave,
Even from thy fountains to the Tuscan sea,
Child of the Appennines; whether thou lave
The hermit-city, or the shores where sleep the brave?

"But what is there in thee to solace him,
Exile from love, and hurried to that barque—
A spectral barque, and manned with demons grim,
Rigged in eclipse when sun and moon were dark,
And nature, like a corse, with horror stark—
No farewell spoken, no remembrance left,
Token of happy hours, the pledge and mark
Of fond affection, forcibly bereft
From all that still it loved, the heart asunder cleft?

"All this of course had been contrived before,
That furtively, as you may understand,
He might quit Florence, and, being put on shore
At Pisa, thence by Genoa, overland,

Reach France and Paris. By which underhand
Proceeding, poor Salvestra nothing knew
Of his departure, even though from the strand
She watched, with mystic sense, as it withdrew,
The stately barque that held her lover young and true!

" Salvestra looks at the receding sail
With ignorant complacence; yet, I've hinted,
A mystic sense, like an incipient ail,
Troubles her mind:—So literal misprinted,
Though on the plaguy proofs no pains were stinted,
An author's, in his work just new from press—
Type of a grief shall be more deeply dinted,
As time wears on and life wears out—distress,
With disappointment soured, embitter'd bitterness.

" There lies, besides, a well of gentle feeling
Within that maiden's heart:—it now is stirred,
And in the motion seems to seek for healing;
Like to the winglets of a little bird,
There is a flutter in her bosom—heard
More by the inner sense than by the ear—
A murmur then—a syllable—a word—
And then a link'd utterance calm and clear
Sighs through her tremulous lips—a simple lyric. Hear!—

" ' I think of Ariadne,
While sails that barque away,
Upon the Arno dancing,
So gallant and so gay!
Why do I think of her now?
Tell me, my heart! O, say!

" ' My Theseus ne'er will leave me—
Then sail, thou barque! away—
Yet why should thought thus grieve me,
Upon this sunny day?
Why do I think of her now?
Tell me, my heart! O, say!' "

This little lyric is, we think, exquisite. Salvestra's reflections after her desertion are, also, exceedingly pathetic, and the transfer of her love to another is traced with psychological acumen. Having resisted the temptations of Paris, Girolamo returns. First, he sees his mother—his soul all despair and agony, he wanders forth—alas! to die beside the betrayed and deserted and now utterly lost object of his *faithful* love! The scene is too long for extract; but altogether it is one of the most tearful and touching pieces of writing extant. The death of Salvestra herself, however, must be given:—

" There, 'neath the sacred roof, upon his bier
Reposed the noble youth, and, it around,
His mother, friends and relatives wept there;
Lamenting him, while yet above the ground,
With ceremonial rites, with grief profound,
With solemn state, with pomp processional
Of crucifix and taper, and the sound
Of chaunted psalmody; while, amidst all,
A penitential dirge was sung by great and small:—

" THE DIRGE.

" ' Who dare say, God is proud?
What, then! Can pride be human
In man? and fair in woman?
O, how looks it in a shroud?
Chap-fallen! Ah! why?
Of the dust, for it is spread,
In the grave, an humble bed—
Where it *must* lie!

" ' Weep ye? O, turn aside
In shame, ye melancholy,
Ye wanton sons of folly!
Pride! repent thee of thy pride!
Chap-fallen! Ah! why?
Look, where death's pale mask, a-grin,
Laughs at mortals, while they sin—
There they *must* lie!'

" Thus ran the dirge. Sighieri felt it drear.
They say, in part, 'twas written by herself:
It might be so. I know not if it were—
At all events, it indicates the shelf
Whereon her hopes were wrecked—as if of delf
Some people might be made, and some of china;
But on this point of Jervis ask—or Jelf—
To whom a soul at Mecca or Medina,
Is quite as good as one that worships Rome's Regina.

" But on all mountains men shall worship God;
In every heart his image traced may be:
All are his offspring who, without a nod,
Created and commands the things we see,
And those we cannot. Let us, then, agree
To love each other, as our flesh and bone;
Since the same father, the same deity,
Has made all nations of one blood alone—
Thus from Sighieri's fault the Church may learn her own.

" O wondrous power of love! To see it shown,
We to Salvestra turn;—who veilèd stood,
'Mid that assembly, as if there, alone,
Among the crowd, she was in solitude.

The sound of that strange hymn came on her mood,
To fret, tease, vex, provoke, exasperate,
Excite, inflame, and anger brain and blood;
But the strong passion she would yet abate,
And still at distance stood, and kept her veilèd state.

" The strain has ended—that weird strain—and still
Her spirit had its agony repressed;
But, at its ceasing, with a sudden thrill,
A tide of feeling gushed into her breast.
—She must approach the cradle of his rest;
His, who was once—still is—so dearly loved!
And, through the pressure, like a swan's white crest,
Midst heaving waves, she gently—slowly moved;
Seen or unseen by some; approved or not approved.

" She reached the bier and stood reflectively,
A little while; but nought essayed to speak;
Then, from the countenance of the dead put by
What covered it, and saw *his* face. A shriek!
Like a geir-eagle's from an eyrie peak,
Shrill, and prolonged, and climbing to the sky,
Where late, ere wounded in the archer's freak,
Its wing soared upward:—O, how wearièdly
That aspiration vain pierces the air on high!

" Such was the shriek Salvestra utter'd—
And,—having of that terrible cry relieved
Her labouring bosom,—fell upon the dead,
Prostrate; and yet, as if she little grieved,
But few tears shed; and none a sob perceived.
That one wild shriek bore all her grief away,
And of her life bereaved the love-bereaved!
So, mute and moveless, on that corse she lay;
While wondering gazed the crowd—but wist not she was clay.

" Anon the women gathered her around,
(Who she might be, as yet, they had no notion,)—
To comfort her, and raise her from the ground;
Admiring much her personal devotion,
Misdeeming she had swooned of strange emotion:
'Lady! whoe'er thou art, arise!' they said.
—She stirred not—spake not—shrunk not from the erosion
Of sound or touch:—the dying on the dead
Fell when she fell—her heart its death shriek uttered!

" She stirs not—speaks not—breathes not! Give her air—
Her veil removed, they recognize her face—
It is Salvestra's!—pale, yet passing fair;
Calmer than when in life, with more of grace.
The sculptor's now, alone, there finds a place;

That serene beauty which one master only
Gives to his works, and which in all we trace,
Though, scorned by him, they broken round his throne lye;
Severest of severe—sceptred, and crowned, and lonely!

"A double pity now inspired the soul
Of all beholders, who, with louder sorrow,
Lamented the departed; both the goal
Of happiness had won:—to-day, to-morrow,
From other's will they no permission borrow,
How they shall bless, or how they shall be blessed—
Henceforth unswayed, with love entire and thoro',
Through fields of peace they wander or they rest,
No tyranny to awe, no terrors to molest."

Nothing need be added in recommendation of such poetry as this, directed as it is against the sin of mammon, and dedicated to the exposition of divine love. This fine tale is followed by another called "Fiante," full of elevated poetry and dulcet feeling.

We now come to the "New Timon," which, though a satire is also a romance—not in stanzas, however, but in heroic couplets, blending narrative and criticism on the times. Its aim is rather political than ecclesiastical. The story is very much like the known productions of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and in style and versification the whole poem might easily be mistaken for his. It has all his faults and affectations, and more than his usual merits and elegance. Though we cannot commend the poem as we have done the Boccaccio volume for the purity of its spirit and tone—though we cannot accept it for pure gold—yet, as tinsel known and acknowledged to be such, we must award honour to it on account of its exceeding cleverness. On points of taste, however, it is full of blunders; absurdly underrating, for instance, the poems of Tennyson, and unjustly censuring the Government for rewarding the author with a pension. At the same time, we sympathize in the writer's indignation against the neglect with which Mr. Sheridan Knowles, the veteran dramatist, has been treated. Enough, however, for a craft manifestly only built for the day's pleasure, and not designed for a long voyage on the sea of time. While the "Tales from Boccaccio" bid fair for immortality, "The New Timon" will float and dazzle for awhile, like a Chinese gilt paper-boat; but, having once served the purpose of amusement, will be suffered to drift down the stream of past happiness, and perish in the night of neglect.

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1. *The Life of Lorenzo de Medici, called the Magnificent.* By W. Roscoe.
2. *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* By W. Roscoe, London: Bohn, 1846.

When the first of these works appeared, just fifty years ago, it was received with enthusiasm by a large portion of the reading public and welcomed by all the lovers of history—the former admiring its manly sentiments and correct yet vigorous style of writing; and the latter valuing it still more for the sterling quality of its materials—for the diligent research which was evinced among the best kind of documents—and for the general fidelity and candour displayed in appreciating the relative value of conflicting testimonies and stating the fair result. The lapse of time has tended to confirm the verdict of the public on the merits of Mr. Roscoe's history; and our interest in the characters whom he is led to notice, and in the events of which they were either the instigators or the prime movers, is rather increased than diminished by recent occurrences, which have directed so much attention to the circumstances which lead to, and at length necessitated, the Reformation.

In Lorenzo the Magnificent Mr. Roscoe had for his subject the foremost man in an eventful age, and one whose influence depended far more on the weight of personal character than on the accidental and adventitious circumstances of station, or on political occurrences. The wisdom, integrity, and disinterestedness of Lorenzo—qualities often acknowledged by his contemporaries, through the unequivocal testimony of appointing him the arbitrator in their quarrels—formed the basis of his character as a statesman; and his availing himself of all the treasures of ancient art, which were then seeking refuge in Italy from the Mahomedan barbarism which was at that time desolating Greece, contributed more than any other cause we know of to the revival of letters, and sculpture, and painting in Europe—impressed much of his own character upon the age, which became example at length so influential as to form and give the mould to all succeeding time—so that modern Europe contemplated under the aspect of refinement and civilization might, perhaps, be justly denominated Medicean.

Lorenzo owed much to his father, but both owed everything to the free institutions of Florence, which gave room for the display of those talents which God had given them, and in the use of which they acquired that wealth and influence which

enabled them so greatly to advance and accelerate the tender age of modern letters and arts, which have since attained so commanding a stature and filled the world with their fame. And it is instructive to remark that the same practical good sense, which enabled these Florentine merchants to advance their own fortunes and to conduct prosperously the affairs of the State, was carried into their patronage of literature and the fine arts; and the success which attended their endeavours was the legitimate consequence. The judicious steps they took might not create the genius and talent which were called forth; but these brilliant qualities would either have remained dormant, or would have taken a wrong direction, save for the classical models of every kind which were collected by the enlightened munificence of the Medici, and the liberal access to these collections which was allowed to all, and the generous support of those young men of promise who were in needy circumstances, while they were engaged in perfecting their education by studying these precious remains of antiquity.

It is to Florence and the Medici, not to Rome and the Popes, that the revival of letters is to be traced. The Popes of that age were a disgrace, not only to their station in the Church, but to human nature—for the most part ignorant, always intriguing politicians, generally most immoral in private life, and unscrupulous as to the means of gratifying themselves or accomplishing their political purposes. And most of them were hostile to Florence as a free State, and to the Medici as in all respects a contrast to themselves, and an obstacle standing in the way of the accomplishment of their ambitious projects:—

"Paul II., between whom and the family of the Medici there subsisted an irreconcileable enmity, died on the 26th of July, 1471, leaving behind him the character of an ostentatious, profligate, and illiterate priest. This antipathy was occasioned by the ambition of Paul," &c. (p. 121). "As soon as the affairs of Italy were so adjusted as to give the first indications of permanent tranquillity, Sixtus died. The coincidence of these events gave rise to an opinion, which was rendered in some degree credible by the knowledge of his restless disposition, that his death was occasioned by vexation at the prospect of a general peace. Of the character of this successor of St. Peter we have already had sufficient proof. It must, indeed, be acknowledged that no age has exhibited such flagrant instances of the depravity of the Roman see as the close of the fifteenth century, when the profligacy of Sixtus IV. led the way, at a short interval, to the still more outrageous and unnatural crimes of Alexander VI. The avarice of Sixtus was equal to his ambition. He was the first Roman pontiff who openly exposed to sale the principal offices of the Church; but not

satisfied with the disposal of such as became vacant, he instituted new ones for the avowed purpose of selling them, and thereby contrived to obtain a certain emolument from the uncertain tenure by which he held his see." (p. 219).

Elegance of mind was hereditary in the Medici family from the time of Cosmo, the grandfather of Lorenzo, to the age of Leo X., when it was no longer the distinction of one family but became characteristic of Italy. Cosmo imbibed it from those Greeks who accompanied John Paleologus to the the Council of Florence in 1438; and whom Cosmo, who had been for the second time invested with the office of Gonfaloniere, sumptuously entertained:—

"And the reception he gave to the illustrious visitors, whilst it was highly honourable to his guests, was extremely gratifying to the citizens of Florence, who were as remarkable for the magnificence of their public exhibitions as for their moderation and frugality in private life."—"Amongst those chosen on the part of the Greeks was Gemisthus Pletho, who was then at a very advanced period of life which had been devoted to the study of the Platonic philosophy. As often as his public occupations afforded him an opportunity he employed himself in the propagation of his opinions, which were not only new to his scholars of Italy, but were greatly at variance with those doctrines which had long obtained an uninterupted ascendancy in all the public schools and seminaries of learning. So powerful was the effect which the discourses of Gemisthus had upon Cosmo de Medici, who was his constant auditor, that he determined to establish an academy at Florence for the sole purpose of cultivating this new and more elevated species of philosophy."....."The Florentine academy was some years afterwards established with great credit, and was the first institution in Europe for the pursuit of science detached from the scholastic method then universally adopted." (p. 66.)

Cosmo, in furtherance of these pursuits, collected all the remains of the ancient Greek and Roman writers, and whatsoever other ancient manuscripts he could hear of through his extensive mercantile intercourse with all parts of the world, which desire his great wealth enabled him to gratify beyond any other individual of the time; and the daily crumbling of the eastern empire, under the assaults of the Turks, dispersed many of those treasures locked up in the libraries of Greece, and brought them within the reach of Cosmo at the time he was most anxious to possess them. Stimulated by the example of Cosmo, another citizen of Florence, Niccolo Niccoli, also made large collections; which, at the death of Niccolo, he left to the use of the public, but which came under the direction of Cosmo, and was, by him, deposited in the Dominican monastery of

St. Marco, at Florence, which Cosmo himself had erected; and it became the foundation of the celebrated "Bibliotheca Marciana," which remained for more than three centuries open to the inspection of the learned. In arranging the library of St. Marco, Cosmo obtained the assistance of the son of a poor physician, and himself poor, and only in the lower order of the clergy; yet a man who had acquired great knowledge of the Greek and Roman authors, and himself possessed some valuable manuscripts: this was Tomaso Calandrino, who soon after became Pope Nicholas V.

"By the rapid degrees of fortunate preferment Tomaso was in the short space of twelve months raised from his humble situation to the chair of St. Peter, and in eight years, during which time he enjoyed the supreme dignity by the name of Nicholas V., acquired a reputation that has increased with the increasing estimation of those studies which he so liberally fostered and protected. The scanty library of his predecessors had been nearly dissipated or destroyed by frequent removals between Avignon and Rome, according as the caprice of the reigning pontiff chose either of those places for his residence; and it appears from the letters of Traversari that scarcely anything of value remained. Nicholas V. is, therefore, to be considered as the founder of the library of the Vatican. In the completion of this great design, it is true, much was left to be performed by his successors; but Nicholas had before his death collected upwards of five thousand volumes of Greek and Roman authors, and had not only expressed his intention of establishing a library for the use of the Roman court, but had also taken measures for carrying such intention into execution" (p. 68).

The father of Lorenzo inherited and transmitted to his son the tastes as well as the collections of Cosmo de Medici; and the grandson added largely to them in every way, and virtually gave the benefit of these accumulations of three generations to the whole world, by gathering around him all who were capable of appreciating their value, to extend knowledge and improve the taste, and by the judicious encouragement and support of such young men as stood in need of direction or patronage. Politiano resided with Lorenzo: numbers of the most distinguished scholars were on the most familiar footing in his house; and his statues and works of art were freely open not only to inspection but as models by which young artists might improve their taste, and such as came from a distance were, to the extent which his house allowed, hospitably entertained by Lorenzo the Magnificent. And while the library of St. Marco was furnished with all the choicest treasures of ancient literature for the use of scholars, Lorenzo—

"Appropriated his gardens, adjacent to the monastery of St. Marco, to

the establishment of a school or academy for the study of the antique, and furnished the different buildings and avenues with statues, busts, and other pieces of ancient workmanship. The attention of the higher rank of his fellow citizens was incited to these pursuits by the example of Lorenzo—that of the lower class by his liberality. To the latter he not only allowed competent stipends whilst they attended to their studies, but appointed considerable premiums as the rewards of their proficiency To this institution more than to any other circumstance we may, without hesitation, ascribe the sudden and astonishing proficiency which, towards the close of the fifteenth century, was evidently made in the arts, and which, commencing at Florence, extended itself in concentric circles to the rest of Europe. The gardens of Lorenzo Medici are frequently celebrated by the historian of painters (Vasari) as the nursery of men of genius; but if they had produced no other artist than Michelagnolo Buonarotti they would sufficiently have answered the purposes of their founder. It was here that this great man began to imbibe that spirit which was destined to effect a reformation in the arts, and which he could, perhaps, have derived from no other source.....From this time till the death of Lorenzo, Michelagnolo constantly resided in the palace of the Mediei, and sat at the table of Lorenzo among his most honoured guests; where, by a commendable regulation, the troublesome distinctions of rank were abolished and every person took his place in the order of his arrival. Hence the young artist found himself at once associated on terms of equality with all that was illustrious and learned in Florence, and formed those connections and friendships which, if they do not create, are at least necessary to promote and reward superior talents." (p. 314.)

This was efficient patronage, but such as few individuals are in circumstances to afford; but, so far as it can be given at any time, we feel persuaded that such a course, prompted by a real love of excellence and regulated by the same practical good sense, will do more towards raising the tone of art in any country than all the pensions which could be bestowed by the most liberal or most ostentatious sovereign. Create the genius, and its own innate energy will work its way. But Lorenzo was in advance of the age in all respects—in politics as well as in refinement: and he it was who first had the sagacity to discover and the ability to carry out that system of the balance of power in the limited sphere of Italy, and among those independent petty States which extended to Europe and the greater States of Christendom, which has tended so much to produce the stability of governments and confidence in themselves and towards each other. How much this depended upon Lorenzo personally appears from his doing so much in person—of which there is a striking instance in his going alone, and without safe conduct or pledge of any kind, to

Naples when Ferdinand was engaged in a confederacy against him. The Pope did all in his power to influence the King of Naples, and urged him to seize and retain Lorenzo; but the representations of sound policy at length prevailed with Ferdinand, and detached him from the Pope and engaged him to unite with Florence. Nay, so much appeared to depend on the personal character of Lorenzo that twice his enemies attempted to assassinate him; and the second time he was actually wounded in the neck, and his brother and one of his attendants killed; and in the most solemn act of worship—the elevation of the host being the signal for the blow, two priests being the assassins, and the Pope being privy to the plot—circumstances which render this atrocious attempt, considering the agents employed and all the facts of time and place, unparalleled in enormity even in that most flagitious age. And the moderation of Lorenzo affords a striking contrast to the violence of the Pope, who, in the dementation of rage, avowed his participation in the guilt, by putting the inhabitants of Florence under an interdict for having defended Lorenzo and taken vengeance on the assassins.

The worth of Lorenzo was also manifested by the disorders which ensued at his death; soon after which Florence, losing this able administrator of its affairs, lost its preponderance in Italy and its own freedom: which, disturbing that balance of power which Lorenzo had endeavoured to maintain, filled Italy with intrigues and produced convulsions which never wholly subsided, and rendered the several States impotent against the assaults of France, Spain, or Austria, as either was in the ascendant. Had not Julio been assassinated, it is likely that he, who had much of the same character as Lorenzo, would have carried on the wise counsels of his brother; but Piero, the eldest of the sons of Lorenzo, was unequal to the task; and that son, who afterwards became distinguished as Leo X., was too young on the death of his father to undertake anything, even if he could have interfered in affairs which belonged to his elder brother, and had not been prevented or barred by the circumstance of his being a cardinal of the Church.

Leo in the earlier stages of his ecclesiastical career had always conducted himself with prudence and propriety; and though he could not avert nor stay the ruin of his family soon after the death of Lorenzo, yet he succeeded some years afterwards in partially restoring it from the ruins. As a Pope, also, Leo may be advantageously compared with any of the popes of that age—an age so bad that to be less corrupt and

less worldly than the rest may be esteemed as commendation. The family of the Medici gave, also, another Pope to the Church in Clement VII., who was a natural son of that Julio who was assassinated in the church when Lorenzo had so narrow an escape. We should have had pleasure in pursuing the events of this most interesting period in the history of the Church—a period, moreover, full of instruction and warning suitable to the present time—but want of space forbids, and we can only earnestly recommend the history of Rome and of Italy during that period to the attentive consideration of our readers.

H Βασιλεια: *or, the Kingdom of God in its Present State and Future Manifestation.* By the Rev. JOHN HOOPER, Rector of Albury; Author of works entitled "Αποκαλυψια;" "The Ecclesia;" "Catholicæ Doctrinæ;" "A Word in Season," &c., &c. London: Painter. 1846.

UNDER this title we have, as the advertisement informs us, a sermon preached by Mr. Hooper at Guildford, at a visitation held by the bishop's commissary.

A visitation sermon commonly differs in many of its characteristics from the discourse which a clergyman ordinarily preaches to his parishioners. The class of persons addressed is very different; the subject matter is generally more doctrinal than hortatory; and it is usual to bring to its exposition a higher style of thought and greater care in research. A sermon of this sort is considered as a legitimate vehicle for the expression, by the preacher, of such views as he deems to be peculiarly necessary or useful to the order of which he is a member; and whilst the fitting respect and deference, which the ecclesiastical standing of his auditory demand, make him careful to advance these views in the way of suggestion rather than of dictation, still he is expected to speak to the actual circumstances of the times with boldness, and unhesitatingly to declare whatever may be pressing on his own mind as of paramount importance.

We think it is greatly to be regretted that the opportunities for this style of preaching are not more frequent. It is true that the clergy of a diocese can only be *taught*, in the legitimate sense of the word, by those whose proper office it is to teach them; but it is very good for them to hear from time to time what may be particularly weighing upon the mind and heart of their brethren; and it would be well both for hearers and preacher if the occasions for expressing it were not so few, and the class of preachers not so limited. The benefit would

we think be felt in many ways. The position of a country clergyman is oftentimes one of great isolation; the natural tendency of that isolation is to shut him up within the narrow circle of his own thoughts and views: he has little or no intercourse with any intelligence higher than his own; and the consequence sometimes is, either that he becomes peremptory or indolent in enunciating the truths which he has to teach. Anything that would tend to break through the limits of this isolation, with a light other than that which he himself possesses upon topics which, it is to be presumed, are most dear to him, would be beneficial. It cannot but happen that, in a district comprising many clergymen, there should be some who from force of circumstances are less isolated, or who have clearer perceptions of truth than others: the less advanced would naturally derive much advantage from the opportunity of hearing their brethren in their turn; and, as they could not on such occasions dogmatize, enlarged apprehensions of spiritual truth would be communicated without offence in the manner of their communication. The younger clergy would find it most advantageous were they required to take their part also in preaching to their brethren: it would compel them to correctness of definition and to a diligent search for the real and solid grounds for the doctrines which they hold—too often propounded upon second-hand authority indifferently understood, or in obedience to a prevalent system not throughly examined. Nor would it be a small advantage that thus, by turns, the place and condition in faith and knowledge of each would be brought to the cognizance of those upon whom the duty of oversight devolves. The clergy, more than any other class of men, need the support which a feeling of brotherhood gives, and the enlargement to which intercommunication of thought and idea contributes; and we apprehend that a system wherein they should be called to preach frequently before their brethren would be most advantageous in these respects.

Mr. Hooper's sermon is of a kind that naturally suggests such reflections as these. The subject of it, though a matter of firm faith to some and gradually fixing the attention of others of the clergy, is still new to many, and those who may have heard it propounded to them for the first time will, we think, at least be led to confess that much calling for very serious reflection was set before them; whilst the manner of setting it forth is as creditable to Mr. Hooper's modesty as to his good sense—the latter being very evident in so rightly appreciating the respect due to the standing and claims of his brethren. He says at the close of his discourse:—

"It has been my desire not to treat this subject dogmatically, which

would have ill become me, considering the standing experience and holy calling of those around me. I would merely place my own conviction before you in the form of suggestion, believing that what it involves calls for that serious attention and matured consideration which you are so well qualified to give it."

Mr. Hooper takes as his text these words, "Thy kingdom come:" he shows that they contain a petition for the manifestation of an estate yet to come, or *future;* he endeavours to ascertain what the meaning of the word *kingdom* may be, and then proceeds to deduce from it the nature of the *preparation* necessary and the *place* of its manifestation. He carefully guards, under the first head, against the supposition that, because the petition has a future reference, there has been as yet no manifestation of this kingdom, and shows in what sense it may already be said to have come, without militating against faith in a fuller and more perfect revelation yet to come: he sums up this part of his discourse by saying—

"Whilst we are clearly to understand that, as regards the constitution of Christ's Church, the kingdom of God is *come*, we are as clearly to understand that as regards the final accomplishment of its purpose *it is yet to come*, and I would enforce this, lest it be supposed that I am speaking of two distinct kingdoms or estates. I am speaking of *two distinct conditions* of one *estate or kingdom*, wherein we are to walk in the faith of what has been done by God's grace, and in the hope of what yet remains to be realized."

Mr. Hooper's views are clearly those of a large class of clergymen, who hold the doctrine commonly denominated as that of the second advent; whilst his explanation of the sense in which the kingdom of God may be said already to have come, consisting as that kingdom does in the constitution of the Church of Christ, is in stricter accordance, as regards the nature of sacraments and the meaning of the word "Church," with the doctrine of the Church of England, than are the views of some who have written on the same subject. In support of his faith he has affixed an appendix containing such proofs drawn from Scripture as the nature of his sermon did not allow him to introduce in preaching. We must refer our readers to it, that they may judge for themselves how far the reverend author's propositions are made good.

In answer to the question, "*cui bono?*"—so commonly put in reference to a discourse like this—we think it but fair that Mr. Hooper should speak for himself. He says:—

"If the things which I have stated be true, the preaching of the Gospel embraces, it is clear, a far wider sphere of doctrine than is generally believed to be contained in it. We, moreover, as the stewards

of God's mysteries, in considering them, may be enabled more justly to appreciate the number and importance of these mysteries. We shall be led deeply to feel that we are responsible for their application, neither unwisely bringing them forth out of their proper order and place, nor unfaithfully by wilful neglect detracting from their use and importance."

He also adds—

"I am not indifferent to the objection that there are some truths essential and others nonessential—that there are subjects which partake more of speculation than of edification—which it is therefore good to leave in abeyance. I am free to confess that the subject which I have now brought before you has been so classed: with all due deference I would, however, state my firm conviction that such objections are without foundation. No truth which is revealed in Scripture *can* be nonessential—it must bear a place in the order of God's purpose—it must be considered. Nothing which increases in us the knowledge of that purpose—nothing which realizes in us the great and ever blessed hope of the Church—can be without edification. The great verities which are necessarily to be received in order to salvation must ever be first and most earnestly enforced; but there is, besides the salvation of the sinner, an increase of spiritual strength, stature, and wisdom, in his progress, from the condition of the child to the full development of manhood in Christ; and for this it is necessary that the food which is proper for the strong man should be administered as well as the milk for the babe. 'Blessed (said our Lord) is that servant who is found when his lord cometh, feeding the household with meat in due season.' Clearly, then, the condition of that household should be preparation; clearly, moreover, the meat in due season is such an exposition of God's truth as shall, by his grace, make the Church intelligent as to the times in which she lives: it is clearly such *spiritual sustenance* in teaching as shall strengthen her to watchfulness in this last and most fearful hour of her earthly conflict."

Mr. Hooper seems evidently of opinion that the signs of the times are such as to show the Church that the *season* in which she is at present is that immediately preceding the appearing of the Lord. In this opinion he is by no means singular; for however differently they may understand or explain the nature of those events, which are prophetically described as having direct relation to this appearing, many are agreed as to the *great fact* itself and its proximity: nor can it escape the observation of any who think at all that the moral and spiritual phenomena of Christendom are unparalleled, and portend, as a necessary consequence of their fuller development, some crisis unequalled as to its magnitude and unprecedented as to its results. It matters not how men predicate this crisis: whether as a natural consummation of the progressive tendencies of past ages: whether as the maturity of that condition of knowledge daily extending

its influence over the whole social body—or whether, as many think, that coexistent estate of intellectual attainment and spiritual unbelief which is deemed to designate the hour of the Lord's appearing—still, all are agreed that the times are full of import, and that we are first hastening to a period wherein the greatest social changes that ever passed upon the world will be effected. There are symptoms of the coming storm—for storm we ourselves believe it will be—in the midst of us and at our own doors. The last few years have witnessed political measures, each of which has been a quiet revolution—each of which moreover has, in itself, laid the foundation for a fresh attack upon existing institutions and the repudiation of hitherto acknowledged principles. The contemplation of any destructive measure, as impossible of accomplishment because of the great interests that must suffer if it were carried, is now an exploded idea: for since the Reform Bill a breach has been opened for aggressive attack upon every constitutional interest in the land. It would have been reckoned a political madness ten years ago to have proposed a measure affecting the landed interests with any hope of its success—a still greater insanity to have predicted the abolition of the Aristocracy or the ascendancy of Popery; but a Conservative journal finds it now necessary to propose an elective peerage as a lesser of two evils; and the probable organization of Papal processions and a Papal supremacy are now gravely discussed, the question simply being one of time and not of feasibility. The *fact* that such things are now quietly contemplated by sober-minded persons judging from what they see, and that such contemplations are no longer looked upon in the light of a madness, is all we advance; and it is in itself a proof of the vast social change that has come over us, as well as an augury of that which impends. And for the Church there is nothing we think but a gloomy prospect: a Tractarian party on the one hand threatening to secede, because her Articles and services are not sufficiently expressive of what they call Catholic truth—and an Evangelical Alliance party on the other, ready to dissent, because they are, as they say, unscriptural in what they teach and require!—these render her internal condition one of strife and bitterness; whilst the bishops themselves, threatened by the radical confederacies of the land, are vainly endeavouring to meet the difficulty by the exercise of a more stringent discipline, which unhappily is of such a nature as to exhibit greater toleration for moral delinquency than conscientious scruples. Truly, if in such a time all men are keen enough in observation to mark the *signs of the times*, as indicative of that which they desire or dread in things political and social, it cannot be

surprising that God's ministers should use the light which the Church bestows for endeavouring to ascertain what grounds there may be in the midst of all this confusion for expecting the speedy realization of the great and blessed hope in which she brings her spiritual children to the birth, and lays them down to sleep in Jesus, when they have done their work. It is a good sign for the Church, in the midst of her outward trouble, that her servants are not behind the men of the world in intelligent apprehension of what is passing around; it is a better still, when they bring it, as Mr. Hooper does, to the light of revelation, that its true import may be discerned. Differences of detail there are, and always will be, in asserting the *order* of events attendant on the Lord's appearing: it must be so, since the *exact hour* of that appearing is hidden, and the *exact manner* is left to be gathered from inference; but the signs of the season are so given as to be readily discerned by the eye of faith, and we believe it is only as *the hope* itself is realized that the servants of the Lord will have strength to stand in the midst of the painful trials which are preparing for all who are true of heart and honest of purpose.

We have taken larger space for the review of a sermon than the subject would at first sight seem to demand. No one, however, we think can read Mr. Hooper's discourse without being led into deep reflection on all that is implied by the petition "Thy kingdom come;" for it is the daily prayer which it is to be hoped is offered by all who in the least lift up hand or heart to God. No one can fail to see that the times in which we live are extraordinary; and, even should he not agree in all the reverend author's deductions, he must be led to confess that this subject is so handled as to command attention and respect. We can safely recommend this discourse to our readers as one full of material for profitable thought—full of consolation in a trying time—containing much in the way of instruction to the pastor, and much for the building up of a scriptural hope in his people.

A Course of Sermons on some of the Chief Subjects of the Book of Psalms: containing three or more for each Day of the Month; abridged from Eminent Divines of the Established Church. By the Rev. J. R. PITTMAN, M.A. London: Longman and Co. 1846. 8vo.

"No Church in Christendom was ever blessed with a greater variety of pulpit compositions than our own is." Such was the remark made by Bishop Watson about sixty years ago. As, however, sermons have become very numerous since his

time, Mr. Pittman, more than twenty years since, communicated to the public the results of his extensive acquaintance with the best discourses extant in our language, in four large octavo volumes, forming two series of sermons for every Sunday and Festival in the year. These sermons were expressly designed for such "serious and religious families" as "generally close their Sunday evenings by some devotional exercises." The sale of several editions of this useful compilation attests how much such a publication was wanted, and how well it deserved the public favour. The volume which we now introduce to our readers completes the plan originally proposed by Mr. Pittman for the edification of religious families. It is not inferior to its predecessors in the variety and importance of its contents, which comprise one hundred and twenty-one discourses on various portions of the book of Psalms, including three or more for each day of the month. These are judiciously abridged from the works of Archbishops Sharp and Secker; Bishops Taylor, Pearson, Reynolds, Bull, Beveridge, T. Wilson, Horne, Porteus, Horsley, and Dehon; of Drs. Stanhope, S. Clarke, Waterland, Rogers, R. Newton, Bundy, Blair, and Paley; and of Messrs. Allen, Balguy, Carr, Gisborne, Robinson, Seed, Simeon, and Skelton. The names of these authors are a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the sentiments delivered in their discourses; and we hope that the circulation of this volume will not be inferior to that of Mr. Pittman's "Two Courses of Sermons for the Year," which have so long been honoured with the approbation of the religious portion of the public.

The Churchman's Penny Magazine, and Guide to Christian Truth. No. I. London: Wertheim. 12mo.

THIS publication is designed to bring before the serious classes of society, and especially the young, true Christianity in its vitality and power; and also to show the solid scriptural foundation on which rests the venerated and honoured Church of our fathers. It has been called forth by the strenuous efforts made to force into the widest possible circulation representations, most injurious to the divine principles and sacred character of our Church, her articles, and formularies. To such mischievous representations, this very cheap and well-printed monthly publication promises to be a most effectual antidote. We most cordially wish it success, and trust that it will speedily find its way into every family, kitchen, and school library.

A Display of Heraldry. By WILLIAM NEWTON. London: Pickering. 1846. 8vo.

ALTHOUGH our lucubrations are, for the most part, given to works more or less connected with theological literature, yet we love occasionally to take excursive flights and to see what men of other pursuits may have gathered or concocted, whether for instruction or amusement. Heraldry, with its parables, and quaintnesses, and historical *ἀνεκδοτα*, memorializing the deeds, superstitions, and opinions of byegone ages, is a study well worthy of at least a measure of attention; and the present work appears exceedingly well calculated to give a good general view of the subject. In addition to the first necessary elements, it presents us also, in its latter chapters, with much illustrative and interesting detail: giving, in its first chapters, to the uninitiated, the necessary preliminary explanations, and then, in its latter, rewarding us with pence for our pains—

"——ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima."

The sections which treat upon heraldry in connexion with the crusades, and those also which bring before us the bearings acquired by extraordinary achievements or by feudal service, are especially interesting.

Many curious mediæval facts which would otherwise be lost to us, some of them of individuals, some of more public history, and not a few illustrative of opinions or of manners, are preserved to us by heraldry—having no other record than the traditionary legend, of which the heraldic device that it explains has served to keep up the remembrance. How far the legend, in any given instance, is to be implicitly depended upon we cannot pretend to say; but it is certain that the emblazoned shield by which it is accompanied (seeing that the blazonry of the shield tells, or should tell, the same tale as the tradition) acts as a sort of check upon fanciful additions, which, had the fact recorded been entrusted solely to tradition, tradition would most assuredly have made; for tradition, like Virgil's *Fama*, is,

"Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuntia veri."

In this point of view, not to insist upon others, the utilities of the science are obvious; and it is one from which all that read thoughtfully may certainly learn something.

In one respect, the symbols of Heraldry have sometimes proved the innocent occasion of a popular difficulty with refe-

rence to certain Scriptural expressions, which a little explanation may perhaps remove. Appeals to the senses commonly produce almost indelible impressions; and blazonry has made the hybrid unicorns of heraldry, together with its monster dragons, so familiar to the eye, that when we read in Scripture of animals *so named* we are ready to suppose that Scripture asserts the existence of animals *so shaped*. The original Hebrew, however, does not even assert the existence of animals *so named*—the unicorn of our Scriptures being, in the Hebrew, *Reem*, and the dragon, *T'anneem*. As well, therefore, might we suppose that the pelican of Scripture fed her young, like the pelican of heraldry, with the flesh and blood of her own breast, as that the unicorn of the Scripture was a horned horse with a lion's tail, or the dragon a winged saurian with a lion's feet and body.

The last chapters of Mr. Newton's entertaining and instructive volume contains some curious instances of modern perversions of heraldic art, in the armorial devices granted to many of our most distinguished naval heroes. Throughout he has drawn his instances from the best sources, and many of his illustrations are derived from actual observation of the heraldic devices existing on the continent; and his work is illustrated with a profusion of admirably executed engravings on wood. It is the most comprehensive manual of heraldic science with which we are acquainted.

Horæ Apostolicæ: or, a Digested Narrative of the Acts and Apostles of Jesus Christ; arranged according to Townsend. By the Rev. William Shepherd, B.D. London: Longman and Co. 1846. Small 8vo.

This work is designed to "present, in regular and plain succession, a digested narrative of the Acts and Writings of the Apostles, in order that the Christian reader may be better enabled to understand the pains and labours of the first messengers of the Gospel of peace, and thereby more rightly estimate the loving-kindness and faithfulness of him who sent them forth as his ambassadors to bear the knowledge of his name into all nations." (Pref.) The object thus modestly proposed by the author he has fully realized in this well written and "digested narrative." His work will be found useful to those who may not be able to command access to more expensive and erudite treatises; and we think it will prove eminently useful to the younger members of the Church, especially to such as may be critically studying the Acts of the Apostles.

The Domestic Liturgy and Family Chaplain, in Two Parts: the First Part being Church Services adapted for Domestic use, with Prayers for every day of the week, selected exclusively from the Book of Common Prayer: the Second Part comprising an appropriate Sermon for every Sunday in the year. By the Rev. THOMAS DALE, M.A. London: 1846. 4to.

MR. DALE'S long experience as a parochial clergyman entitles any pastoral work from his pen to a candid reception, and the present publication will not detract from his well-earned reputation. It had its origin in a want which had long been felt and frequently expressed by many members of our Church, who, from various circumstances, are debarred from the comfort and privilege of her second service. To assist heads of families in supplying this deficiency, though *not* as a substitute for the daily service of the Church, he has undertaken the "Domestic Liturgy and Family Chaplain." It is divided into two parts: the first of which contains the services of our Church, including the calendar of lessons, the order for morning and evening prayer adapted to domestic use, together with the collects, epistles, and gospels, and the Prayer Book version of the Psalms: these are followed by a week's course of morning and evening prayers—prayers for the sick (where no minister can be procured) arranged in three services—with some special prayers. These are all exclusively selected from the Book of Common Prayer. The "Domestic Liturgy" is followed by the "Family Chaplain," which consists of fifty-eight short and appropriate discourses for every Sunday in the year, and for the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. These discourses are composed on some portion of the Holy Scriptures occurring in the lessons, epistles, or gospels for the day; and thus they carry out the great principle which should regulate the general preaching of the clergy—viz., that of making their teaching harmonize with the spirit of the prayers of the Church. These discourses possess the rare merit of not being too long: at the same time they are eminently devout and practical, and are characterised by a chastened eloquence which cannot fail to secure the attention both of readers and hearers. The volume, moreover, is recommended by singular beauty of typographical execution, and by the moderate price at which it is published. We hope that it will have an extensive circulation, and be eminently instrumental in promoting "growth in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Sermons: Published at the Request of his Congregation. By ALFRED GATTY, M.A., Vicar of Ecclesfield. London: Painter. 1846.

THE volume before us belongs to that most useful class of publications—plain practical discourses for plain practical men; like daily bread which we cannot dispense with, and which is the more nutritious in proportion as it is plain and unadulterated; and which, though always the same considered as to its substance, is perpetually renewed and prepared afresh from day to day. And although the author tells us in his preface that these discourses appear in the same form of hasty composition which sermons meant for the pulpit and not for the press must necessarily assume—and being prepared week by week may express more of the transient emotions of the writer's mind than of systematic theology—they are not the less useful on this account. Human nature is the same everywhere, and any one diligent servant of Christ going in and out amongst his flock, ascertaining their wants, giving them the food they need from day to day and week to week, is providing for them the bread of heaven, which, like the manna, will suit and satisfy every taste, and of which he that gathereth much will have nothing over—he that gathereth little shall have no lack: while that which thus sustains the spiritual life of one congregation will also afford nourishment to others of the same day and under similar circumstances.

These sermons are thirty in number, and have no connection of subjects—are not arranged in systematic order. The first is on the value of divine ordinances, and the second and third have for their subject the advent and birth of our Lord; but this is rather accidental, or, at most, an arrangement for publication, and did not enter into the plan of composition. It is, however, true that the first of these discourses is one of the most appropriate which could have been selected as an introduction to the rest, and affords, at the same time, a good index of the tone and spirit of the writer. He is treating on the causes which too often lead to a neglect of Christian ordinances, and assigns their simplicity and the very facilities as leading us to despise them—as Naaman the leper disdained the simple injunction to wash in Jordan and be clean—"If God would only bid us do some great thing for him—if he would only let us help him, as it were, in the work of our own salvation—we should be ready enough to essay the task. The truth is, that the more formal and superstitious religion is made, the more attractive to our senses does it immediately become." "All God's offers to the soul are, without trouble or foresight

on our part, *thrust* upon us. The bread of life, so to speak, is unsolicitedly spread upon our table: we have only to put forth our hand and take it. The language of the Redeemer is, 'I stand at the door and knock'—'Ask and ye shall recieve' —'Draw nigh unto God, and he will draw nigh unto you.' These assurances mean something, and undoubtedly they include easy access and free converse with him on whom all things everywhere depend. They suggest no impracticable duties to perform—they prescribe nothing which the meanest and poorest, if he have faith, cannot accomplish." (pp. 16, 17).

The sixth sermon, on our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus, will be read with pleasure by those who do not entertain ultra-calvinistic opinions—that is, who do not fall into the mistake commonly made by the parties we allude to, of confounding regeneration with conversion, which is almost as bad as confounding cause and effect. The nineteenth sermon, also, on the parable of the unjust steward, is one in which we find sobriety and also originality. The commendation, it is remarked, forms part of the parable, and is put into the mouth of his worldly master, and is only an acknowledgment that he had shown worldly wisdom. But our Lord's words to the disciples are concerning the kingdom of heaven and to use all earthly things as God's gifts, and solely with reference to the bearing which this use will have on the kingdom of heaven:—

"Look (says the Lord) at that man who is bartering in the market or is speculating on the exchange; he is up early and to bed late; he spares neither health, toil, trouble, nor the loss of pleasure; he lives for one object, and will die to gain it: and learn from his wisdom how you, who are my servants, ought to be wise—and from his struggling after the dross of the earth, in what degree you ought to strive to obtain the gold of heaven (p. 273).

"Our Lord (in advising his disciples to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness) intended to declare that even the profanest and least sacred of all things which the present life affords, have a religious responsibility attached to them, and should be used for a religious end; he would remind all that a day of judgment was in store; he would say to them individually, 'Give an account of thy stewardship: what use didst thou make of the talents that were entrusted to thee? Didst thou feed the hungry, clothe the naked, hospitably receive the stranger, and visit the sick and the prisoner in their affliction?—for these were the proofs I required of thy love, and if thou hast them not thou art not mine." (p. 276).

On the "Abuse of Conscience" Mr. Gatty remarks:—

"Conscience is simply that sovereign principle implanted by God in the hearts of his moral creatures, which, if obeyed, will always guide

them right. It is the power to distinguish betwixt good and evil—the result of that fatal fruit which was eaten by our first parents in Eden, and, by so much, it is inseparable from the cause of our ruin, whilst it is also a principal means of our restoration. Conscience is a sacred court of judicature in the soul where God himself bears constant witness; it is a chamber of appeal where every doubt can be satisfactorily solved; the possession of it marks the grand difference betwixt man and all other animals; and, when it has led man to eat of the tree of life in true Christian faith, it will lift him to God's right hand, to live for ever. Silently whispering in the depths of the soul, its voice can bring the messages of comfort or despair. When threats and punishment have failed to subdue the hardened impenitent, it can blanch the cheek and agonize the heart with sudden fear; or, on the other hand, it can throw a calm over the spirit in the midst of persecution and distress. It is, in fact, a holy shrine, on which the candle of the Lord sheds more or less light, according to whether the individual is influenced only by the principles of nature, or sanctified by the effusions of divine grace; for I cannot allow conscience to be in any one merely *custom*. In all cases it is a *divine* illumination; and God has never left himself without this witness in any society of his intelligent creatures: for the apostle declares that the Gentiles, who do by nature the things contained in the law, show the work of the law to be written even in *their* hearts, their conscience bearing them witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another."

Mr. Gatty, in the sermon on "Religious Zeal," says:—

"Would you know whether you have a zeal for the Lord?—do not ask yourself that question when you are doing something in his service which possibly gratifies your own vanity at the same time, but test your zeal by the fervor of your *private* penitence—by the earnestness of your *private* prayers—by the munificence of your *private* charities—by the frequency of your *private* acts of self-denial—by the thought of God at midnight—by the love of God which prompts all those secret acts of worship and service which he as secretly sees and will as openly reward. These are the *proofs* of a genuine zeal: public manifestations of the same will naturally and certainly follow them; but, if the former do not in sincerity exist—if we are not living a life of faith by living privately in all holiness with God, though we gave all our goods to the poor and our body to be burned, it would not avail us. In attempting to deceive God and the world we deceive ourselves only, and can but reap the fruits in shame and eternal confusion.

"Let me tell you another way of both increasing and proving your zeal, which is this—*be fervent in prayer*. You will often find—the very best of you, I fear—that when your prayers are ended your thoughts have throughout been wandering, and that scarcely a petition which fell from your lips had any real sense attached to it: other things were in your mind, interesting and absorbing it. Now, whenever this happens in your closet devotions, you should not rise from your knees until you have again gone through the religious exercise with

all the faith and attention which are its due. Resolve to try this plan—resolve never again to mock God with the lip whilst the heart is far away, without at least making him amends by repeating your prayers to him; wrestle like Jacob for a blessing upon your endeavours: and, if you do this, the occasions of such inattention will become less and less frequent, and it will in time come to pass that prayer will be felt by you to be a delightful privilege, instead of the weary task which so many of us now involuntarily find it. And when this is your happy condition, be assured that your religious zeal will in all respects correspond; the prayerful heart will ever be accompanied by an eye of pity and a bountiful hand: for he who finds delight in doing his duty to God will insensibly, and in all respects, become zealous in what is due from him to the brethren."

These extracts will give our readers a fair sample of the contents of the volume, all the topics being handled in a plain, practical, straight-forward manner, and though moderate in doctrine they are always sound, and have often much originality.

Lyrical Compositions selected from the Italian Poets, with Translations. By James Glassford, Esq., of Dongalston. Second Edition, enlarged. 1846.

The very ingenious compiler of this work did not live to conduct it through the press. The touching lines of Petrarch may have risen to his thought, as his favourite task receded from his view:—

> "Com perde agevolmente in un mattino
> Quel che' in molt' anni a gran pena s'acquista!"

We shall enable the reader to form an opinion of the merits of Mr. Glassford's translations by quoting a sonnet of Caça, with the English reading. The author of this little composition, which has been numbered among the most beautiful in the language, was a bishop in the Roman Church, and might have attained to the purple if his pen had always pursued the moral sweetness and wisdom which, in this instance, recommend it. He was the first to abandon the style of Petrarch which Bembo had rendered so popular. Speaking more to the intellect than to the heart, or even to the eye, he is frequently difficult and obscure, and Mr. Hallam finds him generally harsh and prosaic. His prose is considered musical and elegant. Mr. Glassford intimates the highest admiration of his poetical genius, and ventures to regard him as the lyrical prototype of Milton. Here is the sonnet to which we alluded:—

" O dolce selva solitaria, amica
De' miei pensieri sbigottiti e stanchi,
Mentre Borea ne' di torbidi e manchi
D' orrido giel l' aëre e la terra implica;
E la tua verde chioma ombrosa, antica,
Come la mia, par d' ogn' intorno imbianchi;
Or che' n vece di fior vermigli è bianchi
Ha neve e ghiaccio ogni tua piaggia aprica;
A questa breve e nubilosa luce
Vo ripensando, che ni avanza, e ghiaccio
Gli spirti auch' io sento, e le membra farsi;
Ma più di te dentro e d' intorno agghiaccio;
Che più crudo Euro a me mio verno adduce,
Più lunga notte, e di più freddi e scarsi."

" Sweet wood, whose loneliness bears true consent
With troubled thoughts like mine! now that the hours
Are few and dismal, and the north wind pours
His icy bolts down heaven's dark battlement;
That age thy green and spreading boughs hath bent,
And on thy locks, like mine, are winter showers;
Now that in room of white and vermeil flowers,
Are all thy sunny slopes with hail besprent;
I ponder by the short and glimmering light,
What soon myself shall be; for I too feel
My veins to stagnate, and my limbs grow numb.
But more than thee, and inly, I congeal;
My winter with a keener blast will come,
And days more dim and cold, and longer night."

Mr. Glassford's series of translations embraces specimens of Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, M. Angelo, Bembo, Tasso, Fiano, Marini, Chiabrera, Loridano, Filicaia, Metastasio, and others; and the value of the collection is greatly enhanced by the author's practice of inserting the original sonnet in a parallel page. In this manner the careful reader is enabled to become acquainted with some of the most attractive cabinet pictures in the gallery of Italian art. These translations are generally close without being rude or unharmonious. Of course, it will not be supposed that the flame of the poet is always kept burning, or that the richness of colour and grace of the feature are constantly preserved: for example, in the famous sonnet of Filicaia the vivid description of the invading enemy—

Che or gia dall Alpi non vedrei torrenti
Scender d'armati

is feebly transferred into—

O then we had not seen that armed horde
Crowning thy Alps,

But, as a whole, the work of Mr. Glassford is an interesting contribution to our knowledge of Italian poetry.

The Legend of Latimer, a Zurich Tale, with other Poems. By WILLIAM NIND, M.A. Fellow of St Peter's College, Cambridge: Author of "The Oratory." 1846.

WHAT some of our earlier poets did with fiction, Mr. Nind has endeavoured to do with truth. He has taken the sermons of Latimer, combined with the incidental notices which are scattered through Fox, Strype, and others, and woven the particulars of his stormy life into a metrical narrative composed in that old English stanza which Chaucer admired, and which is certainly more adapted to familiar recitals than the stately measure of Spenser. Mr. Nind will not be displeased to hear that the easy flow of some of his lines brought up, as we read, the name of Daniel—a writer whom Wordsworth has justly praised for his pure and unaffected elegance. We quote, with much satisfaction, a few verses from the "Death of Chaucer" which is appropriately appended to the legend of his illustrious friend:—

"The steed has left the stable door,
The castle gates unfold again;
The trusty pursuivant once more
Bears a keen spur and loosened rein.

"Before Bocardo he descends;
The crowds press round the news to learn;
All in that time when Cranmer's friends,
All sadden'd to their homes return.

"The bell tolls in the gathering throng
To saintly Mary's hallowed fane;
Tolls in with solemn pauses long,
Like minute notes of Death's refrain.

"Dark clouds hang frowning o'er the scene,
The rain poured down till eventide;
Oh, how unlike that day serene
When Latimer and Ridley died!

"All eyes were turned to one old man,
Set on a platform high to see;
Adown his cheeks the salt tears ran,
He wept, and wept, on bended knee.

"The preacher told him he must die;
What his misfortune—what his crime?
How soon we fall to low from high,
Turn'd on the wheel of Chance and Time.

"He strove to soothe that old man's grief,
In error's maze no more beguiled;
Touch'd gently as the dying thief,
On whom the dying Saviour smiled.

"He braced his mind to bear the flame
By the three children saved of old;
Mentioned St. Andrew's cross-bound frame;
The story of St. Laurence told.

"Much he thank'd heaven for his return;
Did brightly his conversion paint;
And trusted, though he needs must burn,
That he would die that day a saint.

"He bade all pray for his estate—
All pray'd, and on their knees they fall;
The good felt sorrow for his fate,
And sympathy drew tears from all.

"The friend of kings! the highest peer!
Seated in England's noblest see!
Such was he once—but see him *here!*
A beggar is more blest than he.

"The sermon done, he rose to speak—
Poured from his heart a prayer sincere;
His voice was tremulous and weak,
But the dead silence made it clear.

"'Good people,' at the last he said,
'Men will speak truth when near to die,
Which shall live after they are dead,
And their remembrance sanctify.

"'Upon my heart there lies a sin,
The deepest, darkest I have done;
'Twere my damnation, if within
It lingered till the setting sun.

"'It is—that, in my cell, unmann'd,
Moved by the fear of death alone,
I wrote with this unworthy hand
A recantation I disown.

"'There is the burden of my grief!
The gulf to which I was enticed!
But I die in my old belief—
I hold the Pope for Antichrist.'

"His spirit had thrown off its weight,
A thankful glance to heaven he sends—
Stands up erect, composed, sedate,
And CONSCIENCE whispers, '*We are friends.*'"

This passage in the closing hours of Cranmer's life is excellently related. The versification seems to be formed on that of James Montgomery, and is melodious, simple, and sensible: we have also been affected as well as pleased by the poem entitled "The Grandchild," in which the attempt to create pathos out of the common incidents of humble life is very successful. We hope that Mr. Nind will pursue his path of poetical toil with patience, ploughing well before he sows, and not reaping until the ear is ripe and full. The fault of modern poets is *impatience*; and they cannot hang an apter motto over their desk than the caution of Boileau—that he who seeks to have his poem read with ease must be content to write it with labour.

The Church History of England. By T. A. Baxter. M.A. 2 vol. London: Hatchard, 1846.

The object proposed in these volumes is to connect the Church of England with apostolic times, and to show that our religion dates higher than Gregory and Augustin; and that Britain was among the earliest of the regions of the west to which the blessings of Christianity were imparted. Many have preceded Mr. Baxter in contending for the early reception of the Gospel by this our *ultima Thule*—this farthest region of the west; but Mr. Baxter, after collecting all that he could find in those who had preceded him, concerning the early history of our Church, traces it down in the various phases which it assumed—by the coming of Augustin—by the Norman conquest—by Wickliffe and the Lollards—and by the Reformation; giving a connected view of our whole ecclesiastical history—carrying on the narratives of Usher and Stillingfleet, of Spelman and Turner, to our own days.

There cannot be a doubt that Christianity was planted very early in Britain: by many it has been very confidently attributed to St. Paul—he being induced to take that work in hand by the entreaties of Claudia mentioned by him in his Epistle to Timothy (2 Timothy, iv. 21); and said to be the wife of Pudens, of British extraction, and commended by the poet Martial for beauty and accomplishments. Clement, in speaking of St. Paul's labours, says that in his journeyings he reached the furthest extremity of the west—the common expression for Britain in those times. Irenæus expressly names Britain as having then received the Gospel; and Jerome in the fourth century, and Theodoret in the fifth, speak more precisely, saying—"Afterwards he arrived in Italy and came to

Spain and brought salvation to the islands situated in the open sea." Bishop Burgess considered that better historical evidence for such a fact cannot be reasonably required; and Mr. Baxter thinks that "a high degree of probability may be conceded to the opinion which regards St. Paul as the founder of our national Church."

Towards the close of the second century Lucius, the head of the chieftians of Britain, professed Christianity, and sent two priests, named Elvan and Medwin, as messengers to Eleutherus, the Bishop of Rome—not to tender submission to Rome, but to obtain further instruction from that place, which was regarded as the chief seat of learning and piety in the west. Gildas, Bede, and Nennius mention this fact, and the Cambrian traditions are fuller in their notices of this "Lever Maur," or great light, as Lucius is entitled to the honour of being the first king who embraced Christianity, and, therefore, that Britain is the first Christian kingdom; as in latter times the Emperor Constantine, being of British extraction, Britain had also the honour of giving the first Christian emperor to the world.

In the third century Tertullian and Origen both name Britain as having received Christianity, and that in districts beyond the limits of the Roman authority; and in the beginning of the fourth (A.D. 303), St. Alban suffered martyrdom during the Dioclesian persecution on the spot near Verulam which, in the abbey erected to his memory, still retains the name of St. Albans, and attests the fact of Christianity thus early rooted in our land. At the council of Arles (A.D. 314), three British bishops were present, and that as the representatives of the three provinces into which Britain was then divided, and necessarily leading to the inference that there were many more bishops in each of these provinces. It has been urged with great probability that British bishops were present at the Council of Nice (A.D. 325), from the fulness of that Council, and from the connection of the Emperor Constantine with Britain, by whom that Council was summoned. British bishops were certainly present at the Council of Sardica (A.D. 347); and at Ariminum (A.D.359); and Athanasius (A.D. 363) expressly includes the Britons with their continental neighbours as sound in the faith, and as cordially adopting the faith expressed in the Nicene Creed.

In the beginning of the fifth century the specious heresy of Pelagianism arose, having for its author a monk whose British name of Morgan received the more classical form, by translation, of Pelagius. This man had travelled into Italy, and

imbibed there an admiration for those sophisms which flattered the pride of man by denying original sin, and extolling the sufficiency of man's natural powers to attain and accomplish all that God required. The springing up of such a heresy proves that religion had been rightly taught at first, and had been long established in Britain at the time, which is all that we are at present dealing with. But the heresy gave much trouble, not only in this land but throughout the west, and required the exertions of several councils to put it down.

In the year A.D. 432, St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, began his labours. He was a native of Britain—born at Kirkpatrick, A.D. 372. Although his father was a deacon of the Church, Patrick says that he had no early religious impressions; but being carried off by pirates into Ireland, at the age of sixteen, seven years of slavery brought him to his right mind; the solitude of woods and mountains gave scope to meditation, "and there (says he) the Lord opened my unbelieving heart to a tardy remembrance of my transgressions, and to turn with my whole soul to the Lord my God, who regarded my low estate and pitied the ignorance of my youth, and watched over me before I knew him, and protected and comforted me as a father doth his children." When released from this captivity Patrick travelled to Rome, and was ordained priest at Auxerre, by St. Germanus; and, having received the episcopal consecration and the benediction of Pope Celestine, he proceeded to Ireland.

St. David in Wales, and Columba and St. Asaph among the northern Picts, establish the fact that Christianity kept its ground among the ancient inhabitants of Britain when the greater part of the island became the prey of the Saxon worshippers of Thor and Odin; and the progress of the invaders was slow: Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester were only wrested from the British hands in A.D. 577; nor was it until A.D. 587 only ten years before the arrival of Augustin—that Theon and Thadioc, the Archbishops of London and York, abandoned the posts which they could no longer maintain with safety, and sought shelter among their Cambrian brethren:—

"On a review, therefore, of this portion of our ecclesiastical history, three points appear to be satisfactorily established—strict orthodoxy, regular episcopal succession, and prescribed liturgical worship. Equally evident is it that, during this whole period, our national Church preserved an independent character, not disdaining in times of depression to ask for spiritual aid from foreign Churches, but in no instance subjected to foreign controul. From whatever quarter Rome seeks to

justify her assumed supremacy, no pretext assuredly is furnished by the original Church of Britain.....Unacquainted through distance with pontifical regulations, they acted only on the knowledge acquired from the prophetic, evangelic, and apostolic writings." (p. 48).

Columba died June 6, A.D. 596: Augustin landed in Kent in August of the same year. The court of Ethelbert the Saxon, the able ruler of the most powerful kingdom of the Heptarchy, was the successful field of Augustin's labours; and Christianity, having taken root in Kent, soon became the religion of all the other Saxon kingdoms of Britain. But the type of Christianity introduced by Augustin was essentially Roman, and the differences between it and the faith of Britain appeared in the contentions between Augustin and the monks of Bangor, and on many other occasions.

From the time of Augustin, A.D. 600, till the Reformation, that is, for nine hundred years, the Church of England was ostensibly in communion with Rome; but both the Gallican and Anglican branches assumed a greater degree of independence than the other Churches of the west—if that can be called independence which was only less abject submission—and which would be hardly worth noticing, save as being an indication that circumstances might arise which would arouse them so as to cast off entirely the yoke. The preaching of Wickliffe, and the martyrdom of Cobham and many more, affected only individuals; and some more general impulse and some public cause seemed wanting to draw out the energies of the nation and give an independent standing:—

"Near as was the violent disruption of those bonds which for ages had held England in connection with the Roman see, few events seemed more remote than such a catastrophe when Henry VIII., A.D. 1509, ascended the throne. The papacy was undisturbed by internal dissentions, and unmolested by external opposition: heresy, real or supposed, was almost every where repressed; the glorious structure (St. Peter's), whose magnificence impresses the beholder with astonishment and awe, was rising in unexampled splendour; nor had the scandalous arts employed ostensibly to aid its renovation as yet awakened the tones of indignant protest which startled Europe and made Rome tremble. Powerful, indeed, must have been that force of ancient prestige which neither the detestable crimes of Alexander VI., the martial secularity of Julius II., nor the splendid vices of Leo X., could dispel; and wretchedly low must have been the general standard of morals, when a pontiff enjoyed the reputation of goodness who did not surpass the average wickedness of human nature" (*Guicciardini*, viii. 354) Vol. ii. 2.

It is a vulgar error, sedulously propagated by the Romanizing party, that the Reformation in England is to be ascribed

to the rage of Henry at finding himself thwarted by the Pope. It is quite true that the king's impetuosity hurried on and increased the rupture, but it would soon have taken place if Henry had never been born: and it would have come to nothing if it had rested on no more stable foundation than the passions of one man, though a potent sovereign. The Reformation in England rested on principles which had taken deep root in the minds of men, and which required something which Rome refused to allow, because she knew full well that it must be followed by the loss of her favourite and long cherished pretensions as a Church. In proof of this we need only refer to the Reformers' definition of a Church. Becon, Cranmer's chaplain, says:—"I will recite, at present, only four tokens, or marks, whereby we may truly and undeceivably know the true Catholic and Apostolic Church—the first is, the sincere, true, and uncorrupt preaching of God's word, without the intermixtion or mingling of man's doctrine; the second is, the true administration of the sacraments, according to the institution and ordinance of Christ; the third is, fervent prayer and the diligent invocation of God in the name of our alone Mediator, Jesus Christ; and the fourth is, ecclesiastical discipline, according to the prescript and appointment of God's word."

The catechism of Edward VI. is precisely the same in substance, and the veriest child might perceive that the Church of Rome would stand none of these tests: and the principle of appealing to the word of God alone, as the rule and standard for doctrine and practice, is so fatal to all the false pretensions of the Papacy that they refused such an appeal, and would be bound by no such rules; and, as the most effectual way of stopping, denied the Scriptures to the people, and have continued to withhold them, as far as the utmost of their power extends, to the present day. And when these principles of the Reformation had taken hold of the hearts of the people, the cruelties of Mary in her attempts to eradicate them from the land, by burning for heretics those who inculcated such doctrines, only deepened the more, and more widely propagated the same, in the sympathy which was excited towards the sufferers. These martyrs for the truth, in the words of Latimer, lighted a candle in England which has never gone out; and roused an indignation against Rome which determined the people of England to reject a Church whose deeds were thus antichristian, and the blood of these martyrs became the seed of the Church of England and their history her example.

The leading transactions of that ever interesting time are faithfully though concisely given, and the lives of Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, and their companions, though embalmed in our memories, are again reviewed and revived as it were with ever returning freshness and sweetness. The difficulties with which Elizabeth had to struggle are poimted out; and the history of those various conferences by which the Articles, Canons, and Liturgy were brought to their present state are severally noticed. The Nonjurors and Nonconformists are not omitted, and the rise of the Methodists and similar seceders from the Church is traced down to that most recent and most extraordinary secession which began in the publication of the "Tracts for the Times:" and of which it is to be hoped we have now seen the worst, if not the end.

Wesley, and the other leaders in secession, did not begin with the intention to secede; and, as every man thinks his own arguments the best, they all expect to bring the Church to adopt those doctrines or practices upon which they have set their hearts. They are disappointed: they offend the Church, and are themselves offended and driven away; yet their exertions, so far as they have any truth for a foundation, are not without effect. All the truth takes effect upon the lovers of truth in the Church: and as Wesley was clearly instrumental in raising the tone of spirituality in the Church, and infusing more of vital energy into an age which had become torpid, worldly, and infidel—directing his exertions to individuals with whom the change must begin and enforcing personal holiness—so the Tractarian movement which has respect to the Church as a body, and enforces outward observances, and regard to times and places, may raise the tone of the Church in its ritual and in attention to decency and order—things which are of importance when kept in due subordination, and which may be attended to without introducing either superstition or idolatry.

Mr. Baxter is upon the whole rather hopeful of good, though his volumes close mournfully under the present aspect of things, and as if prepared for the worst:—

"It may be that a different prospect awaits us; that the everlasting gospel is to be proclaimed to all nations, only as a premonitory token that 'the hour of his judgment is come,' preached 'as a witness'—a witness heard of the vast majority, like him of whom it testifies, only to be rejected. It may be that true religion is the only knowledge destined to retrogression, that iniquity is to abound, and the love of many to wax cold, and faith to wane, and days of affliction such as have not been from the beginning of the world. For these,

also, the Church must be prepared; nor can there be a better preparation than a deep and solemn conviction that purification in the furnace of affliction has ever been God's appointed method of dealing with his own."....." If such be her appointed path—if the last and most portentous development of Antichrist is to be marked by education receding as instruction advances, State support engaged on the side of a false religion, and progressive intellect 'exalting itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped,' yet calmly acquiescing in handing over the vulgar to the depraving influences of Rome's grovelling system—the true Church of God may once more find herself in deserts, and dens, and caves of the earth; but there she shall be cheered by the presence of her Redeemer: there shall she be sustained as were the saints of old by the word and promise of her Lord; and thence shall she come forth as the bride, the Lamb's wife, resplendent in the beauty of holiness, to inhabit the holy city, New Jerusalem, descending from God out of heaven."

" Forth from heaven and God descending
Lo! the holy city came,
Glories past expression blending,
New Jerusalem her name.
Hark! a voice from heaven—'our God
Plants with man his blest abode;
They his hallowed people; He,
He, their present God shall be.'

" 'God's own hand from all their eyes
Wipes for ever, every tear—
Death is dead—no more to rise—
Pain and sorrow disappear.'
Hark! He speaks—the First, the Last.
'See! the old creation past!
Lo! a new universe begun,
Write the changeless truth—'Tis done.'"

Abstract of Researches on Magnetism, and on certain allied Subjects, including a supposed new Imponderable. By Baron Von Reichenbach. Translated and Abridged from the German. By W. Gregory, M.D., &c. London: Taylor and Walton. 1846.

Our readers are probably acquainted with the experiments by which Professor Faraday has demonstrated the connection between magnetism and light, so that rays which have been polarized, so as to cease to illumine an object, may, by being magnetized, be brought into action, so as to render that object visible. It, also, has shown that all substances are either magnetic or diamagnetic—that is, they are acted upon either in the magnetic line north and south, or in a line at right angles with this—that is, east and west; so that bodies which

had been hitherto supposed to be non-magnetic were really magnetic—that is to say, were operated upon by very powerful magnets, but in a way precisely crossing that of magnetic bodies — the diamagnetic bodies, when in equilibrium, settling down into a place of rest at right angles to the axial line on which ordinary magnetic bodies settled. Dr. Esdaile of Calcutta had been at the same time demonstrating that there exists in the human frame an influence capable of being transferred from one body to another, and of affecting a sensitive person at considerable distances; to which power he attributes all mesmeric phenomena: and Baron Von Reichenbach has brought these phenomena into union by the experiments conducted by him independently, though at the same time; and has shewn that the human body is a powerful magnetic instrument in itself, and is in a very high degree susceptible of magnetic influences.

The facts recorded by Von Reichenbach, to which, in agreement with Dr. Gregory, we yield the most entire confidence, show that the human frame is very powerfully affected by magnetic influences, which are imperceptible by persons in robust health, or, if perceived at all by them, would be referred to some other causes. But when the senses are rendered unusually susceptible—as is the case with all those persons who are usually denominated nervous—then the effect becomes so marked and so constant that there can be no doubt of its reality. But until some principle occurred to which these phenomena could be referred and which would suffice for explaining them all, the cases were considered merely as fanciful, or hypochondriac, or a species of monomania, and so were utterly disregarded.

These cases are of the highest possible interest to ourselves, from our having personally experienced the same kind of things, though utterly unable to account for them. The rational account is given by Von Reichenbach, on the experiences which have come under his own notice; and we not only accept his account as true, but are thankful for it, as an explanation, and believe that it is the prelude to, if not the door of entrance of, a new region of unsuspected and most interesting phenomena, which will throw great light upon the mysterious connection between the invisible and visible, if not upon the still higher analogies by which we may be led to a contemplation of the operation of spirit upon matter.

W. E. Painter, Printer, 342, Strand, London.

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ART. 1.—*The Annals of the English Bible.* By CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON. Two vols. London: Pickering. 1845.

IN order to form a true estimate of anything, we need both ability to form a judgment, and a proper criterion whereby that judgment may be regulated, or to which we may with confidence appeal. Still more, in dealing with others, and expecting them to form the same estimate with ourselves, both parties must acknowledge the same common standard of truth, and both must be equally well informed, and equally able to discern the true bearings of every point, so as to detect any deviation from that standard of truth to which all alike appeal. If the standard fall short of perfection, we so far lose the means of forming a full and perfectly true estimate; and, if we lack discernment, the power will fail us according to the deficiency, and we shall be unable to detect the amount of deviation, and the less so in proportion to the superiority and perfection of the standard. The Scriptures, in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, in the Greek of the New, constitute that standard of truth to which all Christians must ultimately resort in every question concerning faith and doctrine; but how few —how very few are qualified to form an independent judgment thereon! Books on familiar subjects cannot be understood without entering into the mind and spirit of the author; and the Bible is not only concerning the most sublime, mysterious, and momentous subjects which can occupy the mind of man, but it is the word of God, and requires that we should

not only be impressed with a due reverence becoming the subject, but be lifted up into the mind and spirit of the author; and a knowledge not only of the spirit but also of the letter of Scripture is necessary for those who would attain an accurate knowledge of divine truth, or keep the requisite control over the temptation which all spiritual persons feel to become mystical and imaginative.

Even during the time while Hebrew and Greek continued to be spoken, we find mistakes to have been made by the Scribes, Pharisees, and Sadducees, and by Alexandrian or Hellenistic and Asiatic converts, who either too much neglected the written word, or retained the letter and lost sight of the spirit of Scripture. Much more since the languages of Scripture have become dead languages have mistakes of the same kind been committed, since men will carry to their studies the colour of their own minds, and, reading the Hebrew or Greek through such a medium, would unconsciously impart their own character to the versions they made, and the commentaries they wrote—becoming founders of sects under the semblance of being mere expositors of the word of God. One-sidedness may arise from deficiency or from excess, and to this want of balance do we ascribe the greater number of the sects that have arisen rather than to positive, predetermined, and systematic rejection of the truth; and it accounts for the fact of so many who seem to be diametrically opposed yet with equal confidence appealing to the same volume, and acknowledging its infallibility, which they may honestly do when each has imparted to the text the hue of his own system.

The Hebrew of the Old Testament, as being of primitive simplicity, and as possessing the oriental character of an ideographic and symbolical structure, rather than the redundant yet precise and rationalistic nature of the languages of Europe, was more susceptible of this adaptation to the system of an interpreter than was the Greek of the New Testament; and thus we find that the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, though sufficiently accurate for all who have no system to sustain, and sanctioned to a great extent by being verbally cited in a majority of the instances wherein the Old Testament is quoted in the four Gospels, yet has not been deemed sufficient for their purposes by Aquila, or Theodosion, or Symmachus; and all these several versions have been retained by Origen in his Hexapla, as though he himself was not fully satisfied with any of them. The instance of Origen is in point, to teach us not to trust too much to ourselves, but to have confidence in our fellow-men. He, admirable as he was

in many respects—learned, zealous, self-denying, most diligent, most charitable—yet even he, leaning to his own understanding, and indulging in fanciful notions and philosophical speculations, caused more trouble to the Church than all his learning and eloquence suffice to atone for.

Jerome was a man of a totally different class: less learned than Origen, less philosophical, far less amiable and attractive. But Jerome, having no system of his own, and directing all his attention to the literal interpretation of Scripture, produced a version which, though it contains many gross blunders, and is scarcely ever fairly up to the original, yet is as a whole so honest, so free from systematic bias or intentional misrepresentation, that we think the Roman Church was commendable in adopting it as their standard in default of a better; and that they have only erred in prohibiting any other version, and in so canonizing it as to foreclose any attempts to render the version of Jerome less faulty than it is. When Jerome wrote, he tells us that the Latin translations were so numerous that there were almost as many versions as manuscripts, and that of these numerous translations he availed himself so far as he was able. Any approach to the uniformity of truth is far better than such distraction and perplexity, and therefore Jerome, in the Vulgate, is entitled to the gratitude of the Church.

We do not sufficiently extol the Scriptures when we regard it to be their sole end to impart instruction or teach doctrine. These are important offices in the Church, for rightly discharging which she is provided with the word of God. But man has a higher duty than that of furnishing his mind with knowledge, or attaining just thoughts concerning present things, and proper motives of conduct and action in this world. The true importance of Scripture consists in its being a revelation of things which we cannot otherwise know, but which, being made known, become a solid foundation whereon to adjust all the knowledge which we have acquired by other means; and Scripture is moreover a test to discriminate between truth and error, and a clue to guide us into other unexplored provinces of knowledge. And, above all, Scripture exercises the spirit and regulates the will of man, which are faculties higher than the understanding, and which the objects of knowledge do not reach, do not minister to, do not discipline. The Scriptures, in their highest aspect, reveal spiritual things, with which the spirit, and not the understanding, has to do, and which can only be spiritually apprehended. They reveal to us what God is, what man was intended to be, how far

short of this he has fallen, and by what means his recovery is to be effected, in the mere statement of which things it is obvious that they lie wholly beyond the region of our knowledge—God alone could know them, and we have to believe them when revealed, that is, to receive them by faith. Systems belong to philosophy, and to things open to the cognizance of man, and theories which man is capable of devising: they deal in speculation, and probability, and reasons, and motives, all of which may be true, but likewise may be false. Scripture deals with facts, unalterable facts, things which cannot be otherwise —with God himself, who has condescended to reveal what he is, and what he requires of man. With man it deals, not only as he now appears, but as he was at the beginning, made in the image of God, and as he shall be hereafter, when restored by the grace of God. With the present means of grace it deals, in the spiritual use of which man may regain more than his pristine standing, or by the rejection and abuse of which he will incur more than his former guilt; and it sets before us the futurity which awaits the sons of God and heirs of glory on the one hand, and awaits the disobedient and children of wrath on the other.

The importance of such a revelation and such a standard as the Scriptures afford is felt most strongly as we most attentively regard the condition of man himself, who, though made in the image of God, is found for the most part unconscious of the dignity of his being, and when at all awakened to a sense of his high calling finds himself surrounded with perplexities which he cannot unravel, or difficulties which appear insuperable. First, he knows not God, whose image he ought to bear; secondly, he knows not himself; and least of all can he discover any divine or Godward tendencies within the human soul, though it is there alone that he can rationally seek for the image of God. Self-partiality, or the largest charity, can discern scarcely any traces of a witness worthy of God, borne by ourselves, or by the rest of mankind. Where—may all the descendants of Adam exclaim—where can the image of God be found? Where is the least semblance of its existence in any of the human race on the face of all the earth?

The heathen, having no knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, knew not by revelation whence, and for what end, man had received his being; but they instinctively felt that there was a mystery in the origin and destiny of the head of creation far beyond anything which outwardly appears; and within their own being, by the working of their own thoughts, they strove to solve the mystery, not knowing that man himself was

the great enigma, and that, as with man the fall began and the disorder was introduced, so, in scrutinizing the heart of man, they were groping into the very region of darkness, and plunging deeper into that abyss which obscured the light of God, and removed man still farther from the path by which he may regain a true standing, and know aright both God and himself.

The true character of God could only be known by revelation: creation, marred by the fall, wrecked at the deluge, no longer witnessed truly of the Creator, and least of all was he seen in that creature who had been made in the image of God. Man, who brought sin and death into the world, had sunk deeper than the other creatures in the corruption introduced by the transgression in which he had been foremost; and in a state of nature he is still found prone to wanton cruelty, and often causing greater suffering to his fellow-men than the brute creation inflict upon each other, unless they are trained to cruelty for savage sports, or provoked to ferocity by human persecution; and the first lesson taught by the Scripture is one of humiliation under this state of things, and self-distrust under the conviction that the heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked, and that God alone can truly disclose its condition. This therefore leads to self-distrust, and a looking to God for help, when hope is immediately quickened by the promise which runs through all the word of God—that in this very creation the original purposes of love shall be ultimately consummated, and that where now appears only a scene of disorder, and so much that is positively evil, and so great an amount of misery, the result shall yet prove worthy of God, brought about, too, in the same creation as to its materials, yet so changed in condition and character as to appear new—a new creation in which each thing shall occupy its predetermined place and do its predestined work—an universe the whole of which God shall again pronounce to be very good, in its orderly course working out the complete, and final, and unchangeable blessedness of all the heirs of the kingdom of heaven—a consummation of which Paradise is the description and Eden was the shadow and the type.

And since the incarnation, and in the Christian Church, we have more than promises to rely on: the seal of fact has, in this respect, been set to the declarations of the word of God. In Christ a standard has been given, and the true image of God has been revealed in the Son of Man; and this not given as an angelic being, or some higher and more perfect form—not as a model for contemplation, but which fallen man might

despair of imitating. The standard is given in one of our nature, in the likeness of sinful flesh—in one who is the captain of our salvation, because he was perfected through sufferings, and had been tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin; and for rightly discerning the same, and following him to attain the height of our calling, we are not left to our own understanding and efforts alone; but the Holy Ghost is given to enable us both to know and to do the will of God, that so we may follow the example of our Lord, who became one with us in order that we may become one with him.

And since, to his becoming a perfect example for us, it was necessary that the Saviour should pass through all the several stages of mortal existence—should exemplify the duties of childhood and manhood—should endure poverty and affliction—should show reverence to the powers that be—all to teach us that God may be truly served in every age and every condition of life; to show that in obedience to parents we are honouring our heavenly Father; that in loving our brethren whom we have seen we are evincing love to God whom we have not seen; and in submitting to every ordinance of man we are doing so for the Lord's sake, rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. And since, for the higher end of making atonement for our sins it was necessary that he should be slain, and so his time of witnessing was shortened, and he could not in any case have been the pattern to more than the few of that one generation among whom he sojourned, who knew him personally, and saw the living example—therefore it became necessary that a faithful record of what he was, and did, and spake, drawn up by eye witnesses of the same, should perpetually remain; and also that living witnesses for the practicability and truth of the things which he enjoined should subsist through all time, who, following the footsteps of Christ, should thereby continue that example to the world which he first set, and be both the standard by which men may know and try the truth, and the depository of those sacramental means whereby those who learn to know are enabled also to attain it.

The Church is the body of Christ—a witness for him, as he came to witness of the Father. Christ in his parting words left this truth impressed upon the mind of the apostles, testifying before them unto the Father—"I have glorified thee on the earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do ..... As thou hast sent me into the world even so have I also sent them into the world." (John xvii. 4, 18). And one of these witnesses informs us what was most surely

the course which all of them would take under such a responsibility, saying—"Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth.....Moreover, I will endeavour that you may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance." (2 Peter i. 12, 15). And St. Paul, writing to Timothy, says—"The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." (ii. 2). Thus Christ himself, the Scriptures which testify of him, and the Church his living body and the abiding expositor of the truth, are bound inseparably together, all necessary to the maintenance of the fulness and integrity of each; and thus the Church down to the present time, presenting their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is her reasonable service, is enabled to continue the work which Christ began, by making disciples, by baptizing them, by teaching them to do all things which he enjoined, assured that he is with them always unto the end of the world, and that he will by them gather the elect, and prepare the way of the kingdom of heaven.

"The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same" —that is, a people faithful in all the trusts confided to them. In St. Paul's enumeration of the privileges of the Jewish people, the being entrusted with the oracles of God is reckoned as the chief of those privileges; and, notwithstanding their unfaithfulness in other respects, they were true to this duty, and the word of God in their hands was a perpetual reproach to such of them as had corrupted their ways, and a means of preparing such as were looking for redemption in Jerusalem, for the coming of Messiah, and the consolation of Israel; and it has been transmitted by them unimpaired to the Christian Church, as a record of the unity of faith among the people of God from the beginning, as a testimony of the faithfulness of God to all his promises, and as a confirmation of those things which, being already accomplished, we most surely believe, and as containing other prophecies which are not yet fulfilled, but are rendered more sure to us by those which have come to pass, and to which we are told we do well to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day star arise in our hearts. (2 Peter i. 18).

The unadulterated word of God is the foundation of true

faith; and this received in largeness of heart and sincerity, not in a private or sectarian sense—not coloured with the mental diversities of this or that individual—not distorted by any party bias—not obscured by passing through a corrupting medium: dealing with it, in short, not as though it were the word of man, or were capable of being fashioned to the taste or fancy of man, but receiving it direct, as the word of God, able to make wise unto salvation, and therefore committed for safe keeping, not to individuals, but to a body or Church.

This guardianship of the word of God does not necessitate its transmission in the original language—for what after all is language but the mode of transmitting thought?—and if the thoughts are handed down unimpaired, the end is attained by the vernacular language as truly as by the Hebrew and Greek. Faith and the word are correlative; intelligent faith can only be imparted through instruction given in a language which we understand, and as the faith grows so will our knowledge of that divine revelation on which faith rests. The Church, as the body of Christ, stands between God and men, fulfilling towards God the office of bearing a true witness for Christ, and towards men that of transmitting unimpaired that revelation which she hath received, and that faith once delivered to the saints—the common faith of all, delivered once and for all. For like as the faith itself has been transmitted, and the existence of a Church at all is a proof of unbroken connection with the primitive Church, from which all that is true has been received, and so much the more a proof as it is undeniably and incontrovertibly true: so where the faith is pure, the Scriptures of truth, on which faith is founded, cannot but be genuine; though the converse is not uniformly the case, and it does not always follow that the Catholic faith is kept whole and undefiled wherever the pure word of God is retained. The Jews themselves, to whom were committed the oracles of God, are an instance of this, and a warning to the Christian Church, who received the law by the disposition of angels, and have not kept it.

That there subsisted any true faith at all in the Jewish people—that there were any amongst them, like Simeon, waiting for the consolation of Israel—that a remnant of believers could be found of whom Christ might make disciples, and to whom he was able to expound the mysteries of the kingdom, was in itself a proof that the true oracles of God were still retained amongst them, affording a ground for this faith: yet the Scriptures possessed in all purity would not necessitate or ensure true faith; but we find the contrary in the

Scribes and Pharisees, who, while they prided themselves on this indisputable privilege, and did retain the letter of the Scripture in all its purity, yet made void the law of God by their traditions; and, keeping the key of knowledge, they refused to enter themselves and prevented others: nay, they so wrought upon the people by evil precept and example that when Christ came unto his own his own received him not. The superior privileges of the Jewish people rather tended to increase their condemnation, so as to extort the sorrowful exclamation, O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered your children, but ye would not! Woe unto thee Chorazin, woe unto thee Bethsaida!—it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for you.

Our responsibilities are even greater than those of the Jews, in the vast increase of revelation, and light, and privileges of every kind bestowed upon us since the coming of Christ, and as belonging to the Christian Church, and as having received the New Testament Scriptures. Those Gentile Christians who received the Gospel in the first instance from the apostles received also, at the same time, those Hebrew records of prophecies and facts upon which the Christian faith rested its historic evidence: to these records their teachers continually appealed as St. Peter did in his first discourses (Acts ii. iii. iv.), and as St. Paul did in all his epistles; and to the same these disciples would have to appeal in teaching others, and so on to the end of time. The first teachers used the whole of the Scriptures which then existed, declaring it all to be given by inspiration of God, and all to be profitable for instruction—all equally profitable, though one part might be applicable to one purpose, another part to another—and all necessary for the man of God, who would render himself thoroughly fit for and furnished unto every good work; and, using the whole of Scripture, they used nothing but the Scripture—no apocryphal writings—no oral traditions—no rabbinical commentaries or glosses of the priests and lawyers: they rested their appeal on evidence which could not be gainsayed—on public, acknowledged, indisputable records. In teaching the Grecian nations, they would use the Septuagint or any accredited version, as in after times the Vulgate would be used in teaching the Latin nations. For those who would at any time plant the faith on a sound basis must rest it on the Scriptures, and for that end the Scriptures must be given in the language of the country in order to take root; and there should be one accredited or authorized version to keep the faith constant—not at the mercy of individual caprice, but regulated by an in-

variable standard. In this point of view it is not of much importance to determine whether the Greek version was by seventy learned men, or whether, like the Latin version of Jerome, it was by one. In a critical and theological point of view, it is of the last importance to make every version as correct as possible; and the character of the priesthood in any land will very much depend upon this, and they will only acquire and retain a high character by indefatigable examination of the originals. But, for well grounded constancy of faith among the people, an accredited version, to which they can with confidence refer, is the main requisite; and this constancy is quite compatible with a continual development of the truth and the one faith—is quite capable of adaptation to the varying circumstances of the Church in different countries, and to diversity of character in mankind, depending upon lapse of time, intellectual culture, or change of manners.

For, to a reflecting mind, nothing more strongly attests and confirms the divine origin of Scripture than this, its inherent intrinsic character, of being so wonderfully expansive and comprehensive as it is: it is suited not merely to Judea, not only to the oriental mind, and still less is it limited to any one range of intellect or any one class of society—it belongs to all mankind—and even the change of language causes less alteration in holy Scripture than in other books. For, although in the original Hebrew we find a language surpassing all other languages in grandeur and simplicity, it is to the subject surpassing all other subjects in grandeur that it mainly owes this; and we find accordingly that the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into another language has commonly the effect of elevating the character of that language, as was confessedly the case in the English translation of the Bible. The greater part of Scripture is of the highest conceivable dignity—it is God speaking to man—it is the Creator speaking to the creature, to revive in the soul that image of God which had been eclipsed, and well nigh extinguished and annihilated in the whole race of fallen Adam. It is a revelation thus broad, thus comprehensive, in order to become the harbinger to announce, and the handmaid to prepare and adorn the Church as a bride; and it is the instrument also in the hand of the servants of the Lord for gathering and perfecting that Church out of all the nations, where there is neither Jew nor Greek, male nor female, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but all are one in Christ. Therefore it speaks a language which all can understand—all can recognize as of God: and recognize by an instinct of the soul—an instinct which lies

deeper than the accidental, or conventional, or educational forms which the world notices or has imposed, and therefore may controul and extinguish: it is an instinct deep as the soul and spirit of man, lying beyond the world's ken, which the eye of God alone can discern, and the word of God alone can minister to or satiate, in all its infinite variety and boundless compass of spiritual desire: it is an instinct which was implanted originally by God, and therefore has him for its object and end, even when from our ignorance he is an unknown God; and it springs from a secret consciousness of a higher destiny in store for us than anything that yet appears, and heavenward aspirations, and longings after immortality, though at present surrounded by the wrecks of a fallen creation, and all external tokens of suffering, from which the only escape is death.

We are speaking now of the effect produced by the Scripture on the spirit of man, apart from that on the understanding—an effect experienced by all whose spirits have not been deadened by the world and by sin, whether they belong to the educated classes or otherwise. It depends upon susceptibility of spirit, and, because it does not depend upon the understanding, it may be even less perceptible to those of high mental cultivation than to the humbler classes of men, since the cultivation of critical and even of philosophical tastes, if pursued exclusively, may deaden the spiritual perception. And this character of universality is, as it were, indestructible in the word of God: it is not wholly lost in the least sufficient of the versions, and it is scarcely at all affected by the clerical inaccuracy of manuscripts or the ignorance of transcribers. Valuable as have been the services rendered by such men as Kennicott and De Rossi in collating the Hebrew, or Mill and Griesbach in collating the Greek, not the least important of those services is the confidence in this respect which we derive from their labours; for it clearly appears that the commonly received texts of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures have not lost any one article of faith—any one important doctrine—through the various readings occasioned by the ignorance of scribes or the carelessness of transcribers, and, we may add, nor by the insufficiency of translations; and still less has the spirit of the whole been lost in any instances, or the power to produce the effect of which we speak upon the spirits of men.

It is, however, essential to the production of this effect that men should read the Scriptures in their own language, or should have become so familiar with the language of the ori-

ginal as to have made it their own. They must have made it their own to all intents and purposes, so as to be able to think in the language of Scripture, and to receive the ideas direct and immediate, without passing through the intermediate process of rendering the words into a more familiar idiom, in order to feel all the force and understand all the bearings of the announcement. The Scriptures were written in languages no longer spoken—in dead languages. Few, indeed, can expect to succeed, and fewer still actually succeed, in becoming thus familiar with dead languages: and hence the importance of encouraging those who have the ability to devote their talents to the service of mankind, by rendering faithfully the Hebrew and Greek originals of Scripture into the languages of the several countries where the faith of the Gospel is propagated, both as the means of confirming the faith and of counteracting and overcoming corruption and error.

All attainable accuracy of rendering is of course the first thing to be thought of—the quality most to be prized in a new version; but, unless the spirit of the original be apprehended and transferred into the modern language, mere verbal translation will not suffice: it will fail of the highest kind of accuracy—it will not render the meaning of the original; and a ruder translation, which retained more of the spirit of the Scripture, would accomplish more of its purposes, and all of them in a fuller measure and with greater effect. That critical skill alone will serve little to advance the faith, and will often lead to evil rather than good, we may learn from modern Germany; where hermeneutical talent is so abundant, true faith is so deficient, and where verbal criticism, in all its sagacity, has been accompanied by so little true wisdom as to have rendered it a grave question with many, whether piety does not always suffer by being brought into contact with those who are engaged in such pursuits. Well grounded piety cannot suffer by such critical enquiries; but it must be confessed that good feeling, and even piety itself, have been abundantly outraged in the instance to which we allude.

There are generally opposite extremes of error, between which the middle path of truth is to be found; and the way of safety can only be kept by knowing, in order to avoid, the deviations of those who have gone before us. In the present case the extremes may be instanced in the Church of Rome before the Reformation—a Church negligent of Scripture to the degree of scorning it when urged against any of the dogmas or practices which that Church had sanctioned; and

claiming for the Church sole, paramount, and infallible authority and judgment in all things—the head of it being Christ's vicar upon earth. And in the opposite extreme, as seen in modern Germany; where, having asserted their right to the Scriptures, and corrected many abuses by appealing to the sacred volume, the people have grown too familiar with the word of God, and regard it with as little reverence as though it were the word of a man; and the learned, for the most part leavened with rationalism, and giving no weight to the collective judgment of the Church, have dealt with the Scriptures as if not only its hermeneutics but its doctrines and revelations were open to the same discussion and sifting as any human composition, and might be adopted or rejected with as little ceremony as the systems of Pythagoras or Confucius. Rome, by too much exalting the Church, had annihilated Scripture—German rationalism, in despising the Church, has profaned and vulgarised the word of God. The former was a Church without Scripture; the latter is without a Church, therefore without the chief privilege of a Church—without any Scriptures which they regard as the oracles of God.

Both St. Paul (Rom. iii. 2) and St. Peter (1 Pet. iv. 11) regard the Scriptures in this sacred light, and make the possession of them, and the safe keeping of the precious deposit, the especial distinction of the people of God: and we are assured that the Scriptures are not like other books—that "no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation; for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Pet. i. 20). But the context proceeds to declare that as "there were false prophets" as well as true among the Jews, even so there shall be false teachers as well as true in the Christian Church, some of whom should bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them. And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of: and of such it proceeds to say that they are presumptuous, self-willed, and not afraid to speak evil of dignities: and that some of them shall be scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of His coming?—for, since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. And the faithful are guarded against these errors by being reminded of the promises of the Lord, and of the exhortations of St. Paul in particular; and are cautioned to beware, since they know these things before, lest they also,

being led away with the error of the wicked, should fall from their own steadfastness.

Now, as it was by holy men of old, speaking as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, that the word of God came; and as no prophecy is of any private interpretation, which applies not only to the prophetic portions but to the whole of Scripture, and includes the interpretation of doctrine as well as future events: so the safe keeping and true exposition of that word requires other holy men, taught by the Spirit of God, to carry on the work, through all succeeding time. For the safe custody, and right employment, and full understanding of the word, call for the same devotedness to the service of God with a single mind, and the same prevenient and continual grace from him as was required in those to whom it first came, and by whom it was at first promulgated; and, if there be not true faith in God, there will be no sacred reverence such as is due to his holy word—no true understanding of its spiritual import.

The Church of Rome had, in the Vulgate, a fair and sufficient version of holy Scripture; accurate in the main and sufficient for all purposes, as long as Latin continued to be the common language of the Churches of the West. But as the faith became corrupt, and when Latin ceased to be commonly spoken, they misused this version of Jerome in two ways: they incorporated the apocryphal books, which Jerome had kept distinct, that they might support by this semblance of authority their new superstitions; and afterwards, when Latin had ceased to be the common language of the empire, they refused to allow vernacular translations to the different nations; and, by limiting the Scripture to the one Latin version, they rendered it almost a sealed book and virtually withdrew it from the people.

The Vulgate, as it came from Jerome's hands, was a good and an honest version; because Jerome had no purpose to serve of an unworthy kind, and had no end in view, save the understanding of the literal meaning of Scripture. For this, at four different times, he had recourse to Jews in order to become better acquainted with the Hebrew; and he also availed himself of the labours of Origen, and of the numerous Itala versions then floating in the Church: and the cordial reception which this version met with, so as to supersede for a time every other, is a proof of its general excellence.

Jerome, too, discriminated properly between the canonical and the apocryphal books; the latter not being found in the original languages, and having no Church therefore to vouch for their being genuine, and containing many intrinsic marks

of a recent and supposititious origin, he drew the same line of distinction which the Church of England draws between the genuine portions of Jeremiah and Daniel and the spurious portions contained in the Apocrypha; but the Church of Rome incorporated them together, and also adopted the other counterfeit books, because passages were found in them which gave a semblance of divine authority to some of their worst corruptions, which receive no countenance whatsoever from the pure and genuine portions of Scripture. The Church of Rome further opened the door to all manner of corruptions, and did its utmost to bar the way of recovery or return by allowing no other version to be used, not even by the priests, than the Vulgate. Jerome's object had been to make the Scriptures better known by translating them into a language then generally understood. Where this knowledge is general it acts upon all alike, and raises the tone of morality among all classes; but the prohibition of all other versions, save the Vulgate, when the Latin had become a dead language, and during the middle ages, when very few of the priests and scarcely any of the people understood it, was nearly tantamount to taking away the Scriptures altogether: and, in canonizing the Vulgate, they had also set it above the Hebrew and Greek originals, which wrought so far upon an ignorant Church that it was gravely maintained there might be fearful danger in studying the originals; for if a man studied Hebrew he might become a Jew—if he studied Greek might become Heathen. "Cave a Græcis, ne fias Hæreticus; fuge literas Hæbreas, ne fias Judæorum similis. Græculus iste—the phrase first applied by Standish to Erasmus—became, for a long time afterwards, the phrase for a heretic" (i. 24). And even Erasmus himself, writing in 1516, says, "I fear two things; I fear that the study of Hebrew will promote Judaism, and that the study of philology will revive Paganism."

The effect of this restriction of the Scripture to a dead language was the virtual annihilation of its authority: it was unknown—it ceased to be regarded as any check upon the corruptions of the Church or upon the morals of the people. These corruptions could not, in fact, have stood before an open Bible, believed in by priests and people; and the relative estimation in which these superstitious corruptions and the Scriptures were held, in the middle ages, is shown in such transactions as that between Harold and William the Conqueror; when the Norman, to bind Harold more surely than by an oath to God and on the Gospels, "secretly conveyed under the altar, on which Harold agreed to swear, the relics of some

of the most revered martyrs; and when Harold had taken the oath he showed him the relics, and admonished him to observe religiously an engagement which had been ratified by so tremendous a sanction" (*Hume*, i. 184). Harold little regarded an oath taken on the Gospels: he could even break without compunction an oath sworn on the altar and by the sacred elements; but he was horror struck at finding that there were *relics* under the altar, and that he had bound himself by the most stringent obligations which the conscience of that generation acknowledged—a strange anticlimax, as we should now esteem it!—but it reveals the spirit of the age, and shows that relics were esteemed higher than sacraments—far higher than the word of God.

And had not the Roman Church felt that its only security lay in keeping the word of God out of sight—had they not feared the effect of any knowledge of the simple truth on those corruptions which they were resolved by all means to uphold—the priests would not have resisted so strenuously the first attempts at translation which were generally made from the Vulgate, and without note or comment; and which, therefore, would only have rendered intelligible the Scriptures which they professed to receive. But, says Tyndale, "a thousand books had they rather to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine than that the Scripture should come to light; for, as long as they may keep that down, they will so darken the right way with the mist of their sophistry .....that, though thou feel in thine heart, and art sure, how that all is false that they say, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles. Which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament; because I had perceived, by experience, how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scripture were laid plainly before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text" (i. 33).

And of the priests themselves Tyndale says, "When I was so turmoiled in the country where I was that I could no longer dwell there, the process whereof were too long here to rehearse, I this-wise thought in myself—this I suffer because the priests of the country be unlearned, as God knoweth, there are a full ignorant sort, which have seen no more of Latin than that they read in their portesses and missals, which yet many of them can scarcely read" (34). In conformity with all which one of the priests, who had been brought to a point by Tyndale in an appeal to Scripture, exclaimed in his folly, "we were better to be without God's laws than the Pope's" (36).

The aversion of the Romanists to the circulation of the Scriptures appears also in another fact—namely, that when they had the ascendancy in England during the reign of Mary, which lasted nearly five years and a half, only one edition of the Testament was printed, and that at Geneva; whereas, during the reign of Edward VI., which was of six years and a half, *forty-nine* editions had been printed—thirty-five of the New Testament, and fourteen of the whole Bible; while, during Elizabeth's long reign, *one hundred and forty-two* editions were printed—forty-eight of the New Testament, and ninety-four of the whole Bible. And the same aversion to the circulation of the Bible is manifested in our own day by the Papal prohibitions, of both a general and specific kind, directed against receiving any copies of the Scriptures, and especially those issued by the Bible Society; but, notwithstanding the public opposition of three Popes, and the resistance of the whole Roman priesthood in their several localities, the dispersion of the word of life has extended to an incalculable amount; of which some faint idea may be formed when it is known that twenty-two millions of copies have been issued in England since the commencement of the present century, not reckoning the issues in other countries or at former periods.

"In point of responsibility, as a nation (says Mr. Anderson), we have been exalted into circumstances of which many before had little or no conception; nor had they been aware that we have been placed in a condition, involving duty and obligations, from which there is no escape. The very rich supply of sacred Scripture peculiar to our country, even before this century began, will be held in remembrance; more than twenty-two millions of volumes have since been added to the number, and still the printing press is as urgently plied as before; so that an amount of above four millions sterling has been spent upon *our own* version!" (ii. 627).

The Bible is regarded by Mr. Anderson as the grand moral lever by which the world is to be moved; and he regards England as the agent by which that instrument is to be brought to bear upon the nations of the earth. For this purpose the exertions of Englishmen have multiplied translations of the Scripture into almost all the languages that are spoken, and the English language itself is so nearly universal in consequence of our numerous settlements, and wide spreading commerce, that through the English Bible the enquiring and intelligent, of nearly all countries, might make themselves acquainted with the letter of revelation. God does prepare the instruments as well as open, by his providence, the way for accomplishing any great work; and when we perceive both

these preliminary steps to be taken, it is reasonable to expect some great result. It is to us an encouraging and a hopeful occupation to trace the long course of experience, and several stages of advance, by which England has been brought into a condition to accomplish so high a destiny.

The Scriptures, as we have already said, are not the ultimate end—they are not themselves the truth—they are only the records containing the truth, which truth is the end. The originals are not more valuable than versions, provided in the translation nothing of the meaning is lost; but, in order to retain the full meaning in a translation, two things are necessary—first, that the translator understand the meaning of the original; secondly, that the language into which he is translating be equal to the expression of that meaning, and that he have such command over it as to bring out all its force, clearness, and variety: *learning*, in short, to comprehend the original, and *power of composition* to transfer that meaning, are the chief requisites for a translator. England from very early times was distinguished for its learning, of which distinction the names of such as the venerable Bede and Alcuin are sufficient proof, the latter of whom, when removed to Tours, regretted the library he had left behind at York, and entreated Charlemagne to enrich the walls of Tours with similar treasures; and on the revival of learning in Europe, in the fifteenth century, England was among the foremost to profit by it and cultivate it in all its branches:—

"About the year 1460, the disposition to acquire Greek and Latin, as well as to promote its cultivation, had been shown by William Selling, a fellow of All Souls', Oxford, the man who afterwards introduced Linacre to Politian at Bologna. On returning from Italy, he brought with him no inferior collection of Greek and Roman manuscripts which he had there collected; though to his regret they were soon afterwards accidentally consumed by fire at Canterbury. Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian from Tuscany, first taught Greek at Oxford, as a schoolmaster in Magdalen College. Grocyn, a native of Bristol, was his pupil, and after visiting Italy, where he perfected his knowledge of languages, he became, on his return to Oxford, the first voluntary lecturer in Greek, before the year 1490. Linacre and W. Latimer followed in the same course, and all the three taught, more or less, within the walls of Magdalen.

"But above all other men, Erasmus, from Holland, considering what he accomplished in 1516, cannot be overlooked. He first reached England in the close of 1497: he had come to commence his studies in Greek. Elated with what he had found, when writing to a friend in Italy, in December of that year, he says, 'Here I have met with humanity, politeness, learning—learning not trite and superficial, but

deep, accurate, true old Greek and Latin learning; and withal so much of it, that, but for curiosity, I have no occasion to visit Italy.' In Grocyn I admire an universal compass of learning. Linacre's acuteness, depth, and accuracy, are not to be exceeded" (i. 23).

Erasmus stayed not quite two years on this occasion, but he returned in 1509 and spent five more years in England. There were in all the intermediate times some men of learning in England who would bear comparison if not take the precedence of their contemporaries in other lands (such as Roger Bacon, who understood Hebrew as well as Greek, and Holbeach, of the Abbey of Ramsey, who compiled the Hebrew lexicon—the first European work of the kind), because it is learning directed to *the translation of the Scriptures* that we are at present considering. And in this point of view there are two men who ought not to be overlooked—Robert Grossteste of Winchester and Richard Fitzralph of Ireland, both of whom were learned in the best sense of the word, and were zealous in desiring to see the Scriptures in the hands of the people in a language they could understand. Grossteste lived in the early part of the thirteenth century. Wharton asserts that he was profoundly skilled in Hebrew as well as Greek, and this was a century before the time when Boccacio asserts that the scholars of Italy did not know so much of Greek as its very alphabet:—

"At this early period, however, the chief eminence of Grossteste arose from his being a decided friend to *vernacular* translations of the Scriptures. It is the will of God, said he, that the holy Scriptures should be translated by many translators, and that there should be different translations in the Church, so that what is obscurely expressed by one may be more perspicuously rendered by another.* Was there any other country in Europe where as much had been expressed by any man, before the middle of the fourteenth century? If not, then let Grossteste or Greathead be allowed to have sounded, if not the first, one of the earliest feeble notes of preparation." (xxxiv.)

Richard Fitzralph, born at Dundalk, was primate of Ireland, and died 1360. After preaching most indefatigably both in

* This is not a full expression in English, of what is contained in Grossteste's Latin, and thus becomes an instance in a lower kind of that which is true in the highest sense of Scripture—viz., that a translation scarcely ever conveys the exact force of the original. The words are—"Deus voluit, ut plures interpretes S. Scripturam transferrent, et diversæ translationes in Ecclesia essent: idcirco ut quod unus obscurius dixerat, alter manifestius redderit," which seems to mean that *every* translation should be the work of *many* interpreters; so that each language might possess a translation which had been rendered clear in all respects, by the parts which had been obscurely translated by any one individual being corrected and improved by all the rest.

Ireland and in London he went to Rome, to represent to Innocent VI. himself that the exactions and abuses, practised in Ireland, had become past all endurance. "The Lord had taught him (he says), and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotle's philosophy to the Scriptures of God" (xxxv.) Fitzralph is reported to have translated the Scriptures into the Irish language, and Archbishop Usher speaks of some fragments of such translation as existing in his day.

Wickliffe also should be held in honour for the effect which he produced, and that principally by means of his translation of the Scriptures; which, though it was made only from the Vulgate, and made at a time when the English language was yet rude, and neither full enough nor exact enough to convey the entire import of Scripture, yet did in an extraordinary manner open the eyes of the people, and sowed the seeds of those principles which have since become so rich a harvest in all that is contained in the Church of England.

Mr. Anderson thinks that there was a propriety in the first translation being made from the Latin, and his reasons have some weight in them, though not all the weight which he attributes to them:—

"Wickliffe was an able and acute, a zealous and determined man, and withal an excellent Latin scholar; but of Greek or Hebrew he knew nothing ..... A reason there was, and one worthy of infinite wisdom, why not only the English translation but most of the *first* European versions must be made from the *Latin*. These nations, including our own, had nothing in common with the Greek community, but for ages they had been overrun by the Latin. This language, long since dead, even in Italy, had been the refuge and stronghold of their oppressor; and, upon looking back, no spectacle presented to the eye is so remarkable as that of so many different nations equally spell-bound by the same expedient. There was a Latin service, and there was a Latin Bible, professedly received; but the possession of even *this* had been forbidden to the people at large ..... It was the LATIN Bible therefore, long buried in cloisters, or covered with the dust of ages, which must now be brought forth to view. Confessedly imperfect, it was of importance first to prove that *it* had all along contained enough for mortal man to know in order to his eternal salvation; and, once translated into any native tongue, not only will the language touch the heart, but the people at last know what that mysterious book was, from which they had been debarred so wickedly and so long. Although, therefore, the nation was yet an hundred and fifty years distant from the English Bible, properly so called, the present should be regarded as the first *preliminary* step. An all disposing foresight, far above that of any human agent, is now distinctly visible in drawing first upon that very language which had been employed for ages as the instrument of mental bondage. It shall now be made to

contribute to the emancipation of the human mind. Latin, it is true had been the conventional language of the priests and students of different countries; but still, so long as this language remained untouched by a translation of the Scriptures into any *vernacular* tongue, it is a historical canon that no nation was ever greatly moved" (xxxix. xl.).

In Wickliffe's day the English language was not sufficiently polished to furnish an adequate version of the Scriptures, far less at any earlier period when the Saxon dialect was contending with the British and the Erse, or when at a later period Norman French was the language of the court and of the statute law, while a corrupt Saxon was the language of the people. It was not until the fourteenth century that English began to take its form as a distinct and uniform language; and it was not before the time of Elizabeth that it assumed a fixed form, and that primarily and ecclesiastically through the English translations of the Bible; secondarily and in all secular affairs through the genius of Shakespeare, who was thoroughly English, and has made the English language almost Shakespearean. The want of language for translation is the true account of the paucity of early translations.

Cædmon the monk, who is celebrated by Bede, was one of the first who endeavoured to make his countrymen better acquainted with Scripture, by rendering some of the most striking passages into the dialect of the time. This was in the seventh century, and he was regarded as divinely inspired, versifying so readily as he did the sacred story which he learned from the priests:—"Cædmonus divinâ gratiâ specialiter insignis, carmina religioni et pietati apta facere solebat; ita ut quicquid ex divinis literis per interpretes disceret hoc ipse post pusillum verbis poeticis maximâ suavitate et compunctione compositis, in sua—i. e., Anglorum lingua preferret."—(*Bede.*) That Cædmon's productions were highly esteemed is evident from the fine manuscripts, some of which still exist. One of these, with very spirited though of course rude illustrations, was published in the transactions of the Antiquarian Society; and not the least curious part of it is the very striking coincidence between many of these representations, of the expulsion of Satan from heaven, &c., with the machinery of Milton's "Paradise Lost:" so that a question is suggested to the mind whether Milton ever saw these poems of Cædmon.

Bede himself promoted the study and encouraged the reading of the Scriptures; and he wrote commentaries on nearly all the books of Scripture, and translated into Saxon the Gospel according to St. John. From the eighth century down to the time of the Norman conquest the Saxon versions of the Psalms are

very numerous; fragments of many of them remain; but of the authors we seldom discover more than the name, and have not always even this scanty information. The great Alfred encouraged learning, and, on the authority of an old history of Ely, it has been asserted that the monarch himself translated a considerable portion of the Scriptures; but it is doubted by Mr. Baber whether he completed the translation of a single book, as no evidence has been produced beyond the assertion in the foresaid history, and such a work of such a man would scarcely be suffered to perish. The only Saxon work on the Scriptures of which we possess any particulars was by a monk named Ælfric, written towards the conclusion of the tenth century, which the preface informs us he had undertaken at the request of Siwerd and several other of the most eminent nobles of the time, in order to make his countrymen acquainted with the most important portions of Scripture by translating them into Saxon. Sometimes he has given an accurate verbal translation; at other times has only stated in his own words the substance of the sacred history. Of the book of Joshua Ælfric says—"This book also I turned into English for Prince Ethelwerd." Of Esther he says—"The which I briefly, after my manner, translated into English." And as he lived during the incursions of the Danes he prefaces Judith by saying—"Englished according to my skill for your example, that ye may also defend your country by force of arms against the invasion of a foreign host." (*W. L'Isle*, 1623. *E. Thwaites*, 1698.)

The incursions of the Danes, followed by the Norman conquest, extinguished Saxon literature, though its decline was gradual, and as a spoken language it was retained among the common people to a much later period. We cannot date the commencement of modern English as a distinct and homogeneous language earlier than the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth; and the first proper English version of any portion of Scripture is the Psalter of Richard of Hampole, in the middle of the fourteenth century, which was translated from the Vulgate of the Gallican revision. Hampole, in his prologue says—"In this werke I seke no straunge Ynglys, bot lightest and communest, and swilk that is most like unto the Latyne, so that thai that knowes noght the Latyne, be the Ynglys, may come to many Latyne wordis. In the translacione I felogh the letter als-mekille as I may, and thor I fyne no proper Ynglys I felogh the wit of the wordis, so that thai that shall rede it them thar not drede errynge." We subjoin the twenty-third Psalm as a specimen of this translation:—

"Our Lord governeth me and nothyng to me shal wante: stede of pasture thar he me sette. In the water of the hetyng forth he me brougte: my soul he turnyde. He ladde me on the stretis of rygtwisnesse, for his name. For win gif I hadde goo in myddil of the shadewe of deeth: I shall not dreede yueles, for thou art with me. Thi geerde and thi staf: thei have comfourtid me. Thou hast greythid in my sygt a bord: agens hem that angryn me. Thou fattide myn heued in oil, and my chalys drunkenyng what is cleer. And thi mercy shal folewe me, in alle the dayes of my lyf. And that I wone in the hous of oure Lord in the lengthe of dayes."

Hampole's name was Richard Rolle; he was of the order of Augustine and resided at Hampole near Doncaster, whence he is called Richard of Hampole. He died in 1394, and on account of his piety was reputed a saint by the populace.—(*Baber*, lxvi.)

The fourteenth century also gave birth to John Wickliffe, an extraordinary man in every point of view, but entitled to special honour in having been the first to familiarise the English with the Scriptures, by giving them an entire version of them in the vernacular tongue. It was in 1380 that Wickliffe's version appeared, being translated from the Latin; and, although to us the language appears uncouth and rude, it was certainly equal to and probably in advance of the English to be found in other contemporary writers. It is observed by Baber in his "Life of Wickliffe," that the Latin language, though not written by him with much elegance or purity, was the medium through which Wickliffe in general expressed his thoughts on theology, and that his English writings are for the instruction of the common people.

Until the thirteenth century we find no language that can properly be called English. Anglo-Saxon had lingered till near that time among the common people; but Norman French was the language of polished society, and of the courts of judicature, and Latin was the language of the Church and of theology. But in the fourteenth century the different classes of society became more amalgamated, and the language which had been distinctive of these classes were blended together, so as to form one language in which we may yet discover clear traces of the combination which then took place. While the Norman barons monopolized all the places of honour, their language was exclusively cultivated; but when the paths of honour and distinction were open to Englishmen also, their language becoming respectable, was proportionally cultivated and improved. In the fourteenth century it became the language of the noble and the learned as well as of the commonalty; the former

enriching it by words borrowed from the French and Roman dialects, and much altering it in pronunciation, form, and terminations:—

"Among the lower orders of people, however, upon whom refinement makes but slow advances, English, with respect to its great mass, preserved more of its Saxon origin and phraseology. Such was the state of the vernacular tongue at the time in which Wickliffe wrote. The reformer quickly discerned the advantage which might be derived from this propitious circumstance, and failed not to cultivate with care and assiduity a language so well calculated for a channel in which the principles he was strenuous to inculcate might flow even to the extremities of society. When he wished to divulge such sentiments as were level to the comprehension, and necessary for the religious improvement of all ranks of mankind, he appears on these occasions to have written in English; but when he treated of matters of science, or handled subjects more particularly calculated for the attention of the learned among his countrymen, he seems universally to have embodied his ideas and expressed his opinions in Latin"—(*Baber* xxxvii.).

Wickliffe came so soon after Hampole that the English of both is substantially the same; but the next version of the Scriptures, that of Tyndale, was made after an interval of one hundred and fifty years, during which the English language had made prodigious strides towards its perfecting, and had in fact nearly attained its ultimate and fixed character. The language of Wickliffe was nearly that of Chaucer, and it requires the continual help of a glossary to be understood by the readers of modern English: the language of Tyndale is nearly that of Shakespeare, and still more nearly that of our authorized version, and therefore always perfectly intelligible, and generally needing no other change than in the spelling, and in the quaint turns of expression which belonged rather to the age than to the style of writing.

But Tyndale's version has the higher merit of being translated from the originals, and not from the Latin, and of being very ably and faithfully rendered; so that it is in many respects a truer version than the Vulgate of Jerome, and it laid the foundation of our present authorized version, which is confessedly and beyond all question the most faithful version that exists in any language, whether ancient or modern. Wickliffe's controversial and expository writings were very numerous, and a great portion of his time was devoted to preaching or giving lectures; and much of the influence which he had was obtained in this way—much of his influence was personal, and he had numerous followers. But Tyndale, with a singleness of purpose unparalleled as we think, devoted himself to the one

object of translating the Scriptures, trusting to the word of God to do God's work, to settle controversy, to correct abuses, to improve the morals of the people, and to make them in reality what they already professed to be—CHRISTIANS, that is, followers of Christ. It is a sublime spectacle to behold a man thus devoting himself to a work thus wholly of faith, in doing which he must be hidden, whether the work itself be regarded or his own safety; and leaving the results to God when his own part of the work was done, receiving at the hands of men such a return as his Master had met with before him; for Tyndale was burnt at the stake for no other cause than his having translated into English and printed the Old and New Testament.

Tyndale's work will endure for ever; but of himself we know so little that even the year of his birth is uncertain, though it was probably about 1484, or within a year of the time when Luther was born, Nov. 1483. Tyndale's zeal for the Scriptures was kindled during his abode at Sodbury, in Gloucestershire, being tutor to the children of Sir John Walsh. It is commonly reported that he translated the Scriptures at that time; but it is clear from his own writings that this was not the case, and that, though he had been long preparing for the work, it was not actually begun till after he left England, which was in 1524. Many of the neighbouring clergy, "abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors and great beneficed men," frequented the table of Sir John Walsh, and with these Tyndale often held controversies—they relying on the dogmas and practices of the Church; he appealing only to Scripture. The boldness of Tyndale surprised Sir John, and still more his lady, the latter of whom said to him—"Well; there was such a doctor there as may dispend a hundred pounds, and another two hundred, and another three hundred pounds; and what!—were it reason think you that we should believe you before them?" To this Tyndale at the moment gave no reply; but he translated the "Christian Soldier's Manual," written by Erasmus, "to correct the error of those who supposed religion to consist *in mere ceremonies and bodily service*, to the neglect of real piety." Tyndale presented his translation to Sir John and his lady. "After they had read and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often invited to the house; neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came which before they had." Whether from the loss of their good cheer, or anger with Tyndale, does not appear; but they accused him secretly to the chancellor and other the bishop's officers. "When I came

before the chancellor (says Tyndale) he threatened me grievously, and reviled me, and rated me as though I had been a dog, and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth, as their manner is not to bring forth the accuser; and yet all the priests of the country were there the same day." "Tyndale's future footsteps (says Mr. Anderson) will frequently discover him to have been a man who, in the history of his country, stood literally *alone;* and here, it should seem, this peculiar feature had already begun to discover itself" (i. 84). Tyndale could no longer remain in Gloucestershire, and went to London with a recommendation from Sir John Walsh to Sir Harry Gilford, the comptroller, who recommended him to call upon Tunstall, then Bishop of London. He went accordingly, carrying an oration of Isocrates, which he had translated out of Greek into English, as a specimen of his ability. The bishop commended his learning, but said "his house was full; he had more than he could well find, and advised me to seek in London, where, he said, I could not lack a service." But after an abode of almost a year in London, chiefly under the roof of Mr. Humphrie Munmouth, a wealthy citizen, by whom he was most kindly entertained, he at last understood, "not only that there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England." (*Preface to Pentateuch*, 1580).

It was at Cologne, and in the year 1525, that Tyndale commenced the printing of his New Testament in quarto; but he had only proceeded as far as the tenth sheet when an alarm was raised, and the authorities interfered, stopping the progress. Tyndale, however, was able to secure the sheets which were printed and went to Worms. There, instead of going on with the quarto edition alone, he commenced an octavo edition, which last was first issued, although the quarto was also completed. But the quarto had been minutely described and strictly prohibited, so that its circulation would have been immediately stopped: an octavo, therefore, was printed, and was first issued to evade these prohibitions. Both these editions are so rare that only an imperfect fragment of the quarto is known, and only one perfect and one imperfect copy of the octavo edition; for which perfect copy the Earl of Oxford, who collected the Harleian library, gave twenty guineas, and settled twenty pounds a-year for life on Murray who had procured it for him. It is now in the Baptist library at Bristol.

There were more than twenty editions of Tyndale's Testament printed during the ten last years of his life, the greater

number at Antwerp, and under his own superintendence, for it was there that he resided, at the house of Thomas Poyntz, a relative of Lady Walsh, to whose children Tyndale had been tutor. But some of the editions were printed at other places, for there was a great demand for them in England; and though the priests used every means they could devise to prevent the introduction or circulation, and among others, nearly as absurd, subscribed large sums to buy them up in order to burn them, they were smuggled into England in casks, and wrapped up in bales of linen; yet the exterminating endeavours of the priests have had the effect of rendering all these editions scarce; and the continual use which was made of such copies as escaped the priests, by their fortunate possessors, would wear out in honourable service far the greater number of those which escaped the martyr's fate.

This fate Tyndale was not able to escape, although it does not appear that any crime could be laid to his charge, save the translating and publishing the word of God; and that such an act should be esteemed a crime is a record of guilt of the heaviest kind against that Church which adjudged it to be a guilty act that Tyndale should do that which St. Peter and St. Paul enjoined, which the Lord himself and all his followers practised—nay, which the New Testament *itself is*: for the Gospel was undoubtedly first preached in the Galilean or Syriac dialect, and not in the Greek language. Many attempts to entrap Tyndale had failed, and it was difficult to procure agents base enough to undertake it; for he led a most exemplary life, and greatly won upon the affections of all who came in contact with him. Foxe says—"He was a man without any spot or blemish of rancour or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any sin or crime." And while he was at Antwerp he devoted four days of each week to study; Monday and Saturday to "*pastime*," which was visiting and relieving all who had been driven from England by persecution on the first of these days, and devoting the last day of the week to walking about the town and seeking every hole and corner where he suspected any poor persons to dwell, and when he found them deserving of help he plentifully relieved them. The Sunday was spent in reading and expounding the Scripture to such as chose to assemble.

Vaughan, who was one of those employed to induce Tyndale to return to England, and who appears to be a truly honourable man, testifies to Tyndale's loyalty, and says that Tyndale

promised to return and submit to the king in all things, if permission was given to the English people freely to use the English version of Scripture, without note of any kind (i. 278). "Moreover (says Tyndale), I take God, which alone seeth the heart, to record to my conscience, beseeching him that my part be not in the blood of life, if I wrote of all that I have written, throughout all my books, aught of an evil purpose, of envy or malice to any man, or to stir up any false doctrine or opinion in the Church of Christ; or to be the author of any sect; or to draw disciples after me. ..... As concerning all I have translated, or otherwise written, I beseech all men to read it for that purpose I wrote it; even to bring them to the knowledge of the Scripture; and as far as the Scripture approveth it, so far to allow it; and if in any place the word of God disallow it, then to refuse it, as I do before our Saviour Christ and his congregation" (i. 400). And the martyr's last words, when led out to the stake, were "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England." This was October 6, 1536.

The name of Anne Boleyn is honourably connected with the noble work which Tyndale had in hand, and is immortalized by him, in his having printed on vellum a copy of his New Testament, with the Queen's name—"Anna, Regina, Angliæ," printed in red letters on the fore-edges of the top, side, and bottom margins. This singular volume, beautifully printed, with illuminations, belonged to the Cracherode collection, and is now in the British Museum. It was probably undertaken as the only suitable return that could be made the Queen for her interposition in the case of Richard Harman, who had been driven from Antwerp by the opponents of the new learning, as it was called. The Queen's letter to Cromwell, in his behalf, is as follows, A.D. 1534:—

"ANNE THE QUEEN.—Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we be credibly informed that the bearer hereof, RICHARD HARMAN, merchant and citizen of ANTWERP, in Brabant, was, in the time of the late Cardinal (Wolsey), put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship, of and in the English house there, for nothing else, as he affirmeth, but only for that he, still like a good Christian man, did both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hindrance in this world, help to the setting forth of the NEW TESTAMENT IN ENGLISH; we therefore desire and instantly pray you, that, with all speed and favour convenient, ye will cause this good and honest merchant, being my lord's true, faithful, and loving subject, to be restored to his pristine freedom, liberty, and fellowship, aforesaid, and the sooner at this our request, and at your good leisure to hear him in such things as he hath to make further relation unto you in this

behalf. Given under our signet, at my lord's manor of Greenwich, the 14th of May. To our trusty and well beloved, Thomas Cromwell, squire, chief secretary unto my lord the King's Highness" (i. 410).

In 1536, the very year of Tyndale's martyrdom, an edition of his Testament was printed in England, by Thomas Berthelet, the King's printer: being "the first sacred volume printed on English ground" (550).

And even before this time, viz., 1535, Coverdale's Bible had been prepared, and the first edition printed at Paris. This English version of the whole Bible was undertaken at the suggestion of Cromwell, and with funds provided by him: and it is dedicated to Henry VIII., including "his dearest just wife, and most virtuous princess Queen Anne." But before its issue, namely, May 1536, Queen Anne had been beheaded; and many of the copies are altered with a pen, from Anne to JAne: Jane Seymour being Queen for the time being, or quamdiu nobis placuerit. Certain, however, it is that the King, who, as defender of *the* faith, had heretofore resisted the introduction of the Scriptures, as incompatible with the Papal system, which was then regarded as *the* faith, had about this time changed his mind, and was far more earnest for their going abroad among the people than many of the bishops were, and especially Gardiner and those who stood forward as champions of the old learning. Fulke reports that when Coverdale's translation was presented to Henry he referred it to the bishops, and when they kept it long in their hands the King several times urged its publication; and at length being summoned before the King, and obliged to give a judgment, "they answered that there were many faults therein. 'Well (said the King), but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered, 'there were no heresies that they could find maintained thereby.' 'If there be no heresies (said the King), then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people.' According to this judgment of the King and the bishops, Mr. Coverdale defended the translation, confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which, if he might review it once over again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not to amend: but for any heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by the translation" (ii. 89).

Several other versions followed that of Coverdale, as that of Matthew, in 1537; that of Taverner, 1539; that of Cranmer, or Whytchurche, 1540; and the Geneva version, 1557; which last went through numerous editions, as in fact did many of the preceeding. But all these were only slight advances in that good path which had been opened by Tyndale,

and preparations for the great work of an authorized version, of such weight and accuracy that it alone might suffice for the time to come, and the unlearned, of whatever school of theology, might be able to appeal with confidence to it as a faithful rendering of the original, unwarped by party bias, or sectarian prejudice. We must, however, bestow some notice on the Bishops' Bible, of Elizabeth, which may be regarded as the *avant courier* of the more important version of the following reign; and which those entrusted with the last revision were enjoined by James to regard as their basis and not to deviate from either in the sense or in the words, save where fidelity to the original, which was to be their first object, should require some change. Words become hallowed by religious use, and it is wise to retain such words whenever truth will allow.

The Bishops' Bible had been published in 1568, under the superintendence of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the most learned of the bench of bishops, and other Hebrew and Greek scholars. They were Alley, Bishop of Exeter; Davies, of St. David's; Sandys, of Worcester; Bentham, of Lichfield and Coventry; Horn, of Winchester; Grindel, of London; Parkhurst, of Norwich; Cox, of Ely; Guest, of Rochester; Pearson, Prebend of Canterbury; Perne, Dean of Ely; Cole, Dean of Lincoln; Goodman, Dean of Westminster, and some others (ii. 332).

These learned men carefully weighed the texts that differed in the preceding versions, and gave the preference to that which approached most nearly to the original, or altered the rendering and supplied a new version, if none of the preceding came up to the sense of the Hebrew and Greek phraseology. Many minds are indispensable for such a task; for the authority of Tyndale, or *any one* translator, is as good as that of *any one* of his critics; it may be *better*, since he was probably more learned, and certainly more experienced from the training he had gone through in first translating the Scriptures. *Many* minds are necessary also, that the false impressions which *every man, without exception,* carries with him *as an individual,* and upon which individual character depends, should be neutralized; by *each* having his judgment watched over and checked by *others*, each one of whom has some prejudices and some false impressions; but they are not of the *same kind* as those of *any other man,* and thus they reciprocally neutralize what is wrong where they differ, and confirm what is right where they agree. Where we see a new version of Scripture brought out by any individual, however learned,

however painstaking, we have no confidence whatever in that version until it has been sifted, examined, and sanctioned, by a collective body of the faithful—that is, by the Church; and, therefore, when we see any individual announcing a new version, with twenty thousand alterations, we say—just so much the worse: for we are morally certain that nineteen thousand of these alterations would be sheer blunders, and that nine hundred of the remaining thousand would be senses which had already occurred to former translators, which, though not untenable, had been by them deliberately rejected as less agreeable to the mind of Christ in the Church than the rendering which they adopted: and, though it is possible that there may be one hundred errors in such a work as the English version of the Scriptures, they could only be corrected satisfactorily by a body of men as numerous and as learned as those to whom the last revision of our translation was entrusted. Even if we grant that an individual, in suggesting twenty thousand alterations, has proposed one hundred good ones, who shall tell us which they are?—at present they are like a grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff.

The present authorized version, for which the Bishops' Bible was a preparation, and on which basis the text was arranged, is generally acknowledged to be the most faithful version of Scripture that has ever appeared. Instead of our own words we will use those of Dr. Adam Clarke, as both a competent and an impartial witness—being a Wesleyan, and having devoted his whole life to the study of Scripture, having himself translated the whole Scripture, and consulted the best critics before he began his own voluminous commentary—and who thus expresses his mature judgment concerning the merits of the English version, as revised and perfected under the directions of King James:—

"The character of James the *First* has been greatly underrated. In the Hampton Court Conference he certainly showed a clear and ready comprehension of every subject brought before him; extensive reading and a remarkably sound judgment. For the *best translation* into any language we are indebted, under God, to King James, who was called a *hypocrite* by those who had no *religion*, and a *pedant* by persons who had not half his *learning*. Both piety and justice require that, while we are thankful to God for the gift of his word, we should revere the memory of the man who was the instrument of conveying the water of life through a channel by which its purity has been so wonderfully preserved.

"Those who have compared most of the European translations with the original have not scrupled to say that the *English translation of the Bible, made under the direction of King James I., is the most ac-*

curate and faithful of the whole. Nor is this its only praise; the translators have seized the very *spirit* and *soul* of the original, and expressed this almost everywhere, with pathos and energy. Besides, our translators have not only made a *standard translation*, but they have made their translation *the standard of our language*: the English tongue in their day was not equal to such a work—'but God enabled them to stand as upon Mount *Sinai*,' to use the expression of a learned friend, 'and *crane* up their country's language to the dignity of the originals, so that after the lapse of two hundred years the English Bible is, with very few exceptions, the standard of the purity and excellence of the English tongue. The *original*, from which it was taken, is alone superior to the Bible translated by the authority of King James.' 'This (says Clarke) is an opinion, in which my heart, my judgment, and my conscience coincide.'"—(*Clarke's General Preface*, xxi.)

According to Fuller, the King said, "I wish some special pains were taken for an uniform translation, which should be done by the best learned in both universities; then reviewed by the bishops; presented to the privy council; ratified by the Royal authority, to be read in the whole Church, and no other." Such were the King's intentions. "Fifty-four translators, divided into six companies, were appointed for the accomplishment of this important work. Seven of these appear to have died before the work commenced, as only forty-seven are found in Fuller's list."

Full directions, under fourteen heads, were given concerning the mode of conducting the work; the substance of these directions being, that the ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. That all proper names, and all old ecclesiastical words, should be retained; and where a word has many significations, that should be kept to, which is found in the most eminent fathers and agrees with the place, and is according to the analogy of the faith; and that every particular man of each company should take the same chapters, and each having done his best severally, that all should meet together and agree for their part what should stand: and all undecided points, together with the final approval of the whole, to be settled at a general meeting of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work. It was also provided that, in any cases of special obscurity, reference might be made to any of the learned in the land for their judgment; and, also, that all the bishops should inform their clergy of the work then in hand, and invite such as had directed their attention to the translation of the Scripture to send any observations he chose to those who were thus employed.

It would, therefore, appear that the utmost endeavours were used to render this translation of Scripture truly an ecclesiastical work, by concentrating upon it all the learning of a very learned age, thus making it a standard version for England, to which every individual member of the English Church might, with perfect confidence, refer, as the nearest possible approach, in the English tongue, to the meaning of the original.

"And now, after long expectation and great desire (says Fuller), came forth the new translation of the Bible, by a *select* and *competent* number of *divines* appointed for that purpose; not being too many, lest one should trouble another, and yet many, lest many things might haply escape them; who, neither coveting praise for expedition, nor fearing reproach for slackness, had expended almost three years in the work, not only examining the *channels* by the *fountain, translations* with the *original*, which was absolutely necessary, but also comparing *channels* with *channels*, which was abundantly useful in the Spanish, Italian, French, and German languages. These, with Jacob, *rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well of life*; so that now, even *Rachel's* weak women, may freely *come*, both to *drink* themselves, and *water the flocks* of their *families* at the same. Leave we, then, those worthy men now all gathered to their fathers, and gone to God, however they were requited on earth, well rewarded in heaven for their worthy work; of whom, as also of that gracious king which employed them, we may say: *Wheresoever the Bible shall be preached or read in the whole world, there shall also this, that they have done be told in memorial of them*" (x. 46).

The mind and spirit in which the translators undertook their work, and the degree in which they felt that they had succeeded in accomplishing their intentions, may be fully gathered from the preface which is prefixed to the authorized version: and the first thing that strikes the reader is the immeasurable inferiority of this, their ordinary style of English, to that style which these same men had grace to infuse into their translation of the Scriptures; showing that the men, being occupied in a higher and more sacred work, were lifted above themselves: the language of inspiration imparting, even to the English tongue, a portion of its own preternatural sublimity. The only valid impeachment, of any part of their plan, as explained in the preface, regards the avowal that they had not been studious of uniformity of rendering—that is, they were not anxious to avoid translating the *same* Greek word by *different* English words in different places. We do not think this licence should be allowed, but that as much uniformity as possible should be sedulously endeavoured. Whether perfect uniformity is attainable becomes another question, and we rather think that it is not.

For, while we lay it down as an indisputable truth that no two words in the English language are in all respects synonymous, and therefore deny that any one can use indifferently either the one or the other at pleasure, while he means to convey but one precise meaning, yet we also hold that no perfect equivalent can be found in English, or in any modern language, for such words as we are referring to in the Hebrew and the Greek; so that a translator is often compelled to vary his phraseology, if he would fulfil his highest duty of being true to the sense of the original. The words *love, grace, charity, piety, virtue*, and innumerable others, are not the exact equivalents of the Greek words they are used to translate; and even the very word, such as the Latin *virtus* or *pius*, totally changes its signification in becoming English, and each modern language may give it, as in the word *virtue*, a signification of its own, different from what it has in any other language; so that we do not differ substantially from the practice of our translators, although we think that they have too loosely and unguardedly expressed the theory of it in their preface to the reader.

Or, take the very name of the book itself—"the Word of God"—how many different senses does this expression convey? In its highest sense it applies to the person of the Son; then to every annunciation of the will of God made by divine inspiration; then to the volume in which these announcements are recorded; and even to the sacred ministrations in that Church to which the Holy Ghost was promised as a teacher to abide for ever, and to the ministers of which Christ hath said—"Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." The great purpose and ultimate result both of Scripture and of the Church, which are the two things with which alone we have now to do, is to be an abiding and a living witness for Christ in the world; and as in the Church, externals are of no value except as they are the expression of the life of Christ within, so the words of Scripture have no other value beyond the expression of the truth as it is in Jesus; and, if one set of words express the same truth as another, it is of secondary importance which we employ, and surely unnecessary to provoke a controversy for either. It is reported of Melancthon that "he used to say, that a good theologian and true interpreter of God's word must be first a grammarian, then a dialectician, thirdly, a witness. He did not dwell much on explanations of single words; but carefully compared the older versions with the original, and took great pains to illustrate the New Testament Hebraism."

We must get at the true—that is, the broad and Catholic sense of Scripture; and we must be able to express this truly—that is, in broad and Catholic terms. Learning is necessary for this—learning in its largest and best sense, not merely for the work in hand of picking out the sense, but for the intellectual discipline which learning gives—for mastery of the very thought and reason of the passage in hand, and for the power which true learning gives of expressing the same thought and the same reasoning in our own vernacular tongue and its idiom, so as to give the translation all the freedom of an original, while also true as the most literal rendering of word for word. Nay, such a translation is far more true—it is true to the spirit as well as the letter. But since in the Scriptures it is not ordinary language, but is the language of inspiration with which we have to do, and no man knoweth the things of God but by the spirit of God, it is evident that a man cannot as a mere scholar truly translate the Scriptures, and that he must be in communion with the Church and full of faith in order to do justice to the word of God; and, in proportion as his faith shall be catholic and orthodox, so will his version of the Scripture be true.

The English Bible owes much of its excellence to the thirty-nine Articles which preceded it. This had fixed and determined the faith of the Church of England, embuing all the translators with one common spirit, which enabled them to read the original with one understanding, and to infuse the same sense into their expressions, though in words they might slightly differ: and as the learning of these divines was equally conspicuous with their piety, and they had moreover access to all the other learned men of an age of great scholars, we have every reason to account for the unanimous adoption of this version by the Church of England, and also for the general preference which has been given to it by Christians of other denominations.

Considering the vast, the incalculable, importance of an uniform and a standard version to which all may with confidence refer, we do not think that this has been too dearly purchased by restricting the publication to the king's printers and other privileged bodies. It is one of the cases in which we think that the common good is more likely to be secured, or at least has been so in past times, than it would have been by throwing open the publication to the enterprise of private individuals. The words "authorised version" on the title-page afford a guarantee to the simple, who are unable to judge for themselves, that there has been no tampering with the text;

that it is truly the Bible which has been used by their fathers before them, and that is at present used by all the faithful in the land. If Geddes or Gilbert Wakefield printed their versions these appeared with their names, and no one was taken by surprise, and so the modern version of the Socinians is called an "improved version;" but every one knows that what they call improvement is expunging those passages which demonstrate the divinity of our Lord, even though it should force them to the desperate expedient of asserting, without any manner of proof, that such passages are interpolations. Monopoly may be borne with if it be the best means of securing so important an object as the unimpeachable integrity of the word of God, and preventing reckless tampering of this heretical kind.

It must have occurred to every one that our use of a different version of the Psalms, viz., the Psalter, in the daily service of the Church, is a deviation from this principle of uniformity: it is, therefore, well to remind our readers, and to inform such as do not already know the fact, that this seeming anomaly was occasioned by the desire to carry out the same principle which was enjoined upon the translators of the Bible, viz., retaining the old ecclesiastical usages where truth would permit. The Psalter is arranged and even *pointed*, in order to be *sung* in churches. The rhythm of its periods has been attended to, and each verse is divided by a colon into two periods, *for the singing*, whether the *sense* appear to require it or not. Hebrew scholars know that it is the same with the Psalms of David, and that one system of pointing is used in the Hebrew for poetry, another system for prose; nay, that the Decalogue both in Exodus and Deuteronomy is pointed in each place according to both systems. The Psalter, therefore, being that which had been used in the churches was continued, rather than change it for the Bible version to which the people in their liturgy were not accustomed.

The same practice, of having in the Church services a version of the Psalms differing from the Vulgate which was the authorised version, had obtained in the Roman Church from the very times of Jerome; and, as the Church music was for the most part Gregorian, so it was natural that the form of words connected with the music should be retained. The English Psalter is translated from a version of Jerome, which he made from the Septuagint before he undertook his great work of translating the Vulgate from the Hebrew: the variations, therefore, in our two versions, are not mistakes of the English translators, but pretty correctly represent the deviations of the

Greek from the Hebrew. The Romish Church had still greater diversity of practice, for they sometimes used the Italic and the Roman as well as ours, which is the Gallican Psalter, besides the Vulgate, and therefore had four Latin versions of the Psalms in use at the same time. The Italic was the old version before the time of Jerome; the Roman was Jerome's first correction, A.D. 383, which was used at Rome till the time of Pius V., although the council of Trent had already authorized the Gallican. This Gallican was also by Jerome, A.D. 389, made more carefully from Origen's copy of the Septuagint, and was adopted in Gaul as early as 580, and therefore brought over into England by Augustine, as some think; but, according to Hody, already in use both in Britain and Ireland. From the Gallican Psalter, itself translated from the Septuagint, our English Psalter was translated.

We regard this work of Mr. Anderson as a valuable accession both to our theological and to our historical libraries. The author has availed himself of much curious information, which has only recently been brought to light, and some of the MS., and other sources of facts, have been hitherto unexplored, or at least undivulged. Though the history of our Bible is the subject of investigation, this is so bound up with persons and things that it becomes a history of the Reformation in England, from its buddings in the time of Tyndale, the contemporary of Luther, to its completion under the successor of Elizabeth, who gave to the Church its greatest stay and security in a standard version of the Scriptures, and consolidated the realm into the one kingdom of Great Britain, able to afford effectual protection to the Church of these lands, and become the head of the Protestant faith throughout Europe. We have no doubt that England has been raised up, in the providence of God, mainly as a witness to the truth, and it is an historical fact that England has prospered as she has fulfilled this high vocation.

We ought not to conceal from our readers that Mr. Anderson, being a Scotchman, does not take the same view of these questions. He ought for this reason to be proud of King James; but he certainly takes a lower view of James Stuart than we do, and that because Mr. Anderson's modern Scotch predilections are rather too predominant. We have no sympathy with the independent, isolating, Free Church principles, with which Scotland at the present time seems to be so deeply leavened. Mr. Anderson may not be conscious of the extent to which these principles have warped his view; but that he is to some degree biassed there can be no doubt. This does not lesson the value of his work to those who are aware of it;

but it is a proof that the faith in all instances does precede and does regulate the judgment. Mr. Anderson's faith is more Calvinistic—his principles are more Presbyterian—than our own: and, therefore, while we equally approve of the work which has been done, we may differ from him in the motives, and look for different results.

We can safely recommend these volumes as containing a great variety of interesting information concerning the English Bible which can be found in no other book. It corrects all former histories in numberless particulars, which are so verified by their connection with *printed* documents as to leave no farther doubt on the matter; and it traces so diligently, and so carefully, the several stages through which the English translation of the Scripture has passed, to arrive at its present excellence, that we rest with confidence in the version we possess as the oracles of God; and Mr. Anderson insists strongly on the responsibilities which this involves, regarding the English language as now extended, by our colonies and commerce, over the face of the whole earth.

"After such a history as the past, and in the existing state of our country and its dependencies, the writer must own that he is drawn irresistibly, and with deep respect to those upon whose shoulders, as instruments, all hope for future exertion must depend. Of course, he alludes to the admiring and devout readers of our common version, whether at home or far distant. At present we regard them all as but one community, and the most united upon the face of the earth; possessing certain points of attraction to each other, for which we search in vain throughout the world. Although the most widely diffused branch of the family of man, except the Jews, yet they alone are in firm possession of the entire sacred volume; and once contemplated as a community, before the eye of him who never slumbers, it cannot be said, at any given moment, that its members have ceased to peruse and to search the same divine record. At any hour of the twenty-four, or rather any minute, the eyes of some of this body are in the act of resting on the same book of life, and that from the beginning of the year to the end of the year.....and, however far apart, there alone they alike find their best and their happiest moments." (11. 656.)

May England, as a nation, prize her privileges, and act up to her responsibilities! May her sons of every degree, who carry her name and her language to the utmost bounds of the earth, walk worthy of the name they bear, and adorn their Christian profession with every Christian grace! That not in arts and arms alone—but in the higher and more enduring acts of moral worth—England may be foremost among the nations, and a blessing to the world.

ART. II.—*Un Million de Faits, Aide-Mémoire Universel des Sciences, des Arts, et des Lettres.* Paris. 1842. Brussells. 1845.

2. *Dictionnaire Infernal.* Par J. COLLIN DE PLANCY. Quatrième Edition. Paris. 1845.

LITERATURE has received of late years an immense impulse and development. The ponderous tomes of our forefathers are reduced into hand-books for our children; the rare treasures of the convent library, reprinted in many a form, are to be seen on the book-stall of every crowded city; whilst that knowledge the possession of which, in former days, separated and distinguished a man from his fellows, is become the common inheritance of the many. The prevailing spirit of the times seems to be to break up and destroy all the ancient foundations of power, and to this spirit the course of circumstances is lending a singular energy. In the struggle between what has hitherto been considered legitimate right, and what is now called popular privilege, democracy is advancing to the victory with a sure and steady foot; and it would appear as though knowledge had changed masters, and was helping those to govern whom she once considered it her exclusive distinction to rule. The aristocracy of knowledge, like all other aristocracies, is indeed fast perishing from the earth: it is scarcely visionary to believe that the period is approaching when little will be left for men to acquire, and when teachers will be more numerous than scholars. "The Million" will soon be in possession of the knowledge which is said to constitute power—how they will use it is another matter. The mere possession of knowledge, after all, is not wisdom: the one is a mighty instrument it is true, but the other is the capacity to use it aright; and, in the absence of the latter, it is but as a murderous weapon in the hand of a strong bodied fool, which he either wields clumsily to his own hurt, or mischievously to the damage of those around him. One thing is clear, that, as regards the possession of knowledge, the distinction between governors and the governed is gradually subsiding, and those whom the people place at their head must become in future rather the ministers of their will, than their guides and rulers, as of old, by force of superior intelligence.

The history of literature is the history of the human mind. The development of one branch in preference to another has ever been indicative of some peculiar force of circumstances, lending for the time its bias to the reflective or imaginative

faculties; whilst the "*amenities*" or "*curiosities*" of literature are but the several gracious or rugged forms, in which human thought is brought to the birth of outward expression. Whoever traces this history back to its earliest records, and attends to all which it relates, will be able to accompany the human mind in its progress from its first dawning of intelligence to the vast expansion of the present day: he will become acquainted with, and perhaps be able to account for, the many mental and moral phenomena with which that progress has been marked.

Much that is deeply interesting is involved in this history. The characteristic spirit of an age is to be gathered from the nature of its literary productions; the influence of clime, and the effects of association, are perceptible in the prevailing tastes of the national mind. The disputatious spirit of the Greek, the haughty magnificence of the Roman, the nobility of patriarchal descent and the fervour of an eastern sun which marked the Arabian, the love of abstract science and investigation which distinguished the northmen, are all to be traced in their literature. The same disposition which led the Greek to be quarrelsome with his neighbour may be traced in his love of philosophical disputation: the Arabian borrowed his inclination to occult science, his poetry and his eloquence, from his traditional acquaintance with the far-off ages of his fathers, as well as from his wandering life and the constant association of his thoughts with the wilder elements of nature: whilst the spirit that led the sea-kings of the north to traverse the ocean in search of other lands is perceptible in the hardy disposition to enquiry, and the love of intellectual freedom, which so signally distinguish their descendants.

Nor are there wanting in the course of this history facts which serve as indices to the prevalence of a particular faith, the peculiarities of a particular people or school, and the power of a repressive domination. Thus, for instance, the great dearth of literary labour, distinguishing the tenth century, is partly accounted for by the prevalence of the belief that the end of the world would take place in the year 1000. It is recorded that a great number of the charters of the tenth century commence with the words, *Appropinquante fine mundi;* and whilst this almost universal belief redoubled the fervour of religious piety, and produced, as a necessary consequence, many acts of liberality and charity—whilst it led, on all hands, to mutual reconciliations, the pardon of unhappy culprits, and the emancipation of miserable slaves—it resulted in a total abstinence from all toil, mental or bodily; these being ac-

counted, in the prospect of so near and mighty an event, useless or sinful. Again—to speak of something of lesser influence, yet very characteristic—we learn how the French *savants* were engaged, what they counted of the highest importance, and how deeply interwoven vanity is in the constitution of the national mind, when we find Balzac thus writing to the grammarian Vaugelas, in the seventeenth century:—"The good opinion which you entertain of me constitutes the half of my merit. Queens shall come from the ends of the earth to taste the pleasures of your conversation, and you will be the third, after Solomon and Alexander, who will have brought them from so great a distance." Equally characteristic was the remark of the literary purist and poet, Malherbe, on his death-bed, to a priest, who, in homely language, was describing the happiness of the other world—"Speak no more to me about it, for your wretched style will disgust me with it."

As for the repressive domination of the Church, it is everywhere manifest in the literary history of the past. Of this, besides the great fact visible in the character of the literature of many centuries, there are some curious instances on record. In the sixth century, St. Didier, Archbishop of Vienne, in France, was blamed by Pope Gregory for teaching grammar, and for pronouncing with the same mouth the name of Jesus and that of Jupiter:—

"A report has reached our ears (thus writes the pontiff) which I cannot mention without shame, that your fraternity expounds grammar to some persons. This is so painful to us, and yet it so vehemently raises our scorn, that it has changed all I have previously said into wailing and sorrow; the same mouth, indeed, cannot hold the praises of Jupiter and Jesus."

St. Isidore, in his canons, forbids his monks to read the works of Gentiles; nor is this to be wondered at when Virgil was less known as a great poet than as a magician and master of sorcery. Two centuries later Virgil, Bishop of Saltzburg, was pronounced to be a heretic by Pope Zachary,* for asserting that there were antipodes. In the thirteenth century, Pierre de Apono was condemned for having learned the seven liberal arts from seven familiar spirits whom it was said he kept in a bottle. With the treatment of Roger Bacon and Galileo the world is familiar, whilst the history of the Inquisi-

* This however, M. de Plancy, of whom we shall presently speak, denies; but he elsewhere admits that he was accounted a sorcerer, and supposes that the legend concerning the Roman poet arose in the middle ages from confounding him with Virgil, Bishop of Saltzburg.

tion is replete with instances of individuals punished and tortured for no other reason than the promulgation of scientific discoveries, or the assertion of philosophical truths. Whatever went one step beyond the narrow boundary in which alone Romish usurpation felt herself secure instantly became a heresy, wherein there was question neither of fact nor truth, but simply of the *dicta* of the pontifical chair, often as remarkable for their ignorance as their arrogance.

Before the final subjugation of the Roman power by the Saracens there was no lack of books in the world, though there was a singular dearth of the creative or investigative faculties of the mind. The Greeks in the tenth century (and with them rested the intelligence and civilization of the world) were in possession of an immense heritage, neither more nor less than the accumulated knowledge of past ages. The literary treasures existing at that time at Constantinople were incalculable. Up to that period this magnificent city had been preserved intact from the hand of an enemy, and it had become the depositary of all the collections of antiquity. The barbaric invasions that had desolated other cities enriched this, for thither for safety fled the wealthy and the learned, bringing with them their literary riches. The inhabitants of this metropolis had it in their power to avail themselves, in their mother-tongue, of all that philosophers had originated, of all which resulted from the meditation of the learned, or the noble enthusiasm of the patriot: yet it is a remarkable phenomenon in the history of the human mind that they profited but little. "Whilst they enriched the memory (as M. de Sismondi remarks), thought slept; or if at times it was awakened it was only aroused that it might plunge into the inextricable difficulties of theological disputation." Utility seemed to them to be a profanation of science; and so well had the heavy hand of priestly rule been laid upon the inventive genius of human intelligence, that, though much was known, little was elicited for the furtherance of true civilization. As instances of the great extent and variety of the erudition of those days, as well as of its profitless consideration, the cases of the patriarch Photius, and those of Leo the philosopher and his son Constantine Porphyrogennetus, are cited. The former is said to have composed a work whilst at Bagdad, when far from his library, and by a prodigious effort of memory, in which he gives an analysis and criticism of two hundred and eighty other works: whilst the two latter composed books wherein they passed in review almost every known human science, comprising even such as were connected with the

minutest court ceremonials, down to the humblest occupation of the agricultural labourer.

It would seem, however, that the preservation of the depositaries of human thought is of little use to the world unless the faculty to think be cultivated—unless the freedom of thought be guaranteed; and if any one will ascertain the real cause of the intellectual night that fell upon Christendom, even in the midst of this plenitude of literary light, he must look for it in the excessive jealousy of the ecclesiastical power, which dreaded any influence that might lead mankind to investigate the grounds of its authority and the proper manner of its exercise. All the powers of the human mind were absorbed in the contemplation and treatment of theological subjects; and though there can be none higher or worthier for the exercise of its faculties, yet the practical result of an exclusion of every other subject soon became manifest. The orthodox treatises of the earlier fathers were succeeded by puerile commentaries; and the inventive genius, which had no other legitimate scope for its exercise, found vent in imaginary and stultifying legends of saints. The freedom of the mind was coerced into slavish servility, and all the dignity of its intelligence withered down to the mental decrepitude which was the exact measure necessary for the promulgation of idle tales and foolish superstitions.

Far be it from us to deny that, after the conquest of Constantinople, what learning there was was preserved by the clergy. This is true: no other class of men had it in their power to preserve it. To them, undoubtedly, or rather to the treasures which they had saved from the general destruction, we owe the dawnings of that second day of knowledge whose effulgence now shines so clearly on the world. But whilst we admit the debt that is due on this ground, we must not forget that, but for the repressive domination which they had previously exercised, the condition of intellectual darkness in which men found themselves would neither have been so afflictive nor debasing. Out of the wholesome discipline which the Church was commissioned to exercise in the fellowship of paternal love, Rome contrived a system of spiritual tyranny as oppressive as it was unscriptural; two results at two several epochs have followed—one in the deep darkness which characterized the middle ages; another in the consequent reaction of licentious thought and hardy debate which distinguishes modern times.

We hear and read much, both in laudatory speech and essay, of the knowledge of the present day. It is considered

by some as the mighty instrument of the world's regeneration, which the force of circumstances is rapidly fashioning to the perfection necessary for so great a work. Others, in the fervour of exulting anticipation, do not hesitate to regard its progression as an earnest of the time when it shall assert for itself the power and attribute of divinity. For our part, we believe that the world's regeneration will be accomplished by a very different process, and come from a very different source. We also believe that there is a limit beyond which the human intellect, in the attainment of knowledge, cannot pass. "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further," is a fiat which God has pronounced, as well to circumscribe the mental powers of man as to confine the ocean within its bounds. Moreover, whilst in the actual condition of popular knowledge we see much to rejoice in, there is a good deal to lament. In the cultivation of the popular mind many seeds of evil have been sown, and they promise for the future almost as prolific a harvest as that which men look to reap of better fruit.

If the amount of knowledge were to be tested by the amount of books, we know of no arithmetic by which it could be estimated: but, if the nature and quality of that knowledge are to be gathered from the kind and quality of the books most in demand, we may come to a nearer guess at the truth.

As for books, to the making of them there is no end. Very different is the case with us now from what it was in the days of our fathers, when they were so rare in Europe that even the richest could scarcely leave any as a legacy to their children, and when those which they left were chained as heirlooms to the walls of the family mansion: very different from what it was so late as 1688, when a lottery of books, got up by Mr. Ogilby, and drawn at the Vere-street theatre, consisting of three thousand three hundred and sixty-eight lots, only contained eight works: very different even from what it was one generation back, as any one may see who compares the books which he used in his youth with those which he gives to his children.

But, after all, it does not appear that the mere possession of books is always accompanied by a popular progress in knowledge, though it must be admitted that their production is a proof of demand. Some abatement also must be made from much which passes for knowledge, and a proper distinction drawn between an age that is merely a reading age and one that is studious. To step lightly into the cumulated labour and experience of other men, as we are doing in this day, is not a wholesome process. The hand-book system is a railway

method of transferring knowledge, more remarkable for its celerity than solidity. To come at the thoughts of others, to reap of their toil without the trouble of thinking or the pain of sowing for ourselves, seems the great *desideratum* of the day, and the process is one by which much may be stored in the memory without imparting vigour to the mind. There is hardly time for the operation of sound and wholesome thought; and, as a necessary consequence, books are as hastily considered as they are written. What Lord Bacon says of studies is true of books, and what he says of books is very fitting for the present day:—"They teach not their own use, for that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. .....Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested—that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books, else distilled books are like common distilled waters—flashly things." Now, whatever amount of reading there may be in our day, we think the wisdom of which Lord Bacon speaks, as "won by observation," and which is necessary for reading to any profit, is not a characteristic of the age. Though books be as "plentiful as blackberries," the processes of healthy "tasting, chewing, and digesting" are so little understood as at once to account for the kind of knowledge which most finds favour, and the morbid appetite which craves it. Of "distilled books" there is indeed no end; and, without pursuing this metaphor too far, it may fairly be said, that if the innumerable gin palaces of the metropolis be a proof of the depraved habits of its lower classes, so the "flashly" nature of the knowledge that is poured forth from so many sources is a striking evidence of the moral and mental disease which afflicts so large a portion of the reading public.

Unhappily, whatever is written in order to be acquired passes under the name of knowledge, without much reference to its nature or its uses: and whilst men congratulate each other on the progress of the age, and the vast increase of attainments, it is too often forgotten that, in the general amount, there is many an item to be reckoned of most pernicious quality and calculated to work much evil as its consequence. The penny publications, for instance, which are rife on every hand, are most of them neither instructive nor whole-

some. They have all something to teach, it is true; but that this something is good for the learner is more than doubtful.

In some of these publications the tastes which may be expected to prevail within the range of popular comprehension are consulted; and, whilst there are Chartist essays of considerable ability for the thinking but discontented artizan, there are tales of horror, of crime, and depravity for the idle or doubtfully occupied youth, dressed in all the forms most likely to win morbid and ignorant minds to imitation. What is thus sown will one day bear its fruit, and make itself fearfully known as part of that knowledge triumphantly spoken of as "*power*." It is true that the efforts of benevolent and religious societies are directed to check the evil. The penny press of philanthropy struggles with that of vice; but no one, who is at all conversant with the purlieus of the metropolis, or curious in observing all the indications of their moral and mental condition, can fail to see that the publications of which we speak are far more numerous, and far more in request, than those which an active charity disseminates in opposition.

In the middle and more intelligent classes of society, whilst there are much wholesome reading, religious principle, and sound knowledge, there has been of late years an importation of foreign philosophy, hurtful to the minds of those who aspire after something higher or more brilliant than a home education commonly affords; whilst the romance readers, of whom there are sadly too many, have had their appetites for the unreal and morbid sated to the full by such of the French novels as are sufficiently decent to be translated, or by those which, being untranslateable, offer their filthy poison in the specious covering of Parisian phraseology. German rationalism and French ethics, distilled through the alembics of mysticism and improbable fiction, are thus finding a place in the minds of the young; and modern custom, which counts them as so many vehicles for the importation of knowledge, quietly gives the one into the hand of the youth as a necessary part of his studies, and the other to the maiden, that she may be conversant with the latest idiom of an elegant but profligate metropolis. The danger is, however, not half so great with the French romance as with the German essay. There is that innate modesty in the English female mind which will lead many to refuse and reject what the folly of a so called fashionable education would place before them; but the case is different with the continental philosophy and theology, which claim consideration from the nature of the subjects that are treated,

and the high standing of the writers. Unhappily with these, whilst the sophism or the error is attractive, the subtilty is difficult of detection. They possess a peculiar charm and a peculiar danger for the young in the new and mystic region which they open to the mental vision, where the judgment is hurried on by force of enthusiastic energy, and led to mistake deep error, disguised in poetic forms, for the bold conceptions of a truth-finding genius. Into the two extremes of a veneration, exaggerated to superstition and rationalistic licence, many of the reading youth of our day are being urged. Those who escape the mental and spiritual slavery which is the end of the one will finish, unless God avert so sad a fate, by becoming the proselytes and ardent promulgators of systems as dangerous as they are fascinating.

In the estimates of social conditions—in every investigation into the statistics or moral state of society—little or no account is taken of the spirit of man: he is treated as an *intellectual*, but not as a *spiritual* being; and to this, we apprehend, may be traced many of the errors and failures of modern systems. Rules are laid down which are not applicable; and cases occur which have not been anticipated and which are not understood, from the simple fact that no higher thing than the intellect in the constitution of man's being is contemplated. Hence, much of scriptural truth is disregarded, because the nature of man is not properly understood; and rationalistic principles are applied to cases which they can never touch, because spirit must be ruled by spirit, and claims reason for its handmaid, and not its witness. Philosophers, and men who pass for wise, think they have made a discovery in submitting the Scriptures to a purely rationalistic interpretation, and whilst they adopt its ethics reject its theological doctrines. This is no small characteristic of the knowledge of the present day, and is an element entering largely into the composition of those minds which are considered to be of the highest order. We hold it to be an evil and not a good.

There is no doubt that knowledge and liberty go together. Every man's safety is in dependence, and there is none so high in place on earth as not to owe obedience to one higher; but subjection is not slavery, and, when properly understood and rightly rendered, is perfectly compatible with liberty, which is not licence. In subjection nothing is destroyed, but simply regulated. The power to think and the energy of its exercise are ever a proof amongst a people that there is no undue coercion in their government; as the lack of this power is ever, on the other hand, indicative of an unjust and repressive domi-

nation, either in Church or State. We know that, as regards the Church, this is a proposition much disputed. There are those who say that the people should only think what the Church prescribes—an abstract truth, no doubt; but, from the way in which it is put and defined, impossible of realization; for by the party who take this view, the Church is virtually, though not in set terms, defined to be a section of the Clergy—a body in whose constitution the many have no part. Hence, when the Reformation, which, whatever were its faults or mistakes, had been forced upon the world by Romish misrule and heresy, broke up the fastnesses of Papal authority, the human mind, long imprisoned, broke forth as a natural consequence in wild and exuberant licence, as the cowed and beaten schoolboy recovers at once his spirits, and riots in mad joy when he is let forth to the free air and the clear sunshine. Nor was this to be wondered at. If the sleep of the mind and the dearth of thought were for ages the proper result of spiritual tyranny, it was equally to be expected, that, when the spirits of men awoke to conscious liberty, mental freedom should be sometimes abused to licence.

It seems the sad fate of humanity to be the subject of extremes. The error of one is no sooner perceived than the other is adopted as the remedy. The *via media*, so often spoken of, and by so many claimed as that which they adopt, is alas! for the most part, what is coveted rather than what is gained. Christendom fell from superstition into infidelity; and now, in endeavouring to escape the latter, the former has once more come into fashion—the same battle is to be fought over again with every probability of a like result—save that, as the superstition of this day is of a far more intelligent order, so the infidelity which is arising is of a deadlier character, and more specious form.

The results of liberty are manifest in the extent of knowledge which we profess; but the beginnings of infidel lawlessness are also very preceptible in the nature and quality of much that is accounted knowledge.

In the meanwhile the several religious bodies and branches of the Church of Christ are bestirring themselves, either to help forward the movement which is called liberal, and which contains many rationalistic elements, or to oppose it. Without desiring to be uncharitably censorious, we fear we must class not a few of the dissenters in the former category. The Churches of Rome and England, each after her own manner, plainly take their places in the latter. The English Church trusts to the blessing of God upon the dissemination of the

word of truth and the development of her pastoral office and capacity. The Romish redoubles her energies in the distribution of miraculous medals, the creation of new saints, the multiplication of confraternities for the worshipping of the Virgin and the adoration of angels, and the constant issue from the Jesuit press of legendary tales, wherein faith is demanded, not for Catholic truth, but degrading dogmas. Alas for our brethren!—such an opposition can only be successful by the enslaving of the spirit; and, where it is not successful, will only confirm the infidelity which it seeks to destroy.

No means are left untried to furnish the popular mind with the information which it craves, or to meet the taste for novelty which exists. In our own land this is perceptible in the variety and nature, in the cheapness or costliness, of the works which daily issue from the press; whilst amongst our neighbours the example is followed, and in many respects improved upon. We have chosen, by way of illustrating the remarks which have occurred to us, two French popular works, both because they are specimens of two distinct branches of literature, and because they are characteristic of the several methods taken by opposing interests for affording instruction or amusement to the people. We have thought also that an occasional glance at the moral *status* of the continent, as illustrated by its popular literature, would not be altogether unacceptable to our readers. In France, philosophy and the Church strive hard one against the other: whilst there are many such works as that first named in the heading of this article, there are others, like the second, to which Romish ecclesiastics attach their authorization, and by which they both sate the appetite for novelty that exists, and insinuate, with untiring falsehood, the usual amount of calumnies against Protestants and the Reformation.

It is not needful that we pause to say much concerning the "*Million de Faits.*" It is a clever compilation, containing a vast amount of information; but evidently written in a *socialistic* spirit, and with but little reverence for the great verities of Christianity. The idea of the work was suggested by a book published some years since in England, if we mistake not, by Sir R. Philips, entitled "A Million of Facts of Correct Data, &c." But it is an improvement on it, and has the advantage of the additional experience of the few years which have since elapsed—a matter of no small moment in these days of haste and rapid development. It is sufficient to observe of this work that much learning has been brought to its compilation, and that the peculiar eminence of the French mathematicians and

chemists has secured very superior articles under the several heads of physical science.

The object of this publication, like many in our own land, is to give the greatest possible amount of information to the people. The mistake is, that it does so without much regard to the capacity for receiving or digesting it, and without much care to furnish those solid master principles of religious faith, by which alone this information can be turned to profitable account and healthy uses.

We now turn to the "*Dictionnaire Infernal*," a very curious work in its way, and connected with a branch of knowledge which is finding much favour with many men. It is somewhat singular, however, that the Romish Church should patronize it, as it is difficult to gather from the words of the writer, though not from the spirit in which he writes, what amount of faith or credence is to be given to supernatural existences. Hitherto that Church has been considered, and we think not unjustly, as urging popular faith beyond its legitimate limits in some of the grosser forms of its exercise. How far she is justified or condemned in so doing by what is related and treated of in this book, will, as a matter of judgment, be very much settled by the readers according to the *animus* with which they peruse it. Whether it is to her interest—whether it is consistent with her policy to destroy a popular disposition to superstition—is a matter which a Protestant can hardly impartially decide: of this she is the best judge. If she does wish to destroy this disposition, the work is clumsily done by patronizing a book wherein demoniacal interference and influence are ever presented as *facts* in connection with the Reformers: if she does not, she is equally inconsequent in permitting such interference and influence to be treated as vulgar and stupid errors, as they invariably are by the author, if he should happen to find them in connection with orthodox (Romish) names. This we shall have occasion to notice more fully. One object of this work is, however, clear—the "*Million de Faits*" is to meet the demands of the popular mind in one of its phases; the "*Dictionnaire Infernal*" is permitted by the Church to supply them in another.

The author is M. Collin de Plancy. In a short preface he states the nature of superstitions in general, and claims for the Church—that is, the Roman Church—the merit of extirpating and the desire to extirpate them wherever she meets with them. He adds—"Superstition, which consists in beliefs and practices that are not within the fixed rules of the Church, is yet connected with heresies, schisms, and extrava-

ganoles of every kind. Nevertheless it is not to her (*Qy.*, to the superstition or the Church?) that we must attribute, as the Calvinists do, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which was the pure result of a measure of the State, entirely political in its nature, the history of which is yet inedited; nor the carnage with which the first conquerors of America are reproached, for these were the criminal consequences of human passions; nor even the inquisition, an institution which has hitherto been judged amongst us upon the authority of *data* the most false and perfidious." He adds—"The author of this book, in the two first editions which he published, fell himself in a very deplorable manner into the erratic courses which he here condemns. Seduced from the Church, the only centre of truth, he went astray in the paths of a lying philosophy, and he has scattered throughout his writings errors which he now detests and disowns. Restored to the bosom of the Roman Church by the grace of God's goodness, of which he was not worthy, he has been since led to see that the Church alone has the power to contend effectually, as she always has contended, against the superstitions, wanderings, and absurd excesses of the imagination."

We honour M. de Plancy for his honest and frank confession of what he accounts to have been his sin. We quite agree with him that the Church alone possesses the light in the power of which superstition is to be destroyed. But we doubt whether the Church of Rome has not, for every pagan superstition which the author boasts she has destroyed, created another, fully as dishonouring to the most holy faith of Jesus Christ and as derogatory to the true mental dignity of man.

It is very difficult to discover, as we have already hinted, how far M. de Plancy's faith extends in the matter of the lutins (hobgoblins), farfadets (familiar spirits), phantoms, ghosts, spectres, gholes, &c., of which he treats so learnedly. In set words he guardedly describes them as so many creatures of a disordered fancy—as the offspring of superstition—the daughter of fear; but, with curious inconsequence, he treats of them with a gravity and seriousness which would make one suspect he had written himself into such a belief of their existence as he was not willing to own. Divided between his fear of compromising the Church and his anxiety to damage the "Protestant heresy," he does not know at times whether to treat them as fictions or realities. He is often found dealing with them as mere shadows which perish before the light of the Romish Church, and at the same time speaking of them as hideous personalities, the sure offspring of schism and the frightful companions of Protestantism.

The nature of this "Dictionary" is explained in its somewhat lengthy title-page, where we are informed that it is "a collection, or inventory (*répertoire*) of the beings, persons, books, facts, and things, which pertain to apparitions, divinations, magic intercourse with hell, demons, sorcerers, occult science, conjurations, cabala, the spirits ofothe elements, the *great work*, prodigies, errors and prejudices, impostures, the practices of Bohemians (or Gypsies), divers superstitions, popular tales, prognostics, and generally to all false, marvellous, surprising, mysterious, or supernatural faiths, &c." It is, in short, a sort of treatise, *de omnibus rebus, cum multis aliis.*

In this *répertoire*, however, there are some items wanting. We do not, for example, meet with the famous legend of the "Lee Penny," which gave to Sir Walter Scott the idea of his romance, "The Talisman." It is, or was but lately, in the possession of the Lockharts of Lee and Carnwarth, and was, as most of our readers will remember, received by an ancestor of the Lockharts in payment of the ransom of a Saracen emir, taken prisoner by him in the wars of the Crusades. It is still held in veneration, and a very curious incident connected with its history is an "Act (anent it) of the Synod and Assembly of Glasgow." A complaint was made to the ecclesiastical courts against the laird, then Sir James Lockhart, for using witchcraft, and employing this stone (for a stone it is) in curing diseases. The "Act" recounts that—"The Assemblie having inquirit of the maner of vsing thereof, and particularlie vnderstoode, by examinationne of the said Laird of Lee, and otherwise, that the custome is onlie to cast the stene in sume water and give the diseasit cattil thereof to drink, and qt the sam is dene wtout vsing onie words, such as charmers and sorcerers vse in their unlawfull practisess; and considering that in nature there are mony thinges seen to work strange effects, qr'of no humane will can give a reason, it having pleasit God to give vnto stones and herbes special virtues for the healing of mony infirmities in man and beast—advises the brethren to surcease thir proces, as q'rin they perceive no ground of offence, &c." But to return—in the "*Dictionnaire*" Gossip Aubrey finds a place; but old Glanvile, whose book on witchcraft was at once the delight and terror of our school boys, is amissing, as are many other things and names connected with the practices of *grimoire* which recur to our recollection. In hunting for these, however, we have stumbled over Sir Kenelm Digby, whom the author treats but scurvily as "a fool and an impostor," and all because of his famous

"powder of sympathy." We should almost suspect that M. de Plancy was ignorant of Sir Kenelm's conversion to Romanism, or he would have found a ready apology for his errors. He was neither knave nor fool, and his powder, as well as his cosmetics for the preservation of his wife's beauty and the prolongation of her life, were only in keeping with the scientific insanities of the day, belonging to the character of the age rather than to the want of wit or principle in the man. Some of Lord Bacon's medical receipts have a near affinity in character to this celebrated powder; and yet no one, because of the errors which modern experience has exploded, would venture to call the great philosopher fool or knave. Sir Kenelm, we need hardly inform our readers, was a man of no mean attainments—an eminent scholar and learned writer: he lived in the day when the Eldorado of scientific investigation was the philosopher's stone—when "powders of projection" and "elixirs of life" were ever associated with the thoughts and labours of those who possessed all the knowledge that was then known. They who smile at the alchemists, and the eccentricities of the scientific, will do well to remember that it is to their patient though abortive efforts that we owe many of the most valuable discoveries of chemistry.

Whilst on this head, we may pause to notice the *animus* with which M. de Plancy writes. The Romanists, upon whose memory the imputation of magic has been cast, are invariably described as the victims of popular error or ignorance, and sometimes of Protestant malignity. He finds, when defending their reputation, time to smile with philosophical contempt at the mistakes of the vulgar; but when an unhappy heretic comes under notice the case is very different: magical relations connected with his name are treated with all the gravity due to serious verities, and considered almost as results naturally to be looked for: for instance, Albertus Magnus, or Albert de Groot, the celebrated Bishop of Cologne, has his memory justly rescued from the many idle tales attaching to it, though M. de Plancy states his conversion to have been occasioned by a vision of the Virgin, "whom he tenderly served and who opened the eyes of his mind." The Jesuit, Girard, a monster of iniquity, notorious for his treatment of Catherine Cadiére (he was her confessor), commonly called "La belle Cadiére," and who to the disgrace of his order and the ecclesiastical authorities was screened and protected in his wickedness, comes before us in the "Dictionary" in an entirely new character, as an injured man—the innocent victim of a base confederacy between the Parliament, the Jansenists, and

the philosophers. Again: he relates the story of a certain curé, who is reported to have attached small candles to the backs of crabs and set them loose at night. The whole village was frightened, as might be naturally expected, at the sight of these wandering lights, and hastened for counsel to their pastor. He told them that these were the souls of their relatives, who needed their prayers. As purgatory, prayers, and money, are synonymous things in the Romish vocabulary, the clever but unprincipled curé would have reaped no doubt a good harvest; but unfortunately for him, in collecting his crabs in the morning, he happened to leave one behind him, by which the trick was discovered. M. de Plancy naively finishes the relation with the remark, that "this absurd story is one of the malicious tales which the Protestants have so numerously invented."

Very different, however, is the treatment which the unhappy Protestants meet with. In speaking of them the author seems almost to regret his previous admissions concerning the folly of believing in demons, sorcery, and magic; and seems as desirous that his readers should believe, as he is willing to wish, that what is related of their connection with these should be true. Of John Calvin he says, "This hideous fanatic, who burnt Michel Servet, his friend, because he differed in opinion with him, was *not only a heretic but is accused of being a magician.* He wrought prodigies by the aid of the devil," &c. There is no such saving comment as we meet with elsewhere to the effect that these were only idle tales; but the article is closed with the pithy remark—"Some say that Calvin was strangled by the devil. If so, he only met with his due." Of Martin Bucer he says, quoting from Delancre, without a single comment—"Being at the point of death, and surrounded by his friends, the devil made himself one of the company, embracing him with so hideous a countenance that the beholders almost died of fright. Then the devil carried him roughly away—tearing out his bowels; and, killing him by twisting his neck, he carried off his soul which he drove before him to hell." Luther meets with no better treatment; and the great leviathan of literature, Dr. Johnson, is shown up to his readers as an imbecile visionary.

It may seem something like a waste of time to quote such absurdities; but our apology for doing so is, that the volume is one of great pretension, is carefully got up, was published at Paris in 1845, having reached its fourth edition, and has, prefixed in elegant type, the approbation of Monseigneur Denis Auguste Affre, the archbishop of Paris, who "*having*

examined it with care," finds nothing in it contrary to the faith or to public manners and morals. We should certainly have thought that untruth and foul though foolish calumny were neither consistent with the faith, nor with morality and good manners; but, doubtless, Monseigneur is a better judge than we are. However absurd some of these tales may be, the book itself is, therefore, worthy of notice, as showing how the reading portion of the faithful in France is instructed in such matters.

And here we may reasonably ask the question—when will Rome cease to repeat, or forbid her servants and subjects to repeat, the idle lie that she had nothing to do with the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and that she cannot be made answerable for the cruelties of the inquisition? Her present folly in the matter is as great as her past wickedness. In her repudiation there is no condemnation of either the one or the other. If there were, she would efface such evidence of her approbation as exists in the Sala Borgia, and forbid such dangerous panegyrics as M. de Maistre writes upon the holy office. Far better would it be for her to mourn over the past, and convince the world of her sincerity by sympathizing with the detestation which every honest man must feel, than to approve of, and rejoice in, deeds, the odium of which she would transfer to others. Were she to do this, men would at once make full allowance for the spirit of the times in which these things were done. As it is, she has the credit, and justly, of secretly sanctioning what she faintly disavows. Well may M. de Plancy, in speaking of the tragedy enacted on St. Bartholomew's day, and asserting it to have been an act of State policy, say, "the reasons for it have not yet been given;" they never will be found but in the archives of Rome, where he who runs may read. His commendation of the inquisition is of a piece with his apology for the massacre, and it is, doubtless, in keeping with his character as a faithful Romanist; but is neither creditable to him as a Christian nor as a historian.

M. de Plancy tells us in his "*Dictionnaire*" that magic is "the art of producing, in nature, things above the power of man, by the aid of demons, or by employing certain ceremonies which the Church forbids." He divides this art into "black magic, natural magic, celestial magic or judicial astrology, and ceremonial magic, which last consists in the invocation of demons, in virtue of a covenant made with the powers of hell, either formally or tacitly." The divers branches of the latter are "the cabala, enchantment, witchcraft, the invocation of

the dead and evil spirits, the discovery of hidden treasures and the greatest secrets, divination, *the gift of prophecy (!)*, the gift of healing the most obstinate diseases by magical terms and mysterious practices, the power of preserving from all evil and dangers by the means of amulets and talismans," &c. Natural magic, he says, "is, according to demonologists, the art of predicting future events and producing marvellous effects by such natural means as are above the cognizance of the generality of men." Artificial magic is simply sleight of hand, illusion, or mechanical deception. White magic is the art of bringing to pass wondrous operations through the invocation and aid of good angels, or by skill without any such help. Diabolic or black magic is taught by the devil and practised under his influence: it consists in an intercourse with demons in consequence of a compact, by virtue of which they yield their assistance in producing supernatural events. Of this latter art, M. de Plancy relates, that "Cham is reported to have been the inventor, or rather preserver; for God only sent the deluge, as 'tis said, to clear the earth of the magicians and sorcerers by whom it was defiled. Cham subsequently taught magic and sorcery to his son Misraim, who, in consequence of the marvels which he wrought, was called Zoroaster." As much which passed for magic in former days is now known under the head of chemistry, which comes from a Greek word, χημεια, derived from Chem or Cham, the precise name of the country of Egypt, it is fairly inferred by some that the science is of Egyptian origin. In confirmation of this it may be remarked that for a long time all that was known of chemistry was included in alchemy—a word whose Arabian prefix betrays its eastern source. Indeed, the first of the middle ages who seems to have had any exact notions upon chemical affinities was the celebrated Geber, the founder of the Arabian school of chemistry, who lived about the seventh or eighth century. From Arabia the science was transported to Europe, where, in the thirteenth century, Albertus de Groot in Germany, and our own countryman, Bacon, seem to have been the first who had any proficiency in it.

To return, however, from this digression, we need hardly observe, after such an enumeration as we have given of the several branches of magical science, that the curious reader will find ample information on the several subjects of geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, œnomancy, chiromancy, necromancy, &c., all of which, by the bye, are forbidden in practice, and the books treating of them proscribed in the ninth article of the "*Regulæ Indicis Sacro sanctæ Synodi*

Tridentinæ," quoted in the "*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*," of 1843.

Those who delight in such things will find minute descriptions of the "hand of glory," and the method of its preparation; the explanation of dreams, the use of "virgin parchment," magic words, and such like.

M. de Plancy is not a very elegant or refined writer, and whether it is that his studies have influenced the character of his mind, or the character of his mind has induced the nature of his study, he certainly tells his stories with no small portion of the credulity which he decries. He is inconsistent also in relating, as equally worthy of credit, such tales as are acknowledged to be the offspring of pure invention, and such as are the traditional exaggeration of facts. Side by side, with the legends which have been repeated from father to son for generations, and which contain in their true source some event illustrative of past history, he places the clever extravagancies of Swift's "Gulliver," and the story of John Podgers, extracted from "Old Humphrey's Clock."

Connected with the subjects which M. de Plancy treats is one which presents deep interest for all who take pleasure in watching the progress of the human mind, and observing the many erratic or singular ways in which its powers have been directed and developed. We allude to the "*philosopher's stone*," the search after which we have ever thought was indicative of something higher and nobler than is usually conceded, and which certainly resulted in some of the most valuable acquisitions of chemical knowledge. Notwithstanding the exaltation of spirit which led the alchemists to call it "the daughter of the great secret, whose father was the sun, and who was carried in the womb of the wind," &c., it would seem that it did but symbolize that greater good for which the soul of man is ever aspiring; that it did but indicate that craving capacity in his spirit for higher and purer enjoyment than the grossness of the times or the low estate of theological truth then offered. In the Rosicrucian philosophy, along with much absurdity, there were many things sublime in their character and lofty in conception. Though delusive mysticism distinguished its theories, there was a close affinity in the pure gold which was sought, and the clean mind and pure hands and vessels with which alone it could be found. It is only lately that the visionary nature of the science has been fully, but reluctantly, acknowledged. Peter Woulfe, who was a member of the Royal Academy and died in 1805, is the last who is reported to have believed in alchemy. Girtanner, of Gottingen, how-

ever hazarded the prophecy, that "in the nineteenth century the science of transmuting metals would be generally known; that every chemist would understand how to make gold; that all our kitchen utensils would be gold and silver; and that this would have no small effect in the prolongation of life, at present seriously compromised by the oxides of copper, of iron, and of lead, which we swallow with our food." Galvanism is to be the agent of these wonderful transmutations; and, however wild or groundless the anticipation, it is not one whit more visionary or improbable than many of the theories which are promulgated and which are credibly entertained.

No one can read the history of alchemy without coming continually in contact with the great men of past days. A science which could fascinate minds of such capacity, and give a distinct literary character to whole ages, merits more attention than cursory readers generally give it. It is only by using it as a side light on the records of history that we can come to understand the full mental condition and account for the many mental eccentricities of other days. The memory of illustrious names connected with the study of alchemy, surrounded with all the *prestige* of eastern grandeur, the solemnities of antiquity and the mysteries of ancient science, was honoured with a veneration we cannot understand. The charm of that creed, of which Hermes Trismegistus is said to have been the author, and Geber the great apostle, is difficult to conceive in days when materialism and the sure results of positive science influence the character. It was part of that condition wherein faith in spiritual subjects was justly preferred to logical demonstration, and in exchange for which, as we think, we have gained but little in eschewing the manners of the past. What is now the subject of vulgar ridicule was then oftentimes a valued object—valued too upon better grounds than those on which the ridicule is founded; as what is now, in common estimation, *Gibberish*, was then *Geberish*, or the profoundly scientific language of Geber and his followers. Albeit, though we are no alchemists ourselves, nor believers in the science, we love to write respectfully of what our fathers counted precious.

The subjects of which this "*Dictionnaire*" treats are becoming of interest to many. However singular it may appear, it is a fact that in the book-collecting line a great impetus has been given to trade in the demand for old and curious treatises on "Astrology" and the "Black Art;" and this, as we believe, not from the prevailing taste for the quaintnesses of antiquity in books as well as in other things, but from estimation

of the subjects themselves. A modern work on magic, indeed, would be about as great an incongruity as the coalheaver in knightly panoply at the Lord Mayor's feast. No one could write such a work in our days with that unction of faith and quaint elaboration of reasoning which distinguish the treatises of olden time, and without which the subject would lose its chief attraction. It could not but happen that the philosophical explanations of "Penny Cyclopædias" and "Magazines" would continually arise to fill the mind of the writer with doubt; and the consequent timid dealing with dark matters would entirely destroy the delicious romance of the imagination, where the very intensity of the fear becomes a pleasure. If men, therefore, must have works on magic and astrology, no wonder that they rather hunt for them in the bookstalls of old lanes and alleys than seek them from the Messrs. Colburn. The charm of old armour is in its rust, suggesting a thousand associations of "foughten field" and heroic prowess; every irregularity on the surface, no matter how occasioned, becomes to the imagination a sword-dint; and the wearer is instantly seen, in vision, performing prodigies of valour amid a scene of carnage and of strife. Bring forth a polished suit just finished and turned out from some Birmingham house, and the whole illusion is destroyed. The mind takes a wide leap at once from the baronial hall of chivalry, which the one suggests to thought, down to the kitchen of the modern mansion, from the close resemblance which the other bears to tin pots and pans: and so it is with these literary memorials of other times. The curious shape of the black letter in which they are written (and the nearer to the black letter period they are the better), brings to the mind the quaint forms of the authors and all the picturesque elements by which they were surrounded; whilst the mysterious awe with which the several propositions are enunciated tells of minds full of noble and solemn things, whose very errors oftentimes were occasioned by striving to attain a higher region than the times would suffer them to reach: but a modern work on magic! how utterly unromantic! Full of hard-headed reasoning—full of cold logical deductions—it would either be one long expression of contempt, or, if it professed to win respectful attention to the subject, as unlike the real thing of old as the Parisian dandy is unlike the fierce and mailed baron whom he calls his ancestor. To speak seriously—we believe this reviving taste is but another form in which the spiritual character of the age finds expression; for, notwithstanding it is a philosophical age, sceptical on subjects connected with revelation,

and constantly asking for demonstration, we believe it to be spiritual also. It rejects in too many instances subjects of faith, revealed in the Scripture; it continually suggests others, idealistic in their character, thus creating regions far more visionary than any which it asserts to be contained in the doctrines of the Scriptures, where all is positive and real, whatever demand may be made upon the faith. Still we believe its real characteristics to be eminently spiritual, and to a spiritual condition the material results of practical science are helping men more than is generally credited. By an easy process in calculating what is possible from what is already known, it is not difficult to conceive that, as the successive results of natural causes have led to the ultimate knowledge of the fixed principles which constitute physical science, so in course of time we shall be able with equal certainty to ascertain the laws by which mental and moral associations are regulated; and to conceptions like these the philosophy of the day is leading many. It is thence argued that such laws undoubtedly exist, and only need for their classification greater experience in the order of their results. Thus, materialists are hoping to reduce the realities, which have hitherto been accounted subjects of pure faith, to the condition and level of demonstrable propositions. This, however, they will never do; for the spiritual impulses, of which, in common with all, they are the subjects, will lead them in spite of themselves to create objects of adoration in lieu of those which they reject. By whatever name they may call their worship it will plainly manifest, in some form or another, its affinity with the region that is beyond the reach of positive demonstration. We shall have as many gods as ever adorned the Pantheon at Rome, only they will be less gross in form. We may be pardoned for quoting a passage, only altering a tense, from a favourite author (Sir F. Palgrave) in illustration of this remark:—"Luxuriating in the pleasures of literature, stimulated by the wonders of science, the human mind reducing all things to a human standard, will render the human intellect its idol. In such a state of things the religion of the world will be metamorphosed into 'natural theology,' or a nominal Christianity differing from natural theology only by its name..... Every declaration of God will be examined by the measure of our finite understanding. Rationalism will be substituted for faith, and just so much of religious sentiment retained as the mind of man can comprehend and the natural heart approve."

We believe that, as befits the closing times of the Christian dispensation, in which times, if we think rightly, we certainly

stand, the last developments of man's being will be essentially spiritual; that the capacities and powers of the spirit will be brought into action, both for good and evil; and that even philosophy, whilst assenting to no higher power than reason, will unconsciously, in many of its forms, betray the influence and presence of the spiritual in man.

Superstition is faith abused in its exercise to credulity. Yet, though a diseased condition, there is greater hope of moral health in it than in scepticism, which is the very atrophy of the heart and spirit. Whatever may have been the errors or eccentricities of the past, faith was an essential element in its moral constitution; and it is because of the reviving force of this element—it is because that faith is coming back to many men, and because unconsciously they find its affinities in the pursuits of the past—it is because of these things that there is so great an enquiry into subjects based on a belief of the supernatural.

Faith, we know, may be perverted and abused again as of old. An unintelligent superstition is as much to be deplored as ever; gross ideas and notions concerning supernatural agencies and beings are as much to be deprecated; but, in all the wild dreamings and theories concerning the powers and extent of magic to which superstition has given birth, we see a truth not to be despised. We wish that those who are so lavish in their contempt of the errors by which it has been overlaid and defiled would recognize and hold it. St. Paul, in writing to the Ephesians, says,—"*We wrestle not against flesh and blood; but against principalities; against powers; against the rulers of the darkness of the age; against wicked spirits in heavenly places.*" When our Lord speaks of the Comforter, it is always in such language as supposes *personal* attributes and actings; and, when of Satan, it is of a *person*. In the theology of a very large class, however, the words of our Lord and the exhortation of the apostle are virtually reduced to unmeaning forms of speech. The Holy Ghost is considered as an influence—Satan as a symbolization—and the wicked spirits, of whom Paul speaks, as metaphorical designations of fierce and unsubdued passions. The prevailing infidelity of the day is the denial of divine and supernatural personalities; and so strongly do the teachings of what is called a liberal education tend to weaken religious credence, that though, as an article of faith, we verbally confess to the personal existence of evil spirits, what are said to be the rational deductions of philosophy lead us to doubt it, or so far to qualify the subject as to nullify the reality and consequences of

that existence to us. We much fear that the faith of few would stand a searching examination on this great and positive article of Christian doctrine.

Those who have promoted the "diffusion of useful knowledge" have, we think, some little to answer for in this respect. They have proposed to themselves, as one of the objects to be accomplished, the destruction of vulgar errors and prejudices. The traditionary and legendary lore of the cottager has been supplanted by tales of operative wonders and factory blessings; Mother Shipton has been turned out of doors to make way for Jeremy Bentham; whilst the "Seven Champions of Christendom" and the "Fairy Tales" have been banished from the nursery in order to give place to Miss Martineau's stories of political economy. The motive in all this has been, doubtless, very good and praiseworthy; we have nothing to say against it; but we question the amount of benefit that is said to have accrued; and we are quite certain that, in meddling with the harmless superstitions of the poor and the faith of children, a system of thought has been introduced neither suited to their condition nor age. The philosopher who is described in the romance to have formed a man did it artistically enough up to a certain point; but the moment the creature started into life it stood forth a monster of incongruities, frightful to behold, and mischievous to every thing around it. The maker knew nothing of the secret affinities, the hidden springs, the finer fibres, the wondrous sympathies, which give to the human form its beauty, to human life its vigour, and to human thought its power: and thus would it be, if society should ever be moulded after the conceptions of philosophical genius, and cut and shaped and fashioned into form according to the newly discovered theories of association. A thing would be made well enough to look at whilst it was inert; but a monster of deformity when it should be quickened into action, because it would want all the secret moral machinery which God alone can give and understand; which regulates the whole in harmony; and by what men call irregularity or disorder, in one portion, operates in compensating good to another. Nature has her own work and philosophy its proper sphere. It is unwise to seek a benefit to one portion of society by creating a condition in another which is unnatural. The poor and children (especially the rural poor) live in regions of faith—faith is proper to their estate. It is what is naturally suggested by all the associations which the elements of nature, in which the poor man labours, create: it is what naturally grows out of the influences by which the tender age

of infancy is surrounded. To break down faith in the one because it is mixed with superstition—to destroy its fascinations in the other because they are poetic fictions—is the present effort of philosophical sagacity; and we do not think it either well or wisely employed. As far as we have seen, it can only end in the destruction of faith itself. Take this out of the heart of the poor, and you leave them nothing to console them in their poverty: take it out of the nature of a child, and you destroy its innocence.

There are many popular superstitions which, though they may be errors, are not *vulgar* errors. A thousand influences, the value of which is lightly thought of, or passed by, have been at work in their creation, and many things which indirectly chasten the spirit and soften the heart are associated in their maintenance. In times when tradition was the only chronicler of history, truth took fantastic forms, but still taught her lessons; and in districts where the eye and mind are ever in contact with wild and beautiful scenery, it is not to be wondered at that the spirit of man should be tempted into another region than the material. The superstition that abides in cellars, and amongst the debased of large cities and manufacturing towns, is doubtless a hag; but that which walks the mountain path and dwells by the waters of the glen has a beauty in keeping with the elements around, giving to every object a double charm. The one is gross in its form, and often cruel in its instincts—the other poetic in its birth, and mostly humanizing in its influence. There is some difference, we take it, between the disposition that yields credence to the charm of the quack doctor or tortures a poor animal to death, and faith in the legends of the Brocken or the second-sight of the highlander. If utilitarian philosophy will insist upon it, that they are the same in *kind*, we are sure that the latter is of nobler degree than the former; and that, in rooting it out of man's composition, many things, which he cannot afford to lose and which are interwoven with it, would be destroyed likewise. There are national superstitions which are the moral monuments of other races, mighty and powerful in their day, but long since mingled with the dust of ages. Brittany and Wales are full of them. It would, indeed, astonish some to learn, as was remarked before in a former number, how many druidical customs yet prevail in Christendom. The antiquarian condemns the ruthless hand that destroys the material remnants of other days; and why should every memento of the moral condition of the past be extirpated? If the handiwork of our fathers be discernible in the one, surely the spirit that gave the hand its "cunning" is in-

dicated in the other. The peasant of the Alps, when the storm lours on the summit of Mount Pilâtre, beholds with fear the restless spirit of the wretched Roman in the cloud. He believes a tale which many generations have credited. Will he be a better man when the flippant explanations of some spruce philosopher shall have destroyed its influence? Men, in times of trouble, have been solemnized at the spectral sight of fighting armies and fiery portents in the skies. Will the world gain aught when the books of useful knowledge shall have enabled them to look upon the like with placid eye and unbeating bosom? This new-born squeamishness, which cannot bear the homeliness of the people's creeds, is busied in putting the popular mind into Quaker garments of decent proprieties; but it little recks how they straiten the heart and confine the spirit. One sure result of that which it proposes is the abatement of faith in all things supernatural; if it succeed, it will strike a heavy blow at the foundations of Christianity. As it is, religion already lies a bleeding from the wounds inflicted by a false philosophy. A neological system has obtained by the application of whose principles, the great and mighty miracles which God wrought for the deliverance of his ancient people out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage, are frittered down to the "natural effects of natural causes."

Destroy the belief in supernatural existences of an evil nature, and faith in the ministry of good angels must follow; yet we are taught, by the Church, to pray "that they may succour and defend us on earth." Take away from the mind of the people every element of faith in the world of spirits, and the reality of that communion of the saints which unites those who are alive on earth, and those who sleep in Jesus in one holy and solemn brotherhood, will cease to exercise its beautiful and peaceful influence. The heart of man, as God made it and can renew it, is the richest treasure of which the world can boast; but if modern philosophy is to lay her cold hand upon it, and fashion it as she will, its fair lustre will be dimmed and all its jewelled adornings be destroyed. Better far that mankind, in retaining some errors, should believe too much, than that in parting with them they should lose faith altogether. "There is (says Lord Bacon) a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best, if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received. Therefore care should be had, that (as it fareth in ill purgings), the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer." And this the people soon will be, to their own hurt and damage, if the principles of modern liberalism find acceptance with them.

ART. III.—*Ellen Middleton:* a Tale. By Lady GEORGIANA FULLERTON. Second Edition. London: Edward Moxon.

OF all the usual forms for conveying knowledge, and awakening corresponding impulses to good in the human soul, none has been abused like the novel. The world has seen many bad histories, many bad poems, and many bad biographies; but the name of the number of bad novels is *legion*. Hence the necessity of their entire banishment from our shelves, as an unmixed evil incapable of correction, has been earnestly discussed in certain quarters, and settled with a peremptory decision, from which to appeal was to become guilty. We ourselves will so far yield to this verdict as to agree that indiscriminate and uncontroled indulgence in reading even what are reputed to be good novels is seriously injurious to the healthy condition both of the intellect and heart; but we apprehend that the verdict of entire condemnation must be considered as rescinded, even where it was once most sacredly observed, since attempts have been made and allowed in those quarters to use them as vehicles for conveying discussions on the most awful dogmas and mysteries of the Gospel. This, we think, is an abuse which, in its way, is not much less injurious than the other abuses. However, we see in this recognition of the lawfulness of such attempts a tacit acknowledgment that to banish them from the world is held to be hopeless. It becomes, then, such as have undertaken to become the guardians of the morality of the press, and to examine, professionally, the kind of intellectual food which the Christian may take, if not to his nourishment at least not to his injury, to deliver, from time to time, their decision upon such works of fiction as have taken, or are likely to take hold, upon the public mind. If novels may be written, and will most surely be read, the question should be examined as to what constitutes goodness in this branch of literature; for, as there are good and bad poems, so, if the novel be a real *genus* of literature, will there be good and bad novels. Of course, *we* have little concern with the mere historical or political novel; still less with that basest imitation of a base phase of human society — the fashionable novel. These we can usually leave to our contemporaries. But when a work appears which visibly trenches upon the pulpit and the sermon, by its well-sustained pretensions to inculcate what may be called dubious Christian practices and doctrines, we are bound to step forth to utter our voice either of commendation or reproof. For the sermon-novel has a powerful advantage over the sermon-proper,

which may constitute its distinctive good or evil—that is, the preaching novelist may fancifully adorn *heresies*, and so send them forth fatally dressed up to work mischief amongst the unwary, who will eagerly read them in this form, though they would refuse the trouble requisite for comprehending them if stated in a didactic form. Indeed, it is now the fashion to write and read *religious* novels; and hence the tax, which human nature exacts of everything good, cannot be evaded here—we must be prepared to see them counterfeited. As Sir Walter Scott said that Walpole's "Castle of Otranto" was the legitimate parent of some of the veriest spawn of the circulating libraries, so must we say that upon the *ideal* of the religious novel must be affiliated almost as worthless a progeny. Indeed, if one were called upon to draw out a theory of what a readable *religious* novel must be, the task might be almost rejected on the simple ground of the incongruity of the two terms: for, what is a novel without *romance*?—and what is religion with it? The romance of religion often consists of ideal nunneries and monasteries and cathedrals which, with their cloud-made heroes and heroines, are not a whit more to true religion than those perfect love scenes, which are the usual staple of the novel, are true to nature and fact. We suppose, then, the enquiry as to the possibility of a really religious novel may be thus stated: is it possible to bring men and women into imaginary situations, and to surround them with circumstances which, without being too extravagant for truth, shall yet be unusual enough to captivate the imagination of the general reader; and then to make these persons conduct themselves, in such situations, as the disciples of Jesus, who have fetched their principles from his Bible, and not from the world's bible?

We need not remind such of our readers as are moderately acquainted with this kind of literature how often the attempt to work out this problem has more than failed. The *tale* (as it is termed) now before us is another attempt; and we propose giving such an account of it as may enable our readers to judge for themselves how far the authoress has succeeded.

The tale is introduced by those captivating, mystifying inuendoes, hinting darkly of time and space which Addison has immortalized in one of his "Spectators:"—"It was on the 15th of October, 18—, in the town of ———." This town is a cathedral town, and the personage at once introduced to us is Mr. Lacy, one of its worthiest canons, who, we must fairly warn our readers, is made the representative of certain Church principles which, alas! have led the authoress herself into the bosom of the Church of Rome. We say this at the outset,

because our remarks on certain portions of the work must necessarily be influenced by it. When we took up our task, we did not know how the practical evil, which the principles we saw propounded in Lady Fullerton's tale inculcate, had been exemplified in the writer herself. We now proceed to the tale.

Mr. Lacy—who was surely born to be a canon, since when we and all the hundreds of boys we recollect were enthusiastic at marbles and peg-top, bat, and trap-ball, and the like, he, Master Lacy, vented his enthusiasm in gathering flowers and holly to adorn the cathedral—Mr. Lacy, on one occasion, saw amidst the few who attended daily prayers a strange woman—this is the heroine of the tale. She was lodging with a gossiping woman, from whom, after a tedious dialogue, Mr. Lacy learnt enough to pique, but not to satisfy, his curiosity. In vain he repeatedly sought an interview in the ordinary way. At last, however, he accomplished his object, though the means, we are bound to say, are more ingenious than probable. The lady writes ten lines of verses on the column of the cathedral against which she had been in the habit of leaning (we deem it especial bad taste to write on the walls or furniture of churches); these caught Mr. Lacy's eye, and suggested the means of obtaining the desired introduction. On the following Sunday he contrives to interweave this poetry with the prose of his own sermon, in the hope of attracting her attention. The plot succeeds, and the same night Mr. Lacy receives from the lady a letter which contains some specimens of the remarkable eloquence of grief with which the work abounds:—

"I hung upon your lips: it was a voice from heaven: my heart melted within me, and I wept: not as I have often wept, for my eyes are worn out with crying—not tears that scorch the eyelids as they flow, but tears that seem to loosen the iron band that binds my temples, and to melt the dull stone in my breast. I came home and knelt by my bedside—my Prayer Book was in my hand—I opened it, and these words met my eye—'The Order for the Visitation of the Sick.' I closed the book and read no more. Mr. Lacy, I am sick in body—sick at heart. Will you come and visit me? You will not question me: you will not ask me why my sorrow is like no other sorrow; but you will pray for me and by me. Perhaps you may say some words like this morning's—not words of comfort, words of hope; but words that will make me weep as I wept then."

Mr. Lacy went, and then and there his apparently suspicious proceedings, if rightly judged, were only agreeable to the directions of the Church. On entering the house he spoke the solemn words—"Peace be to this house, and all that dwell in it." Then he read through the "Visitation Service," until,

reading the passages which require the penitent's personal assurances that the state of her heart was such as would warrant the minister to pronounce the blessing of God's absolution, "she remained silent." Then he enjoined confession. All this is quite proper. After some scruples she yielded, and put into his hands a manuscript detailing the events of her life, and accounting for the heavy burden which was weighing her down to an untimely grave. Of this we now proceed to sketch the substance.

Ellen Middleton, the lady's real name, was an orphan born in the house of her uncle, Mr. Middleton, one of the wealthiest squires in D——shire, by whom she was willingly received as the solemn legacy of a dying sister. Subsequently Mr. Middleton married a lady who, at first sight, contracted a warm affection for Ellen. The fruit of this marriage was one little girl, named Julia, and upon her untimely fate turns the dramatic power of the tale.

We are next introduced to two young men, important characters in the tale, Edward Middleton, the nephew of Mr. Middleton, and Henry Lovell, a younger brother of Mrs. Middleton. They had been brother Etonians and Oxonians; and, though totally dissimilar in character, were, at the period when Ellen was just budding into womanhood, firm friends; yet, "as often happens in such cases, there was hardly any perceptible bond of sympathy between them: they were strikingly dissimilar in character and in tastes, so that one could hardly understand the pleasure they took in each other's society." This, like many other examples in the book, exhibits Lady Fullerton as a considerable proficient in the mysteries of human nature. Some description of these young men will be necessary for our purpose:—

"Henry Lovell was exceedingly attractive: there is no denying the charm that existed in the rapid intelligence, the quick conception, and the ready humour that lit up his eyes and countenance, and sparkled in his repartees. His smile was sarcastic, and his remarks were often bitter. If he had not been charming he would have been odious; and to have been loved at all he must have been passionately loved. He was well versed in the language of feeling—in the theory of enthusiasm; he could speak of whatsoever things are pure, lovely, honest, and of good report. Where there was virtue and where there was praise, there he was ready to descant with eloquence, to discuss with ability: there he was at home—at least in conversation; for, in the varied range of human affection, his intellect conceived what his heart did not feel."

Edward Middleton is described as a stern person, for whom

Ellen felt an involuntary respect, which made her shrink from expressing, before him, any opinion or any sentiment which he was likely to condemn:—

"He seemed inclined to judge me with peculiar severity; and I sometimes felt provoked at the calm sternness of manner on those occasions, especially in comparing it with the smiling indifference with which he listened to Henry Lovell's satirical remarks, which I secretly felt to be more deserving of blame than my own thoughtless observations, little as I could withstand myself the extraordinary fascination which his peculiar tone of mind and conversation exercised on those about him."

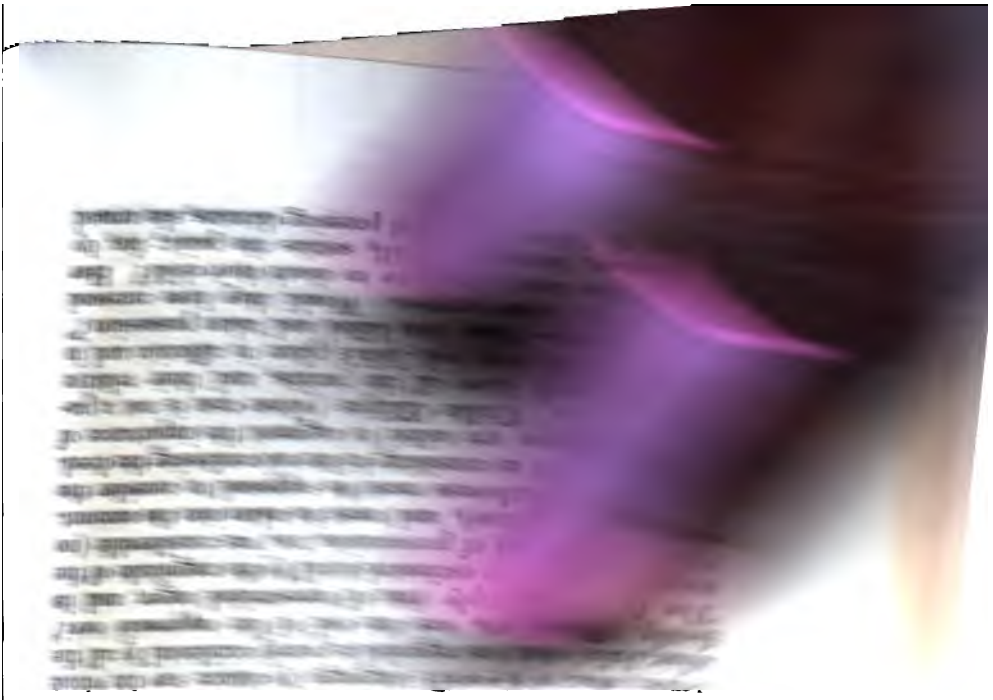
As Julia grew up, the uncongenial dispositions of the female cousins manifested themselves in discords which threatened to break up the peace of the family, and they were about to be separated when the dark hour of Ellen's life intervened. Preparatory to the event, a beautiful description of the localities of Elmsley Priory is given, to assist the reader in comprehending the mode of the catastrophe, from which we extract the following fragment:—

"The view which this balcony commanded was one of the most beautiful that can be conceived; and in the first freshness of a spring morning, or in the intense heat of a summer noon, or the glorious beauty of an autumnal sunset, or in the grandeur of a wintry storm, we were wont to stand and *revel* in the various aspects which this lovely landscape presented to our eyes. It was a combination of wood, stream, and mountain, with a few cottages scattered here and there, *as if a painter had placed them where they stood*—altogether they formed a picture which the eye loved to dwell upon, and which memory strives to recall."

From this point Ellen saw Julia occupying a position of danger on the edge of a stone parapet—she ran towards her—remonstrated—received an irritating reply—struck the child in a passion—

"She reeled under the blow—her foot slipped, and she fell headlong down the stone steps. There was a plunge in the water below; her white frock rose to the surface—sunk—rose again—and sank to rise no more. I heard the cry—'She has killed her!' Two men rushed wildly down the bank, and one of them looked up as he passed. I heard a piercing scream—a mother's cry of despair. Nobody said again—'She has killed her.' I did not die—I did not go mad; for I had not an instant's delusion. I never doubted the reality of what had happened: but those words—'She has killed her!'—were written as with a fiery pencil on my brain, and day and night they rang in my ears. Who had spoken them?—this was the secret of my fate."

This is powerfully told; and the same strong and equal hand is visible throughout. Thus she continues:—



it with a power over her future happiness, which was exerted in such endless and cruel tortures as are so ingeniously brought forward in the tale.

And there is no intervening pause between her offence and its punishment. Almost immediately after the act, "Mr. Middleton walked up to Ellen, laid an affectionate hand on her shoulder, and said, in a voice of subdued emotion—'You are now our only child, Ellen.'" The iron of remorse was thus driven into her soul, and at once gave a sample of what was before her. Part of her prospective sufferings is developed in this touching soliloquy:—

"I should never again stand in the sacred silence of the solemn night, and feel as if its whispering winds were bearing tidings from a better world to my soul. And on those days of glowing beauty, when streams of light intoxicate the eye—when all nature bursts into song or blossoms into flower—never again should I feel myself, as in past years, a part of that bright creation, longing only in the fulness of my heart to prostrate myself in fervent adoration before Him who gave to the birds and to the streams a voice to praise him, to the glorious heavens a charge to magnify him, and to man enthusiasm, emotion, poetry, music—all that lifts up the soul above itself, and the material world around it, to the wide fields of enraptured contemplation. But now a chain would evermore weigh down my spirits—a dark remembrance would ever stand between me and the sunny skies—a tone as of the dying and dead would ever mingle with the sounds of melody, with the voice of love, and the words of affection."

The next morning, after a night of tossings and broken slumbers, she is aroused by footsteps, looks out at her window, and sees the funeral procession moving slowly across the grounds towards the village church. Again she soliloquizes in like strains of passionate emotion. We can only, however, quote one scene, in the conception of which, as of some similar ones, Lady Fullerton shows considerable dramatic and pathetic power:—

"Why am I at home? Why am I alone?" (All the family were following the corpse but Ellen). "Had the master of my fate, the witness of my crime, warned them to keep the murderess away from the grave of their child?.....I fell on my knees: it seemed as if there was a sound of footsteps behind me—a shout of execration in my ears. It was a waking nightmare—I was growing delirious; and then I felt something touch me, and a warm breath on my shoulders. I gave a piercing shriek, and fell with my face to the ground. A low moan roused me from this state. I looked up, and saw my great Newfoundland dog, who always slept in my room: he was licking my hands and neck: his kind eyes were looking upon me: he moved gently: I flung my arms wildly round his neck and sobbed. He did not struggle,

but patiently stood there, though my tears were falling fast on his head. This little incident had done me good."

In the midst of one of these passionate scenes of grief we meet with an allusion to a Roman Catholic legend, which marks the direction in which Lady Fullerton's studies lay, and may show the peculiar danger to which persons so much under the influence of the imagination are exposed when contemplating pictures whose *only* appeal is to that dangerous faculty. Ellen is made to say—"In these early times of sorrow I received my aunt's caresses, and listened to the words of love with which she addressed me, with something of the spirit with which I can imagine the holy Françoise de Chantal may have pressed to her bosom the burning cross that stamped upon her breast the sign of salvation—at once the object of intense adoration and the instrument of acute torture." The illustration is happy, were not the fact itself (quoted in a note with evident warmth of approbation) a specimen of what we mean by the romance of religion, which disappears in a moment before the stern reality of this decree, founded on divine authority, and appealing to that common sense which Providence has given as one of man's safest guides—"Ye shall not make cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor *print any marks upon you*: I am the Lord" (Levit. xix. 28).

Thus days and weeks rolled away at Elmsley Priory, whilst the plot proceeds until Henry Lovell's attentions to Ellen became so marked, and appeared to Edward to be so acceptable, that the latter hastily took his departure to the continent, having left for Ellen, as a parting token, a copy of the "Christian Year"—"that wonderful—that all but inspired book." This exorbitant praise of Mr. Keble's valuable devotional work, we remark, is just that of one who wished to believe that in it she could read those unprotestant strains which waft the soul from England's simple Gospel-worship to Rome's self-created, sensuous, and gorgeous ritual, in which the employments given to the imagination tend to overlay those of the heart, and but too often leave that heart ultimately a wreck and a desolation.

In the mean while, Ellen accidentally introduces herself to a beautiful and unsophisticated girl, Alice Tracy—a legitimate creation of the romance, but as unreal as a shadow, as a vision, or the hope of consumption; yet it elevates the soul by pointing out what it ought to be, and the standard to which it should aim—with whom she discovers that Henry Lovell had been long acquainted. Alice, the other heroine, was the daughter of Mrs. Middleton's nurse, a forbidding old woman with whom Ellen soon found herself mysteriously mixed up. Whilst Alice

is showing Ellen her room, with one of its peculiar charms to Alice—its window that looked forth upon the village church—and her scanty library, made up of the Bible, Prayer Book, Heber's Hymns, and the like, below stairs was a scene worthy of Pandemonium—Henry, quite hoarse with anger, uttering a threat, followed by a "tremendous oath." We think the authoress has failed in thus making Henry a blackguard—for swearing is blackguardism—without awakening the proper contempt and *disgust* in Ellen's mind towards him.

At length, just as Mr. Middleton becomes aware of the danger to Ellen's peace of Henry's further residence at Elmsley, he is summoned away by his father to enter upon his profession at the bar. Ellen is much puzzled by his cool bearing as he took leave. The mystery, however, is cleared up by finding herself soon after the guest of an aunt, Mrs. Brandon, in Dorsetshire, where she is struck with astonishment at meeting Henry, and discovering that, in fact, the invitation was given at his suggestion. The journey gives occasion for recording some solemn musings in Salisbury Cathedral, and for a description of her travelling companion, one Mrs. Hatton, a former governess, who agreed with everybody and everything; with whom a cutting east wind was a fresh breeze; a black frost, bracing; and who, to give the most singular illustration of all, stopped Ellen's eager apologies, on her return from the cathedral half-an-hour beyond that appointed for dinner, with the assurance that "there was nothing in the world she liked so much as waiting for dinner!" Here, too, she saw what *we* never recollect seeing, *red* umbrellas, as she stood listening to a conversation between two strange-looking men, who had taken refuge from the rain under the bow-window of the inn, in which the name of "Alice Tracy" reached her ears, and sent her off in a vain search the next morning.

Lady Fullerton may accept our compliments, if she likes, upon her success (or Captain Fullerton's) at a slang dialogue; but this *scene* must be set down as an unacknowledged extract from the Minerva press. This is not the only one which we regard as truly inartistical—as mere clumsy strokes of the brush in a good painting.

At Brandon, Ellen meets with some characters who serve for make-outs for the three volumes (always excepting Rosa Moore), about whom, however, we acknowledge that something more to the purpose is said than Virgil tells us of some of the supernumeraries of his tale—

"——*fortemque* Gyan, *fortemque* Cloanthum."

But we must push these aside as a crowd blocking up our

path. The progress made by Henry amidst these scenes is so great as to end in a proposal, backed by vehement passion and dark threats, for a clandestine marriage. The steps which led to this are all well unfolded; whilst full prominency is still given to that grand evil of Ellen's life which imparted a power over her to the holder of her secret, under which she felt herself succumbing to miserable degradations. These scenes, too, well develope that leading feature in Lovell's character, early pointed out, as his "profound selfishness." Hence such declarations as this are, alas! but too true to nature, even from lips which pour forth the most passionate protestations of *love*. "'If I could not (said Henry to a married flirt) see the woman I loved agitated by her love for me, I had rather see her tremble, shudder even, at my presence.' 'What a detestable lover you would make (responded the flirt); always by your own admission on the verge of hatred.' He laughed and said—'It is an old saying that love and hatred are closely allied.'"

This is probably regarded by many as unnatural—as a libel on love. Such utter, headlong passion as Henry's is represented to be seems to many to be quite incompatible with such sentiments as these. But again we reply, the painting is true to nature—to the love appertaining to such natures as Henry's was. For there is not a more selfish passion of the heart, or rather of the animal part of man, than that which, by claiming it and assuming it, degrades the lofty name of *love*. One epithet is needed to give it its distinguishing character—*self-love*. The question might soon be set at rest. "Love thinketh no ill to his neighbour." The distinguishing character of true love is that it willingly sacrifices itself for the welfare of its object; the distinguishing characteristic of the *so-called* love is that, for itself, it sacrifices its victim. Upon this true knowledge of the subject, Lady Fullerton has faithfully constructed Lovell's apparently anomalous history. We point it out to others as teeming with instruction, and as solving many a problem that puzzles the innocent and the ignorant.

The scenes which occurred on the following Sunday are told with a depth of pathos and beauty of words to which we accord our willing praise. The walk to the church—the oak embosomed village—the workings of Ellen's half-religious and wildly wandering mind during the prayers—the commentary, done by a woman's hand and a woman's fancies, on a scriptural story which, we believe, has never failed to elicit our own deeper emotions, the story of Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah—the statues of the crusader and his spouse lying in their stillness, but not silence, over Ellen's seat—the mental struggles which

ended in the blessed resolve to unbosom herself to the gray-haired minister—all may be read over again and again with fresh enjoyment. Accordingly, after service Ellen addresses Mr. Leslie, the clergyman, and solicits a private conference before afternoon's service: of course this is granted; but the high tone of her moral courage loses its strength before him whose general conversation had at once changed him, in her mind, from "the messenger of heaven to the amiable, conversible, gentlemanlike man."

And is a clergyman, then, to be utterly unlike his fellow mortals? Is he to eschew all conversation about the works of man? Is he to render himself inaccessible by never assuming the garb of humanity? The scene may thus be sketched:—Before Mr. Leslie, on quitting the church, there stood the unexpected apparition of a fashionably dressed girl, one of whom he knew nothing but that she came forth from a gay, worldly, circle—of whom, therefore, without a violent breach of Christian charity, he might have predicated the usual characteristics of such society. How was he to have greeted such a butterfly? "He spoke to her, as he loitered in the churchyard, of views, of the neighbouring scenery, of the ruined palace transformed into a farmhouse." Harmless talk enough, which might have paved the way for the mind's flight from the scenery of an earthly churchyard to those scenes where "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death; neither sorrow nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away." And this would just have realized Ellen's wants. However, we admit the moral which, we believe, Lady Fullerton intended us to draw. There is, too, so much in those books of that kind of *experience* which mere books cannot teach, and which the imagination cannot conceive, because the inexperienced mind wants the requisite materials for making the combinations, that we are not unwilling to believe our conjecture that a living incident suggested the scene. We think, therefore, that Mr. Leslie (*de te fabula narratur*), just out of the sanctuary, had better have listened to, than spoke of, such themes. Yes; it is advice sincerely and gracefully given—that, on sacred ground and on sacred occasions, for the sake of the few the many may be safely offended by a clergyman's reserve and silence, if not by his spiritual conversation. The interview was of course granted; but the charm had been dissolved: worldly words had weakened spiritual resolves; and it ended in Ellen giving Mr. Leslie a purse well supplied with sovereigns to be distributed amongst his poor. But one more lesson yet remains from this scene, which, par-

haps, Lady Fullerton did not intend to teach—the difference between principle and imagination. Ellen's resolution to confess to Mr. Leslie was the offspring of those airy materials which have, for a time, the strength of reality: born of picturesque incidents, chance occurrences, statuary, music, painting—so they perish by words of folly. But principle—the voice of the spirit of God telling the penitent sinner that confession must be made—*that* can, impatiently it may be, hear of "views, of the ruined palace transformed into a farmhouse," and yet the penitent *must* confess—to God certainly, and, if needs be, if prudence suggests, if conscience requires it, to God's minister also.

At length Mr. Middleton, aware of Henry's residence at Brandon and of his incessant attentions to Ellen, orders her back to Elmsley. Before her departure an excursion is planned to the sea-side, and we pass by the wild description of Henry's passion for the sake of quoting the following beautiful picture of first impressions made by the ocean:—

"We turned a corner of the road, and, for the first time, the sea lay stretched before my eyes. It was rough: the waves were crested with foam; and already I heard them break with that sudden roar, with that voice of the ocean, in which, as in the thunders of heaven, we instinctively recognize the voice of God. We drove up to the little inn where the horses were to be put up; I could hardly wait for the step of the carriage to be let down and hastened alone to the beach: the sea was not, as I have since seen it, blue and calm, glittering with a thousand sparks of light,* not like the quiet lake which ripples on the shore, and murmurs gently as it bathes the shining pebbles on the limpid waves. No: it was as I would have chosen to see it for the first time—stormy, wild, restless, colourless; from the everlasting fluctuation of colour, brown, purple, white, yellow, green in turns: billows over billows chased each other to the shore, each wave gathering itself in silence, swelling, heaving, and then bursting with that roar of triumph, with that torrent of foam, with that cloud of spray, that mixture of fury and joy which nothing in nature but chafed waters combine. O God! I have suffered much; terror, remorse, agony have wrung my heart, have shattered my nerves: I have been guilty—I have been wretched—I dare not thank thee for the tumultuous joys of passion, for the feverish cup of pleasure dashed to the earth; but I will thank thee for the swelling of the heart, for the lifting up of the soul, for the tears I shed, for the ecstacy I have known on the seashore, in the forest, on the mountain. The heart knoweth its own bitterness; but there is a joy with which the stranger intermeddles not."

* The celebrated ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα instinctively translated by a sister artist.

Ellen returns to Elmsley, where days and weeks roll away; yet she heard nothing of Edward or Henry, though both were almost constantly before her mind's eye; and, in the perpetual wear and tear of feeling, her health began to give way. About three months after her return, the family were all deeply moved by letters announcing the marriage of Henry Lovell with Alice Tracy. The cause of this event, however, is left wrapt up in mystery.

Again the waters are ruffled, but not by a storm. Ellen returning from a ride one day, wet and weary, sees in the hall two trunks covered with mud, on the brass plates of which was stamped the name of Edward Middleton, Esq. This was the announcement of Edward's return to England, and her first impulse was to confess to him her fault; and thus, "risking consequences of banishment, the loss of friends and then home, spend her future life in loneliness and penance." We cannot say we quite comprehend or admire Edward Middleton's character: certainly he is not *loveable;* and were it not absurd to wonder why one loves some one and not another, we might wonder why Ellen loved her cousin Edward Middleton. Conscious that he possessed the secret of her life—so she believed—she dreaded his presence: and yet, if her judgment of his character were true—and she says of him, "it was not only truth, it was reality that marked his character"—she might have asked herself how he could be so insincere as not to enter into an explanation of her situation. Ellen continues thus to describe him:—

"During the next two or three weeks that he was at Elmsley, I felt in his presence as a criminal before a judge: his sternness was justice, his kindness was mercy. Edward was despotic as well as uncompromising: perfectly conscientious himself, strict in the discharge of every duty, he exacted of others what he performed himself."

The more favourable and loveable traits of this high-toned character are thus pointed out:—

"It was impossible to observe the depth of thought manifested in his eyes and his pale, high forehead; to hear the sound of his voice when he addressed those he loved; to see the colour rise slowly in his cheek as he spoke of some act of virtue, of heroism, or of self-conquest, without the conviction that powers of heart and mind, *not an atom of which was frittered away in vain words and empty fancies*, were at work in him."

At length Ellen discovers that Edward does not know her secret. Henry, ere giving the copy of the "Christian Year," which Edward had left behind for Ellen, had studiously under-

lined those passages in it which seemed to describe her case, and so led her to the conclusion that it was he who saw the deed. The retribution is remarkable, but not overstrained. Edward by accident takes up the book, observes the pencilled lines, and remarks that she must have read it with great attention, as "*he* never marked a book in his life." The changing effects which this declaration produced upon Ellen are very true to nature and well told:—

"It felt to me as if the air had grown lighter and the sky bluer, and as if my feet sprang by magic from the ground they trod on. That night I talked to Edward as I had not talked to him for nearly two years. I laughed gaily, as in days of old; I was foolishly, wickedly, happy, till I went up to my room and laid my head on my pillow: then came in all its bitterness the remembrance that though *he* might not know my secret *another* did," &c.

Further on we are arrested by another powerfully told instance of the torments in reserve for unrepented transgression. Ellen is reminded by Edward, on her coming down late one morning, that it was Ash-Wednesday, "the most solemn fast-day in the year." Feverish from want of sleep and food, she at once agreed to accompany him to Church.

"The service was already begun: it is, as it should be on such a day, a solemn and an awful service. The epistle for the day—the mournful and merciful appeal to the conscience—the penitential psalms which seem to embody the very cry of a bruised and overwhelmed heart—everything struck the same chord, spoke the same language: to my excited imagination every word that was uttered seemed as if addressed to me. Then, all at once, there arose a voice which said, in what sounded to my over-wrought nerves an unnaturally loud tone, 'Brethren, in the primitive Church,'" &c.

She continues thus:—

"I believe at that moment I fell on my knees; but nothing remains very distinctly in my recollection, except that soon the solemn curse of God was pronounced on unrepenting sinners; and, as such awful denunciation was slowly uttered, there arose from the aisles, from the galleries, from each nook and each corner of the house of prayer, the loud cry of self-condemnation. Again and again it sounded and died away. Once more it rose and fell, and then the voice from the pulpit proclaimed—'Cursed is he that smiteth his neighbour secretly'—and at that time I did not hear the people respond. I heard a low deep *amen* uttered at my side; and that *amen* was to me a sentence of eternal condemnation. I fainted; and, when I revived, I was in the vestry with my aunt and with the village doctor."

This, though awful, is not an exaggerated example of the power of conscience under similar circumstances. The follow-

ing morning Edward formally declares his love and solicits her hand in marriage. Unable to persuade herself to assign the true cause of her refusal, she speaks it in mystical language, which he sets down to affectation or acting. The next morning at six, she hears the rattling of wheels, looks out of her window, and sees Edward's carriage roll away along the avenue. "I felt glad (she says) that we were going, too: glad that we were going to London: glad that there was something to think of—to talk of—to do. *Glad!*—what a misuse of words!"

On her arrival in London we are introduced to the other heroine of the tale, Alice, as the wife of Henry Lovell. Beautiful as is her character, it is impossible not to set it down for a fine creation of the imagination. Of course we now know where Lady Fullerton copied this ethereal picture from, and why she painted it for us. It is but a transcript from Roman Catholic legends which, as we fully believe, belong nearly as much to the regions of fiction as Alice Lovell herself. Her daily habits are thus told by herself to Ellen:—

"I get up every morning at six o'clock; and, after attending to some household concerns, I walk to church, at St. Margaret's, where there is service every morning. After church comes breakfast, and then I go to the square to feed the black, starved, unhappy-looking London birds with the seed and the crumbs I take every morning. But I have greater friends than these in the square—the darling children, whom I love as God's own chosen ones, whose angels behold his face in heaven—they seem so very near heaven. Then, five or six hours a-day are spent at the neighbouring hospital: another hour is spent in the square, and then to evening prayer; but sometimes, if Mr. Henry is at home, he walks with me a little while."

All this of Henry Lovell's wife, and in London! We admit the ingenuity of Lady Fullerton does not fail her in adjusting the habits of this married pair to the purposes of her tale: it is her purpose to set Henry Lovell free from the rules of society, that so he may be at liberty to persecute another in public resorts where a married man cannot appear without his wife. But he can assign a reason for the absence of Alice from the world's gay scenes—she is a saint, whose daily chosen pursuits render compliance with this world's lighter joys equally foreign to her principles and her taste. This reads very well when we suffer our imaginations to be occupied with fascinating visions of "Sisters of Charity;" but in Ellen's position it is utterly unreal. There are, however, other traits of her goodness, prominently brought forward, which *we* ourselves can parallel, without wandering from the pious and unartificial daughters of our own Church. They, like Alice, turn away from Lord Byron and

Sir Walter Scott, because they tend to unspiritualize the mind, and supply the imagination, whose chosen visions are of the scenes of eternity, with the sin-stained scenes and feverish dreams of earth.

We have repeatedly asked ourselves, whether the authoress of these volumes has obtained her remarkably minute knowledge of the workings of a sin-disquieted mind from reading only. It seems to us all but impossible. Thus, the following passages contain a stroke of truth which is not picked up in the high ways of reading: Ellen is made to say:—

"The tone of Alice's mind, the character of her conversation, breathed a spirit of earnest faith, of such religious peace, that, after a while, my troubled spirit chafed in the presence of what formed such a contrast to its own wayward restlessness."

And then she so truthfully adds:—

"When bewildered with passion—when lost in the mazes of sin and error—we may feel repose for an instant in prostrating ourselves at the foot of the cross, we may wander into a church and for a moment cool our burning foreheads against the cold marble; but the deep silence of the sanctuary soon proves oppressive—

"'There's a tone in its voice we fain would shun,
For it asks what the secret soul has done'—

"Thus it was with respect to me."

The tale proceeds, and becomes painfully interesting by the unmanly and cowardly skill with which Henry uses the secret of Ellen's life to force her to listen to his wild and guilty passion. Of the *nature* of this so-called love Lady Fullerton points out signs which may serve to teach others who read them warning lessons of priceless value. Its utterly abandoned and desolating character is exhibited in a scene which is made to take place in Henry's own house. Ellen called to visit Alice who was ill. She falls asleep soon after, and Henry withdraws Ellen into an adjoining sitting-room, and there, close by his sick and saintly wife, he urges his guilty suit. This, too, hateful and monstrous as it seems, is true to nature, and a legitimate exemplification of unprincipled *love*.

It was on this occasion that Ellen learnt the secret cause of Henry's ill-starred marriage with poor Alice, of which the following is a sketch:—At Oxford Henry Lovell added to other dissipations of the place those of the gambler, and became deeply involved. His brother-in-law, Mr. Middleton, paid his debts, under a solemn promise that he would for ever relinquish this fatal pursuit. Notwithstanding this, on his quitting the university for London, he again gambled. "For weeks (he said

to Ellen), I lived in a state of continual fever; my nights were turned into days; and during the few hours of sleep, but not of repose, which gave me strength to return to the gaming table, the rattling of the dice and the shuffling of the cards haunted me in my dreams with alternations of exultation and despair, as vivid though not as distinct as in my waking hours." At length he became hopelessly involved: creditors pressed—men, armed with the gambler's threat of public dishonour, claimed their debts—and now the hour of trial came on. He had called upon his father at his office, and became accidentally entrusted by him to pay a third party 5,000*l.*, who would call for it in the evening. A quarter of an hour after, Mr. Escourt, one of those restless creditors, called and told him that their patience was worn out, and, if instant measures were not taken, he would be denounced at all the clubs. Affecting sympathy, he, however, aroused Henry's pride to its highest pitch: he went to the drawer, took out 3,500*l.*, gave it to Escourt, and instantly formed the resolution to destroy himself that night at twelve o'clock. Soon after the real claimant for the 5,000*l.* came, and is by some frivolous excuse put off till the next morning. This man is a connexion of Mrs. Tracy, and having seen Escourt retire entertained little doubt of the actual cause of Henry's delay. Henry retires to his lodgings, and the "pavement seemed literally to burn under his feet." The state of his mind for the next few hours is described in terrible words. He stupifies himself with laudanum, falls asleep, awakes as the clock strikes ten, and accidentally lays his hand on a small New Testament: he once believed that book, and recollected one passage in it—"It is appointed unto men once to die, and after that the judgment." "I did not know (said he) how it happened that I recollected it so well; for it was years since I had read it, and again I thought my brain would give way." In the midst of his preparations for suicide, a knock is heard—instantly the pistols are secreted, and Mrs. Tracy walks into the room. She makes him aware that she knows his circumstances, and offers full and instant relief if he will enter into a legal engagement to marry Alice. The bargain was closed and ratified; 10,000*l.* are paid into Henry's hands, and thus his fate was sealed.

Our sketch does not pretend to do justice to the power shown in the construction of this scene. The nervous situation of the speaker and listener—the gambler's miseries—the gambler's friendships—the temptation—the suicide's feelings before the fatal hour arrived—the incidents of the New Testament and his mother's picture—are all drawn out by the graceful, steady,

and powerful hand of woman's genius. Our praise, however, is given to the execution, and less to the conceptions.

For the first time, too, on this thrilling occasion Ellen learnt how he and Mrs. Tracy had witnessed the incident of Julia's death.

Henry still persevered in his open attentions to Ellen, until the uncle, Mr. Middleton, remonstrates and arranges a plan for their separation by a visit to Hampstead. Here Edward and Ellen are brought to a mutual confession of love by an incident to which we willingly accord the equivocal praise of ingenuity. Ellen is about to make an excursion one day, and when she was just outside the gate a shout of men pursuing a mad dog assails her ears. The animal comes in sight, and is about to dart upon her when Edward leaps forth and, by dint of force, hurls the animal into a neighbouring pond; and thus, at the risk of his own life, saves hers. In pouring forth her thanks, however, she detects spots of blood, and perceiving the wound whence they proceeded she passionately seized his hand and sucks out the poison. Mutual confessions follow, and the marriage is agreed upon, though her joys are stifled by a consciousness that all depended upon Henry's silence. The promise of this is obtained. In the midst of these scenes we meet with the following burst of religious emotion from Ellen's lips:—

"Oh, if in that moment of emotion, in that hour of penitence, I could have gone to one of those who minister at God's altar, are endowed with his commission, and have authority from him to pronounce words of pardon in his name: if the fatal barrier which habit and prejudice so often raise between the priest of God and the erring overburdened souls committed to his charge had not, in my case, existed: if from his lips I could have heard the injunction to forsake all and follow Jesus, and he had added, 'Do this, and be forgiven,' it might have changed my fate."

The purport of such sentiments as these, further explained to us as they are by the crucifix which Alice carries about, and other such speaking incidents, is, we doubt not, to prove the value of the confessional of the Romish Church. That the neglect of the Christian privilege of confession in our Church has gone far towards its total abolition we must admit: we admit that "habit and prejudice" have shut out the penitent too much from the confidence of his minister. It certainly is the duty of a minister of Jesus to admit the *voluntary* confessions of his people, and their own high privilege to avail themselves of it. Had Ellen Middleton sought out the clergyman of Elmsley (of whom, by the way, we hear nothing), and frankly

told the tale which puzzled and oppressed her conscience, and asked him to point out the amount of the guilt of such an accident, and to tell her upon what conditions His ministers are justified in pronouncing that God absolves the guilty—then would Ellen, though born to be a heroine, have acted a very different part in life's drama. But the insinuation seems to be, that the English Church excluded Ellen from an advantage which we know the Church of Rome traffics with, offering by it to barter the soul's peace for gold. The charge is, however, quite erroneous. True: there have been and may be English clergymen who would have been unsafe guides in such a case, and to whom Ellen would have reluctantly gone; but there have been also (as history amply proves), and may be, priests of the Church of Rome who would have made a worse use of Ellen's secret than even Henry Lovell did.

Confession of sin is not a mere arbitrary command; its true properties depend upon the inherent properties of the human mind. Whilst, then, *sincere* confession is but obeying the natural impulses of the mind in a particular direction suggested by divine wisdom; a mechanical and insincere confession is a falsifier of nature, and a hardener, therefore, of the conscience. The *forced* confession of the Romish Church, which precedes feeling, but to which pardon is arbitrarily promised is, we repeat, a falsifier of the mind, whether in a state of nature or grace. The confession of the burdened conscience, whose full state implies Christian repentance and its concomitants, is certain to obtain forgiveness, and the minister may securely pronounce it, for it is the process of disease to health. But the forced confession of the heart that means to sin again is the process of a destroying disease. Whilst, then, we are anxious to see that information spread abroad which shall point out the minister's duty and the people's privilege relative to confession, as defined and encouraged by the English Church, we are sure of the false principle—false both to nature and grace—of the Romish confessional. We must, then, give a general reply to one of the apparent objects of this tale in a single sentence: the English Church contains within itself all the advantages—whether judged of by the nature of the human mind, which seeks and finds relief in communicating its griefs to another; or, whether judged of by the revealed principles of the divine government—of the Romish confessional, without its most dangerous and soul-destroying properties in the hands of dishonesty or ignorance.

At length the place where the marriage should be consummated is canvassed; and, as Elmsley is proposed, the old ap-

parition again rises up and stands between Ellen and her new joys. What—be *married* where Julia was *buried!* We can only quote one passage from these scenes, as too remarkable to be passed over by any but the most superficial reader. It is a dream the night before her marriage :—

"I dreamed that night that I was in church, and that everything was prepared for my marriage. We stood before the altar, and the priest opened the book for the marriage service; but, as he began, it was the burial service that he read. They stopped him, and he turned the pages; but ever, as he began again to read, the same words came to his lips, and the book in his hands grew larger and larger, and the words—'For the burial of the dead'—stood out in bloody letters and seemed to rise from the page. I looked up into the priest's face, and that was changing too. I had seen those features before; but I knew them not till the thin lips moved, and said—'Julia's murderer—Julia's murderer!' And then the book and the altar were gone, and a coffin stood in its place; and the same voice said 'open it!'—and the lid rose, and there was a corpse in its shroud. It lifted itself up slowly, and I could not see the face; but I cried out in terror—'Who is it?' and the grave-clothes fell—it was Alice! I closed my eyes and shrieked; and the same voice said—'Look again, look again!'—and I looked, and it was Edward."

Gilbert Glossin's dream is poor beside this tragical conception. Whilst the ceremony is taking place, the fever of the story is still kept up. A stranger, as at Lucy Ashton's wedding, or at that in the "Open Grave" in one of Turner's "Annuals," makes her appearance, and the bride's joys are turned to dismay.

We pass by the county election of Edward for its member, only pointing out that Lady Fullerton's ingenuity makes it an occasion for Henry Lovell's annoyances and Ellen's further sorrows and degradations. Much of her language at this time is unintelligible to her husband, who is quite unable to account for her frequent depression of spirits, and mysterious hints. They take their departure for London, where Henry contrives to extort from Ellen three scraps of paper containing allusions to their own secrets, but so mysteriously composed as to be susceptible of the worst construction by another; and a long letter declaratory of his entire power over her. These seal her fate. Henry's incessant attentions had of course awakened Edward's jealous suspicions, which received fatal confirmation by the receipt of these scraps from Mrs. Tracy, who had broken open Henry's desk and stolen them.

Mr. and Mrs. Middleton are abroad, and tidings having reached Edward of the former dying, he hastily sets out in the hope of seeing him once more. On parting with Ellen he

announced his possession of proofs of her guilty intercourse with Henry Lovell; and, as it were, "minding to put her away privily," he proceeded no further than to extort an assurance that, under no circumstances, she would meet Henry again.

We must point out one beautiful Christian scene between Ellen and Alice. The latter had found in the bottom of the carriage the longer letter which Ellen had written to Henry, and of course could put but one interpretation upon it. She writes a note, begging Ellen to come to her:—"My dear Ellen —I wish to see you, and I beg you to come to me. Your's, ALICE LOVELL." How truthful to Alice's guileless nature! Alice's altered looks gave Ellen one of the severest pangs she had yet experienced. "She came to meet me, but did not offer to kiss me: she held out her thin, pale hand; and, slightly pressing mine, made me sit down by her.....She opened the door of the next room, and showed me the cradle: the child was asleep. 'He is beautiful (I said); how you must love him, Alice!'—'I do,' she answered; and then she put her hand to her forehead, and a sudden flush overspread her brow, her face, her neck: her breathing was quick; and she added, in a voice of intense emotion, 'But, if you think I do not love his father, you are mistaken.'" This awful stroke is followed by Ellen's most solemn declarations of innocence of ever having loved Henry, which, however, as it is mixed up with unexplained mysteries, but partially heals the wound.

Ellen returns home, and finds passionate letters from Henry demanding a renewal of their intercourse. At length he forced himself into her presence. Passionate scenes of grief follow; at last, overcome by a sense of Henry's power over her, Ellen falls before him to entreat his forbearance.....and Edward, at that moment, enters the room. "Was it the angel of death? Was it the vision of judgment that passed before me? Was it Edward (she asked) I saw?—and did I live over that hour? I must have seen him—for never since that day, in dreams or in thought, have I beheld him without that dreadful expression which haunts and pursues me. It deprived me of my senses then—it has been killing me ever since." Edward quits the house, and writes a short note refusing ever to see her again. We cannot pass by this touch of nature:—

"I rose from my knees, I smoothed my hair, and drew my shawl round me. I had lost my gloves, and opened a drawer to look for them: the only pair I could find was one which Edward had made me put aside because he disliked their colour. What his letter had not done—what the horrible sufferings of the last hour had not done —this trifling circumstance did. I cried bitterly; and the pressure on my brain subsided."

She took her determination, and, "drawn by the painting of a cathedral, a superstitious and nervous fancy took possession of me. I felt as if my fate directed me there. I turned my eyes away, and tried to *think*, but could not. A vague terror pursued me; and still, as I fixed my eyes on this picture, I felt as if *there*, among those solemn arches, in those dim aisles, I should be *safe*." We thus conclude our extracts from her manuscript.

The scene is now transferred to Elmsley Priory where we find Mrs. Middleton prematurely grey: "suffering, and not time, had done its work upon her." Alice and Henry were there too,—the latter bordering upon a state of madness, and receiving the utmost attention from those two persons who were so deeply suffering from the ignominious cause of his illness. In fact, the idea had rooted itself in Henry's mind that Ellen had destroyed herself. After hours of delirium, during which his attendants heard what some of them, at least, would rather have died than heard, he again regained his recollection:—

"Alice returned to his side, and he held out his hand to greet her: hers was cold and nervous, and the heart sunk within her as she fixed her eyes on his, and in their wild and restless expression read that fearful retribution which sometimes falls on those who have walked in their own ways, and defied the justice of an Almighty Judge, till the light that was in them has become darkness, and His awful vengeance has overtaken them. Great, indeed, was that darkness in Henry Lovell's case—greater still from the light that had once been in him. Sparks of genius, touches of feeling, relics of the high capabilities of mind that had once been his, flashed through the night of his soul, and made its present darkness more sadly visible."

The scriptural doctrine that our sins will find us out—that the instruments of our sin shall prove the instruments of our punishment—is repeatedly inculcated in these volumes. Our fear is lest they, which are amongst the best truths of the tale, should be regarded as mere exercises of ingenuity. Henry goes one morning to the window, and gazed earnestly on some spring flowers which were just coming into blossom. Alice opened a volume lying on the table, and read aloud some stanzas from it. Henry held out his hand for the book, and read over these lines in silence: he then glanced at the title page, shuddered, and flung it from him. Alice picked it up, and looked anxiously at him:—

"'Was not Dr. Dodd hung for forgery?'—he exclaimed. She turned very pale: he saw it, and said, 'You need not be frightened *now*. I am not *mad*. In that very book I *forged* the first link of that infernal chain with which I bound and destroyed her."

This book was the "Christian Year," which Edward had given Ellen, and which Henry had artfully underlined to persuade her that the donor was master of her secret. These wild words immediately follow:—

"There may be mercy for others—there can be none for me. Look into your Bible; you will see in it what I have done—turned her body and soul into hell! God alone should do *that*—*I* have done it. Alice, if you believe you must tremble. Ay, the devils do so too."

He sunk back in his chair and muttered—"The worm that never dies! Ay, I understand it now."

Mr. Lacy arrived at Elmsley, and forwards a letter to Alice, stating the object of his mission. Henry catches it up, learns that Ellen is alive but dying, and of course is greatly affected. He insists upon seeing Mr. Leslie. The interview is passionate but brief, and Henry terminates it by holding out a letter to Mr. Lacy, who takes it in silence:—

"Take that letter to Edward Middleton, Mr. Lacy; you may read it first for yourself. If, when he reads it, he forgives his wife and curses me, I shall be satisfied. Tell him, then, that I am mad or dead; I shall be so by that time. When you see her again" (he added, the mind suddenly wandering and recalling awful phantasmagoria that had haunted its dreams) "tell her not to look so pale, or stare so wildly, when I dream of her; tell her not to hang over me, or stand by my bedside and moan so piteously. Did you say she was dead?"

This is an unobtrusive touch of dramatic power of the highest order. It reminded us—and we can hardly give it higher praise—of what we think must have been Shelley's *vision* of *His* death whom he would fain have denied:—

"Remit the anguish of that lighted stare;
Close those wan lips: let that thorn-wounded brow
Stream not with blood; it mingles with thy tears.
Fix, fix those tortured orbs in peace and death,
So thy sick throes shake not that crucifix,
So those pale fingers play not with thy gore."

Henry wildly continued to show that if hell and heaven are fables conscience is not:—

"No: she is dying, and she is prepared to die: she prays, she hopes, she submits, and God will receive her, for his mercy is infinite. A ministering angel will she be, while I lie howling, a gulf between us. What am I thinking of? Where have I read that? There is something wrong *here*."

Alice is prepared by Mr. Leslie to find her husband raving. She arms herself for the task before her by prayer, and walks

forth with a martyr's strength to minister at the sick couch and to witness the ravings of him she loved beyond all that earth contained. He raved indeed: he called fiercely for music: she could not play: she had never sung to him before; but she obeyed. "Her voice was pure, and sweet, and loud; it ran in the silence of that twilight hour with a strange and awful harmony. She sung the airs of those sacred chants which fall on the ear like dreamings of eternity. Two old servants, who were in the outward room, fell on their knees and listened. For more than an hour that solemn mournful song continued; it thrilled through their very souls, and affected them more deeply than the most passionate cries of grief or of terror could have done."

His struggles were fearful; his attempts at self-destruction frequent; three men could hardly hold him. Towards morning, in one of those paroxysms of delirious fury, he broke a blood-vessel, and Alice, who had never left his bedside, was covered with blood. Death soon followed, and the last scene is thus described:—

"After a few minutes of that nameless anguish which thought dares not dwell upon, nor words describe, she saw his eyes open and turn to her with an expression of intense enquiry, full of consciousness of death, of the sense of the coming eternity, and of that question, deferred too long and asked too late, 'What shall I do to be saved?' She bent over him in speechless sorrow; his dying eyes caught sight of the cross which hung from her neck; she saw it; she held it to his lips, and whispered, 'None ever perished at His feet.' He heard her, and his lips moved, and his hand grasped hers: he looked at her, raised his eyes to heaven, and he died. On that murmured prayer—on that expiring glance—she built hopes which we may not scan," &c.

The rest is briefly told. Mr. Leslie *forces* Edward to read the letter of which he was the bearer from Henry, and soon we find Ellen again at Hillscombe, her husband's seat. The confession of Julia's death is made before all, and she dies in peace.

The length to which we have protracted this article proves the high estimation in which we hold Lady Fullerton's work; but to be fully appreciated the whole must be read, and certain parts of it, we had almost said, studied. Highly wrought and exaggerated as some of the scenes and characters are, yet we have not to complain that occasional bursts of true eloquence, poetry, and painting are intermingled with rapid declamation, jingle, and sign-daubing. We are willing, however—as we must—to make the same allowance for Lady Fullerton, who set herself the task of writing a novel in *three* volumes, as we

are for a true poet who determines to write a poem in *twelve* cantos. To either of these contracts *Genius* refuses to become a party. We must, therefore, accept the willing offerings of *talent,* and be thankful if the change is only from gold to silver, and not to copper, or, what is worse still, a base *albata* mixture.

We have endeavoured, too, as we at first proposed, to enable our readers to judge, from copious extracts, how far a *religious* novel is a reality, and not a romance within a romance. We feel quite sure—such is our own judgment—that this is not to be classed with many that have claimed that designation. One of our proofs is, that even the professed novel reader cannot read the romance and skip the religion without despicable frivolity. In other instances this can be and has been done. We recollect asking a young friend how he liked the religious argument which is put off, in a celebrated novel, to the third volume—"Oh (he replied), I took all that for granted." And it is well known that most mamas have denounced Mrs. Sherwood's stories on the Church catechism, because they discovered that their daughters always preferred the *kissing* to the *catechism,* and that the two would be well separated. Any such separation, however, as this, in Lady Fullerton's work, would destroy its distinctive character. It is, therefore, truly a religious novel.

There is, however, another question behind:—how far does such a form of teaching religion, or at least of awakening religious emotions, accomplish its object? This, we think, must depend upon temperament. We intimately knew, in former years, a young gentleman of good talent and high accomplishments who was checked at the commencement of an immoral connexion by reading a novel in which the consequences of that sin were powerfully developed. The transition from a life of sinful pleasure to a creed of rigid Calvinism was speedy and permanent. But his case was peculiar, and can form no basis for a theory. We have no space for discussing this question.

We cannot, after all this, but mourn that Lady Fullerton is lost to our literature. We think that, by deserting her faith, she may have deserted a post of much usefulness to the cause of Christianity. Whether she will appear again or not is almost a matter of indifference to us, as we should have no pleasure in reading a work written by Lady Fullerton and Co.—that is, one that has been *viséd* and mutilated by some cold theologian, to qualify it for escaping the "*Index Expurgatorius.*" Roman Catholic Christian literature wants to us the charm of individuality. It is the Church which speaks, and not the

writer; and as we know what the opinions of the Church are, and that a writer's business is but to give them the loudest echo, to the suppression of his own—at least Mr. Newman tells us, in his "Development," that the suppression of a man's own opinions is one of the acts of *real* martyrdom required by the Romish Church—we think we can employ our reading hours much better than in looking over such *insincere* writings.

Mr. Faber, Mr. Newman, even Mr. Ward, with others, could work heavy mischief against us, so long as they remained within our own Church; because it was felt they wrote and spoke as they believed, and *all* they believed; but they are now muzzled. We care not what they write now; for we have an argument, founded on facts, and very convenient in use, for not reading any Roman Catholic theological work—*this* may be written against the author's own convictions. For example, we have seen no worse logic anywhere than in portions of Mr. Newman's "Development." But this cannot naturally belong to his high intellect. We must, then, accept his own solution of the difficulty: he has submitted to the martyrdom of yielding up, at another's command, many opinions which he does believe, and of adopting some others which he does not believe.

Lady Fullerton may now understand why we regard her as lost to our Christian literature. We can quite comprehend her conversion to the Romish Church, without supposing her able to grapple with the theological questions which separate the two Churches. Such an imagination as hers—and Locke's words are still true, that imagination is the author of all error—if suffered to roam at large amidst all that gorgeous scenery which had its conception, its birth, and has its present life in the imagination alone, could not be saved from the snare but "so as by fire."

ART. IV.—*A Treatise on Justification.* By the Right Rev. JOHN DAVENANT, D. D., Bishop of Salisbury; together with Translations of the "Determinationes" of the same Prelate. By the Rev. JOSIAH ALLPORT, of St James's, Birmingham, Chaplain to his grace the Duke of Manchester. Two vols. London: Hamilton and Adams. 1846.

WE think it fortunate that the translation of Davenant's most important work should have fallen into the hands of one who not only understands the doctrines of which it treats, but who is familiar with the cast of thought and style of expression, from having already translated Bishop Davenant's "Exposition of the

Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians," a translation which was published by Mr. Allport in 1661; and we also hope that the announcement, which is made in the second volume of the present work, will shortly be fulfilled, of a translation of the treatise on "Predestination and Election," and of that on the "Rule of Faith;" as we should then have all the important Latin dissertations of Davenant translated by the same well qualified individual.

We do not at the present moment remember another of the great lights of the English Church whose writings appear to us so well calculated to meet the errors which are most prevalent at the present time, and to assist the inexperienced in keeping clear of the two extremes in doctrine of ultra Calvinism on the one hand, and of Arminianism on the other; and the extremes in discipline and practice of entire independence of Church authority, which some at the present time advocate, and the wholesale adoption of whatsoever the Church has at any time enjoined or practiced, which is the avowed principle of others. And Davenant's judgment, having been formed under very different circumstances, and at a time sufficiently remote from our own age, by one thoroughly versed in theology and in the writings of the fathers, his arguments come before us divested of all present excitement or mere application to temporary exigencies, and are of the calm broad abstract nature of universal truths, which depend not upon the circumstances of the time, but are profitable for safe keeping of the faith and building up in Christian truth at all times, and in all ages of the Church.

The important station held by Davenant at Cambridge obliged him to make himself master of all these questions, as moderator between the several disputants. He was afterwards appointed by James one of the representatives of the Church of England at the Synod of Dort, and had to justify his conduct on that occasion when false representations both of him and of the Synod were industriously circulated. And having matured his opinions, and become riper in judgment in his later years, and being raised to the bishopric, and entitled to respect for his learning still more than his station, he was yet obliged to stand upon his defence, which was in fact the defence of the Church of England against the over strained and superstitious notions which were in vogue in the time of Laud, and which kindled those jealousies and provoked that reaction which led to the temporary subversion of the Establishment. Dr. Plume, in his "Life of Bishop Hacket," reports that Archbishop Usher was accustomed to say that Davenant, under whom

Hacket was bred, understood all those controversies better than ever any man did since St. Austin. And Bishop Horsley is also referred to as saying of the same parties—"If we would look for warm advocates of Church authority in general, and for able writers in defence of our own form of Church government in particular, such we shall find among those divines of of our Church who were called, in their day, the 'Doctrinal Calvinists.'" While Davenant and his colleagues declare—in justifying their conduct at the Synod of Dort—"But, above all, according to our duty and desire, we humbly submit this and all other, our actions, concerning our calling, to the judgment of our most venerable mother, the Church of England, from whose sacred rule we have not swerved, nor any whit impeached her discipline or authorized doctrine, either abroad or at home."

That Davenant should have formed one of the Synod of Dort at all, is held a sufficient impeachment of his orthodoxy by many who have only heard false accounts of its proceedings, or have imbibed the prejudices which those false accounts were intended to propagate, and which has been done so successfully that not one in a hundred who speaks of the Synod of Dort knows the exact truth concerning it. Indeed, until the year 1804, when the decrees of Dort were printed at the end of the "Oxford Sylloge Confessionum," the truth was so little known that Bishop Tomline, in his "Refutation of Calvinism," quoted the false version, supposing it to be true; and lest it should still be unknown to any of our readers, we extract the following:—

"Of all assemblies, religious councils are most likely to be misrepresented. As few were more open to attack, so there are scarcely any which have been more grossly and unfairly assailed than the Synod of Dort. By a series of authors, in succession, a treacherous copy of its decrees, under the shape of an abridgment, has passed current. For instance, the Synod, cap. 1 art. 1., asserts, that *God hath elected, out of the common mass of sinners, a certain multitude of men—quorundam hominum certa multitudo, &c.;* but that he hath left the rest to condemnation, *not only on account of their infidelity, but also their other sins—non tantum propter infidelitatem, sed etiam cetera omnia peccata, &c.* The popular copy thus states this: that God hath elected to salvation *a very small number of men, &c.*, and appointed the rest to condemnation, *without any regard to their infidelity and impiety, &c.* This garbled statement (says Mr. Allport), or rather deliberate falsehood, as it has been correctly termed, originated with D. Tilenus who, being a remonstrant, and harshly used in common with his friends, repaid his sufferings by falsifying the documents of his enemies, and publishing his desperate effort under the cloak of a '*favourable* abridgment.' From him it was copied by Bishop

Womack, from Womack by Heylin, and from Heylin by Bishop Tomline; and, thus passing current through so many hands, it continued to exasperate the enemies of the Synod, and even to excite the unqualified condemnation of its friends. Thus the late Mr. Scott, in the first edition of his 'Reply to Dr. Tomline', not doubting the genuineness of the decree, exclaims—'Who told these presumptuous dogmatists that the elect were *a very small number of men?*' (*Life of Davenant*, xviii.)

The bigotry and intolerance of the Synod of Dort were sufficiently manifested in their acts to warrant suspicions of the worst kind concerning the doctrines they held, and to make us believe that they interpreted the language of their own decrees in the narrowest and most sectarian sense which the words will bear; yet the above changes shew that their own expressions could not be made to convey, and could not consist with, the false doctrines which their enemies imputed to them; and the double weight of slander and forgery rests upon those who have falsified their decrees, to give an appearance of falsehood to their doctrines: but the instructions given to Davenant by the King and the Archbishop before he left England, and his own account rendered after his return, shew that he had no part in the reprehensible proceedings of the Synod of Dort, and least of all in the strife and persecutions which afterwards ensued. The English divines had been strictly enjoined, both by James and by Archbishop Abbott, "to allow of no meddling with the doctrine or discipline of the English Church, and to be peremptory on the point of introducing into the decisions of the Synod the universality of Christ's redemption. To this they religiously adhered." (*Life*, xv.) And when, on this last point, some of the other deputies would have given way, Davenant stood firm, and on this point "declared he would sooner cut off his hand than rescind any word of it: in which he was supported by Ward, and it was ultimately agreed to." (xvi.)

And though Davenant stood thus firm on the point of general redemption, or the death of Christ being available for all, the necessity for his insisting upon it proves that it was not cordially admitted by the Dutch divines; and their subsequent conduct shews that, if they ever had been persuaded of its truth, they soon fell away from the faith of Davenant and his colleagues, and became ultra Calvinists, for the most part, in the narrowest sense of the term—that is, became little better than mere Fatalists. The difference between Davenant and the ultra Calvinists is this—that he, holding the doctrine of election in common with them, based that doctrine on the *revealed* will God—that is, on CHRIST, in whom alone it is revealed; while

they, regarding election as an abstract purpose, make the work of Christ to be either vague as an abstraction; or, if definite, limit it to the elect alone. They thus confound an abstract purpose which is incomprehensible with that which is revealed in order to be comprehended: they confound visible and invisible things—make no distinction between redemption and election at the commencement of their theology—none between redemption and salvation at its close; and thus, the chief expression of the love of God, in that Christ died for the ungodly, being lacking in their system, it is cold and heartless as though Christ had never come, or as though it were pure speculation and mere reasoning. And their judgments of others are cold, harsh, and intolerant; because they know not the mercy of God, who willeth not that any should perish; and know not the extent of sin, or that, to save a *single sinner*, an atonement must be made *for all sin*; and know not the grace of God which can change any heart, and which every one of the fallen race of Adam requires for his salvation, and which all require alike, and one as much as another.

It is instructive in the way of warning to remark that it was the extreme lengths to which the doctrines of Calvin had been carried, by the "presumptuous dogmatists" who succeeded him, that disgusted Arminius and made him what he was; and the doctrines of Arminius, again, were exaggerated by his followers, to as great an extent as those of Calvin had been in the opposite direction: for Arminius had been the pupil of Beza, and was co-professor with Gomarus; and Mr. Allport thinks that the alteration of opinion in Arminius would not have led to any serious consequences, if the moderate part of the Church had been left to themselves; for the fundamental point of justification by faith was held by Arminius, and he continued on terms of friendship with Gomarus; and "it is evident that the subsequent bitterness of Gomarus against the remonstrants, at the Synod of Dort, was the result of that acrimony which controversy so often engenders; for that, at the period before us, he neither considered the views of his colleague as affecting the vitality of the faith, nor even interrupting their private friendship, although unhappily, afterwards, he denounced the former as upsetting the basis of the Gospel; spoke of the latter, when deceased, in terms the most harsh and uncharitable; and fomented those persecuting measures against his followers which have rendered the name of the Synod of Dort so odious." (*Life*, xiv.)

The subject of Davenant's treatise, the "Doctrine of Justification" itself, is one of the most difficult to handle so as to do

justice to the contending parties; and it is a question in which the real mistakes have been numerous, and have been followed by the most deplorable consequences. It may be viewed in many aspects—as it regards God or ourselves—as it regards the work of Christ or of the Holy Ghost—as it affects the Church or all mankind. Yet each takes that view which his own position or the party to which he belongs has set before him, thinking that one aspect to be the only fair and allowable way of arriving at and apprehending all the truth. Disputants soon become opponents, and when they are at cross purposes strife and contention are quickly engendered, increasing in bitterness in proportion to the length of the controversy, and the real importance of the points which are at issue: and this doctrine of justification, however it be regarded, is the turning point in every system of theology. The systems may vary from the highest Calvinism to the lowest Arminianism, on the *grounds* of justification; but justification *in some way*, and in a manner conformable with the other parts of the system, must enter into every scheme of doctrine, and must be the cardinal point in the enquiry of every man who knows himself to be a sinner, and knows God to be just and holy.

It is possible that there may be thoughtless persons in the world, who think not of, and care not, for these things; and there may be others who are so satisfied with themselves—or, in other words, so ignorant of God and of themselves—as not to feel a need of justification, and who are not inclined to enter on an enquiry with the issues of which they do not discern that they themselves are personally interested. To such classes, of course, we are not now directing our observations; but all who do feel themselves to be sinners—all who know that God is holy and therefore cannot admit sinners, *as such*, into his presence—all who think seriously about the future, the eternal condition of the soul; and, in the uncertainty of life, are wisely anxious to improve each moment of time during this, our only opportunity for securing everlasting happiness: all such persons must first settle in their own minds the question concerning the nature of justification—viz., how may sin be cancelled, so that the self-convicted sinner can appear in the presence of God without apprehension: nay, can even now serve and please him while sojourning on earth, and thus become an instrument for saving others also.

In Davenant's time the dispute lay between the Romanists and Protestants: the former accusing the latter of making no account of personal holiness, because they denied that our good works had any atoning merit in the sight of God, and ascribed

salvation, from first to last, solely and entirely, to the meritorious efficacy of the work of Christ:—

"It was the calumny of Bellarmine that *Calvin, with the Lutherans, does not admit of any inherent righteousness*.....Campian, in his eighth reason, speaking of Protestants, says, *They teach that the regenerate and sanctified are not even any thing inwardly, but mere corruption and defilement.* A little after he adds, *They assign excellent properties to grace, which they contend to be neither infused into our hearts, nor of sufficient efficacy to resist wickedness; but place it without us, in the sole favour of God, which favour does not amend the wicked, but, with the connivance of God, conceals that old mass, still reeking and loathsome, lest it should be thought deformed and odious.* As many untruths almost as words.....Duræus follows Campian, and not only is not ashamed of these calumnies, but moreover has thought it right to add to them. Accordingly he says: *I do not in the least wonder that Calvin should not acknowledge any renovation of the inner man in us, since he thinks the blessed themselves to be perpetually contaminated by their wickedness, even in the regions of bliss*.....Let Becan close the host of calumniators, who ascribes this proposition to Calvin: *That in justification the grace and righteousness are not infused by which a man becomes renewed internally, and righteous and holy in himself; but that only the righteousness of Christ is imputed to him externally, whereby he is accounted righteous out of himself*.....You have heard what the Jesuits attribute to us: now hear what we really think about the renovation of justified persons. Luther says: *We have received the Holy Spirit through faith, and we have been purified; but notwithstanding, as long as we live here, that corrupt mass of flesh and blood adheres to us.* Here he plainly confesses both a certain purification or internal renovation, and the remains of sin still cleaving to us.....Calvin says, *Man is justified by faith alone, nor yet is real holiness separated from the gratuitous imputation of righteousness*..... Bucer says, We preach with open mouth that inherent righteousness is bestowed upon us, and infused into us by Christ our Lord, the new Adam and the heavenly Regenerator; as original sin is infused into us by the old Adam and our earthly generator" (Vol. i. 5, 6, 7).

And after citing to the same purpose passages from Melancthon, Peter Martyr, and Chemnitz, Davenant quotes Whitaker, who, in reply to the eighth reason of Campian, says—"It is plain that he who has *nothing in himself but corruption* is by no means regenerate; for the *new man*, which is created after God, must be renewed *in righteousness and true holiness.*" And, in reply to Duræus, says—"It is one thing to disparage all grace infused into us, *which we by no means do;* another to take away the merit of justification from this grace, *which the Scripture most clearly does.*"

The accusations preferred by Bellarmine and the Jesuits against the early Reformers are persisted in by the Romanists to

the present time; and charges of a similar kind formed the basis and the strength of Moehler's book on Protestant confessions, which the Papal party in Germany swear by at the present time. They no doubt conclude that the principles of the Reformation must, if consistently followed out, result in such consequences; and they have been unfortunately strengthened in these conclusions by the follies and crimes of various Antinomian sects at Munster, in Wales, and in America. But both these parties are in error, arising from equal ignorance of the truth: the indiscriminating accusers of the Protestants, who know not what the doctrines of the Reformers really were; and the ranting enthusiasts, who are still greater enemies of the Reformation by the disgrace they bring upon that noble work in their extravagance, and by excesses which can only be accounted for on the ground of mental imbecility and spiritual delusion.

The false accusations of Romanists, and the Antinomian tendencies of the fanatics we speak of, arise from a similar ignorance in both parties, which mainly proceeds from a mist of confusion which has been raised in their minds through not distinguishing terms which are essentially different, on some occasions; and on other occasions using the same term in several senses, which senses are essentially different. But intelligent Protestants, who know the meaning of the terms they employ, and who use each of these terms only in one definite sense, repudiate the calumnies of the Romanists as not in the least degree applicable to themselves, and refuse to allow their principles to be identified with the practices of those who are Protestants only in name, who hold intelligently no one Protestant principle, and who, though erring in the opposite extreme, are in one respect the best friends of Rome, in giving a semblance of truth to her denunciations, and in being an example of the evils of entire independence.

Confusion of terms indicates confused ideas concerning the things spoken of; and in the instance before us, the mistake arises principally from confounding together the work done *for* us by Christ Jesus, and the work done *in* us by the Holy Ghost: the first being apprehended by faith, and so becoming our justification, or imputed righteousness; the second being consequent upon belief in Christ, and so becoming progressive sanctification in the regenerate, or, as it may not improperly be called, our inherent righteousness. Christ is the source of all, and therefore is called the sacrifice, the high priest, the baptizer with the Holy Ghost: our righteousness, in short, in every sense of the word. But the Holy Ghost is the agent by whom the work of Christ is rendered available to us, in making it

known, bringing it home in conviction to the heart, and empowering us to bring forth the fruits of righteousness. And Christ only reveals, and the Holy Ghost only accomplishes, the will of the Father, from whom all things primarily flow, and to whose glory all things shall ultimately co-operate, when God shall be all in all. In one sense, therefore, faith is the gift of God, and it is God that justifieth, and the regenerate are regarded as sons of God; yet, in the accurate and theological sense, Christ, who reveals the Father, is the object of our faith, and this faith for our justification is wrought in us by the Holy Ghost, as is more obviously our subsequent regeneration and sanctification. We are justified by faith, not as a naked principle implanted in our souls, but as a means to lay hold on Christ, who is the object of faith and the sole procuring cause of justification; and the least mistakeable way of putting this is the way in which it is put by Bucer, "that inherent righteousness is bestowed upon us and infused into us by Christ our Lord, the new Adam and the heavenly Regenerator, as original sin is infused into us by the old Adam and our earthly generator." So, also, St. Paul speaks of Christ as the power of God and the wisdom of God, of whom are we in Christ Jesus, "who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that according as it is written, he that glorieth let him glory in the Lord" (1 Cor. i. 30).

Davenant well observes—

"In the salvation of man two things are especially to be considered —the cause of it, and the way to obtain it. The cause of human salvation is the free mercy of God, putting away our sins through the blood of Christ, and accepting us to life eternal on account of his obedience; and this gracious act of God we call *justification*. The way to salvation, or to the kingdom, is to serve God in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. But that we may be able to enter upon this way of salvation, God heals the weakness of our minds and restores and repairs his image in us; and this act we call *sanctification* or *regeneration*. God is said to save us by both acts" (i. 171, 172).

"Bellarmine says, 'we must treat of the formal cause, on account of which man is said to be just before God.' And in truth (says Davenant), such a formal cause of justification must be laid down as at the same time can be *meritorious* also. For unless it have in itself that dignity, on account of which man is rightly reputed justified, it never will be the formal cause through which he stands justified in the sight of God. 'But (says Bellarmine) it is the opinion of Luther that the formal cause of justification is faith.' I answer, he always acknowledges it the *instrumental* not the *formal* cause; unless so far as that, under the term *faith*, he includes the object comprehended in faith" (i. 160, 161).

"To dismiss, however, philosophical speculations concerning the nature of the formal cause—when we are seeking the formal cause of our justification we are seeking for that on account of which the sinner is received into the favour of God: through which he stands immediately well pleasing to God and accepted to eternal life: by the benefit of which he escapes the condemning sentence of the law; and, in fine, on which he may and ought to depend for obtaining the favour and approbation of his heavenly Judge. We shall now present our opinion and the state of this controversy in the shape of two propositions, the contradictories of which the Papists endeavour to maintain. The first is this: that the perfect obedience of Christ the Mediator, who dwells in us and by his Spirit unites us to himself, is the formal cause of our justification, since it is made ours by the gift of God and applied by faith. The second proposition is, righteousness implanted and dwelling in us by the Spirit of Christ is not the formal cause by which we stand justified—that is, by which we are judged to be free from condemnation and accepted to life eternal, as though worthy of the same through this quality dwelling in us" (i. 163).

The dogma concerning human merit in the Papal system, and mistakes concerning election in the Calvinistic Dissenters, have both equally tended to narrow the grace of God and the salvation wrought out by our Lord Jesus Christ: and the remedy for both evils is the same—it is by the doctrine that Christ died for all, therefore all were dead; and that he died for all, in order that out of those for whom he died an election might be chosen and saved. So far as we can reason on such a matter, an election presupposes a number already existing, out of which a choice may be made. A totality is not an election—choice supposes some to be taken and others to be left. And in all the typical histories we observe the same thing: Abel was after Cain, Isaac was the younger son of Abram, Jacob younger than Esau, Ephraim younger than Manasse; so that we need to lay down firmly in the first place the doctrine that Christ died for all, to exclude the foolish thought that any can dispense with that atonement which was made through the meritorious sufferings of Christ, who died the just for the unjust to bring us to God: and also to place the doctrine of election itself on a sure basis—namely, on what Christ hath done, not on what we think or feel—that we may not first busy ourselves with the doctrine of election, and with the question whether we are of the number of the elect, which we must do while we think that Christ died only for the elect; but, believing that he died for all, give our whole heart to the reception of this truth, satisfied that our being able to take him for our Saviour is a sure evidence that we are of the election, and shall be finally saved. "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him

that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.....And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life: and I will raise him up at the last day" (John vi. 40).

The error, both in the Papist and in the ultra-Calvinist, has the same self-satisfying root which made the Pharisee thank God that he was not as other men, and that either by his good works, or as being looked upon with special favour by God, he has something in himself which distinguishes him from others; and which, in some way, prepares for, or contributes to, the remission of his sins. But it is an article of our faith, and has been uniformly held by the best divines, that our acceptance with God must *begin* with the remission of sin; and therefore that the cause of our acceptance must stand out of ourselves and in another—namely, in the Redeemer; and that whatsoever we do, independent of this act of remission and acceptance, cannot entitle us to the favour of God, in a theological sense. Even the Romanists themselves often allow this. Aquinas says well—"Good actions are not the cause of the divine acceptance; but man is first accepted of God, then his acts" (i. 323). And the canons of Cologne acknowledge that "we are justified by God with a twofold righteousness, as by formal and essential causes; one of which, and the first, is the finished righteousness of Christ, not as it is external to us in himself, but as, and when the same, being apprehended by faith, is imputed to us for righteousness" (i. 268). For, as Davenant observes, "sanctification by inherent righteousness, is, in order of causality, posterior to justification; nay, they are two acts, although concomitant in time, yet distinct in themselves and in their nature.....Remission of sin is an individual act, and effected in a moment; but the infusion of grace, or sanctification, is a continued act, and effected successively and by degrees. Remission delivers from guilt and the punishment of sins; but the infusion of grace purges from the stain and defilement of sin. We obtain the remission of sin proximately from God, by the righteousness of Christ imputed to us; but the infusion of righteousness personally, by the operation of the Holy Spirit" (i. 222, 224).

To make salvation a reality—to constitute us living members of the body of Christ now, and to give us an entrance hereafter into the kingdom of heaven—two things are necessary; first, the imputation of Christ's righteousness for our justification—that is, for cancelling former guilt and bringing us into a condition of acceptance with God; secondly, renewal in the spirit of our minds, that we may bring forth fruit becoming the mem-

bers of Christ and children of God, pressing forward to attain the prize of our heavenly calling, and so may put on the new man which after God is created in righteousnes and true holiness (Eph. iv. 24). And it is in the spirit only, and not in the flesh, that man is renewed, there being no change in the body until the resurrection.

For it is ever to be borne in mind, that, as the *new creation*, in its full significance, will not be manifested until the kingdom of heaven shall come, so Christ speaks of that future time as the *regeneration* in the full and proper sense of the term (Matt. xix. 28). Our present regeneration is a spiritual act, extending not to material things. The saints themselves, while in the body, do groan being burdened, earnestly desiring to be clothed with the heavenly frame accordant with the renewed mind (2 Cor. v.) But all are represented as in bondage, with the whole creation, all waiting for the adoption—to wit, the redemption of the body (Rom. viii. 23). At the resurrection it is that this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality; and then the *body* being *regenerate* shall be a suitable instrument for the *regenerate soul*, instead of a burden and a hindrance; and the *whole man* renewed in the midst of a *new creation* shall head up its worship, and render perfect and unceasing homage to God, whose image he shall bear; saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are and were created.

Yet, notwithstanding our present imperfection, we maintain the necessity of good works to accompany saving faith: and we say, with Philpot, "that it is a shameful blasphemy to affirm that Luther requireth a barren faith only. Wherever did Luther teach this? Whoever heard it by mouth of him, or hath read it in print? We exhort all men to mutual love and well doings, and to have justice in reverence, that thereby they may testify themselves earnestly to believe and heartily: and in all points we follow the way and rule of Paul, which, after he hath taught faith, proceedeth to exhortation and discipline of living. Then thou seest, I trow, that neither Luther, nor any of us at any time, have judged good works superfluous" (i. 294, *Note*).

These elaborate treatises of Davenant should be carefully studied by those whose duty calls them to deal with Romanists themselves, or with Protestants who have been bewildered by the subtleties of Rome. Bellarmine was the great Roman champion in Davenant's day, and he was so able a controversialist that scarcely a point in favour of Rome was overlooked

by him, and the man who will make himself master of Davenant's arguments will find in them a sufficient safeguard against Romanizing tendencies at any time. For, in fact, the error is a palpable one: it consists in maintaining the partial or entire sufficiency of human merit, both for personal acceptance and by supererogation, for the salvation of others; while the truth consists in maintaining that the merits of Christ form the sole, and all-sufficient, and exclusive ground of our acceptance with God, which salvation each individual must make his own by true faith evinced in personal holiness, and cannot receive in whole or in part through the faith or holiness of others. The various forms and shades of this one fundamental error are well exposed in this large treatise.

The "Determinations," which form the latter half of the second volume, have reference to fifty of the most important of the theological questions which had been in agitation between Roman casuists and the Reformers; which questions were publicly discussed in the university of Cambridge, under the presidency of Davenant. "Professors of theology, at the close of disputations, are accustomed to pass their sentence on the questions agitated before them. In the discharge of this office at Cambridge I had to treat, with more or less copiousness, many theses on various occasions. I was usually compelled to do this in rather an off-handed manner; so that any one will look in vain for either exactness of method or accuracy of diction in these my treatises. In each of them I have deemed it enough to have laid the foundation for a correct judgment, and to have shown the weakness of the principal reasons of the adversary."

This is all that the clerical student wants in such questions; and, though Davenant speaks thus modestly of his publication, his readers will estimate it more highly, and the very "*off-handedness*" imparts a freshness and vigour to its style and manner well suited to induce those who once open it to make frequent and repeated references. The questions are such as —prayers for the dead—the temporal power of the Pope over kings—infallibility—penance—the mass—the spiritual power of the priesthood—idolatry—reading the Scriptures—celibacy—invocation of saints—denial of the cup to the laity, &c. But many of the questions are on points not denied by Rome; such as—diversity of degrees in the Church not repugnant to the word of God—ignorance does not excuse sin—a proneness to evil does not follow from the principles of uncorrupt nature—God's decree does not take away man's freedom, and other such questions.

In these "Determinations" we obtain a nearer view and a deeper insight of Davenant's mind than in his more elaborate and more guarded treatises: and we perceive that, while he opposed the pretensions of Rome, he did not deny that she was a Church, still possessing the means of grace—still a Church though an apostate Church. On the other hand, while holding with the Calvinists the doctrines of election and reprobation, he takes care to guard against the error of supposing that the divine foreknowledge was in any respect the cause of man's fall; and he shows how it is Man, as *fallen*, that alone can truly be called the subject of divine predestination. "When we call this Roman Church *apostate* we mean not a full and entire defection from the Christian profession, such as we perceive in those who follow Mahomet; but a departure from the truth and purity of the Christian religion, which the apostle charges upon some among the Galatians and Corinthians" (ii. 334).

To understand more precisely what Davenant meant hereby we must have recourse to his other writings, and especially to a letter written in answer to Bishop Hall, who had been found fault with for asserting that the Roman Church remains yet a true visible Church; concerning which assertion Davenant says—"If in that treatise, wherein it was delivered, the antecedents or consequents were such as served fitly to lead the reader into that sense, which, under the word *true*, comprehendeth only *truth of being or existence*, and not the due qualities of the thing or subject, you have been causelessly traduced. But, on the other side, if that proposition comes in *ex abrupto*, or stands solitary in your discourse, you cannot marvel though, by taking the word *true*, according to the more ordinary acceptation, your true meaning was mistaken."

"In brief, your proposition admits a true sense; and, in that sense, is, by the learned in our Reformed Church, not disallowed: for the being of a Church does principally stand upon the gracious action of God, calling men out of darkness and death unto the participation of light and life in Christ Jesus.....Thus the Church of the Jews lost not her being of a Church when she became an idolatrous Church..... Thus, to grant that the Roman was and is a true visible Christian Church, though in doctrine a false and in practice an idolatrous Church, is a true assertion; and of greater use and necessity in our controversy with Papists about the perpetuity of the Christian Church than is understood by those who gainsay it."

Yet, while acknowledging Rome to be a true Church though in apostasy, Davenant, in his seventh question, maintains that, "Protestants cannot with a safe conscience attend the mass." "This discussion we direct against those who foolishly think

that there is no danger or sin in the act of outward communion with idolators, provided the mind itself abhors their depraved superstitions. But, indeed, every one who acts thus violates the integrity of a good conscience and sins in many ways" (ii. 257). And these several ways are then enumerated, as sins against themselves—against the brethren—against the Papists —and against God himself (ii. 259).

And still more important, in the Calvinistic controversy, do we hold the distinctions which Davenant draws between the foreknowledge of God, by which all possible consequences of good and evil were foreseen and provided for, and the necessitating or being the cause of the fall of man or any other evil; none of which evils can possibly be traced to God, who is the source of all good:—

"Foreknowledge (says Davenant) is the act of the divine understanding, whereby God in himself perceives from all eternity things about to happen in time. And this is distinguished from knowledge not in *fact* but in *relation*. For we call it *knowledge* as far as it comprehends all things; but *foreknowledge* as far as it precedes the accomplishment of things temporal, and is related to them as though they were yet future. I say future, not as to the mode of the divine intuition, but in comparison to other things, to which those which are therefore termed future succeed; for the order of the divine cognizance with regard to things is, as it were, a united presence. Moreover, since we deny this foreknowledge of God to have been the cause of the fall of man, we would have it understood not to have exerted any effective or operating cause, which either impelled our first parents to sin, or bound them under any necessity of sinning.

"This will be demonstrated, firstly, from the nature of foreknowledge itself, which regards the intellect, not the will. Now the intellect does not transmit any power of producing effects on anything apart from itself, but only perceives external things by its own internal action. Thus, everybody allows a skilful astronomer can foresee an eclipse of the sun; but no man in his senses will assert that he causes one by his foreknowledge.....That remark of Augustine is, therefore, most true: 'Since no one by the act of memory compels the performance of *past acts*, so God does not by his foreknowledge compel the performance of *future acts*'" (ii. 350).

In treating on the question of man fallen, not unfallen, being the subject of divine predestination, it is observed

"That we do not assign a real precedence or succession of views or decrees in the divine mind and will; for in God all things are seen and decreed at once from eternity: but, according to our mode of understanding things, like as things depend upon one another by a certain order, so, also, we are accustomed to apply the terms *former* or *latter* to the divine intelligence and decrees. Certainly, then, the permission of the fall, with regard to God himself, is neither before nor

after in predestination (for each of them is from eternity); yet, if we weigh the two things themselves by our mode of understanding, or in their relation to one another, we shall perceive predestination to be so allied to the fall that no one can be understood to be *predestined* unless he is supposed to be *fallen*, which remains to be demonstrated by a few arguments.

"In the first place, there occurs the consideration of Christ incarnate and predestined, who is the head of all the elect, and the bond of union between God choosing and man chosen. If then Christ himself, who is regarded the head in predestination, is destined to be incarnate as Mediator and Redeemer of the fallen, it is manifest that all they who are chosen in Christ are to be considered as in need of a Mediator and Redeemer, *i. e.*, as *fallen*.....Athanasius hath beautifully expressed it in this sentence: 'The Son of God, from the love of men, and by the will of the Father, put on created flesh, that what the first man had rendered mortal by his transgression he might quicken by his own blood.' All these things so involve and bear upon the consideration of a foreseen fall that any one may easily follow out this argument: Christ himself is predestinated to be incarnate, and sent as the Redeemer to the fallen and the miserable: therefore, men were not predestined in this incarnate Redeemer unless miserable and fallen.

"For God designed not to call *righteous persons* through Christ, but *sinners* to repentance; not to justify the *upright* in Christ, but the *ungodly* by gratuitous remission; lastly, not to renew men *living* and *healthy* by the Spirit of Christ, but those who, by ordinary birth, were *polluted* and confessedly *dead*. Therefore, they who imagine the elect to be not yet formed, or fallen, seem to me to have paid little attention to what is prepared for their predestination. For he who is designed to be healed by the medicines of spiritual grace is regarded by God as seized with spiritual diseases" (ii. 356).

We have rather exceeded our proportions in the length of these extracts; yet they give a very stinted and limited view of the nature of Davenant's arguments, which he pursues through all the ramifications of the several questions, and fortifies by numerous references to authorities and copious extracts from the fathers, more especially from Augustine, who, from his deep experience as a man and from the many forms of error which he had to combat, affords more light on the intricate and controverted questions of the grace of God, and man's ground of justification and acceptance, than the writings of all the other fathers put together would afford. And the whole may be summed up in this single sentence of Augustine:—"Since the whole mass of our race fell into condemnation in the first man, the vessels which are made out of it unto honour are not properly vessels of God's justice but of his mercy; and that others are made to dishonour is not to be assigned to partiality but to judgment, &c. God can pardon without good works, because

he is good; but he can only condemn for wicked ones, because he is just" (ii. 356. 358).

There is danger in all the questions concerning predestination, election, or any other doctrines which involve the divine attributes, and are therefore incomprehensible, because God and his ways cannot be compassed by finite intellect; and in all these questions the danger consists in the temptation they afford to turn aside from the practical part of the question which affects ourselves, to discuss the abstract part of it which has no practical bearing, and so we may lose ourselves in vague speculation. We are fallen men: we cannot rightly conceive of man save as fallen: the only part of the question in which we are practically interested is that which is limited to fallen man, and it should be narrowed still further: our enquiries should be limited to those who have heard the Gospel and are in the Church: *we* have heard of Christ: every one before whom these questions can properly come—every one who can entertain such questions with the least hope of understanding them, even to say nothing of elucidating and solving them—every one who who would read or think to any advantage on predestination, election, &c., *must be already in the Church;* for the case of the heathen or of unbelievers is to us of no more importance, and no more within the legitimate province of enquiry, than the case of man unfallen or the abstract purpose of God: every one who takes up such questions, should feel that the mere fact of their being brought under his knowledge lays him under the responsibility of regarding them as practical questions, in which he has a personal interest; that God has shewn an intention to bless him in the means of knowledge which are already put within his reach; and that, if he does not use these means to secure the fulness of the blessing, he has only himself to blame.

One of the questions discussed by Davenant is concerning diversity of degrees in the ministers of the Gospel, and especially the superiority of bishops over priests. The original diversity or disparity of ministers he establishes by shewing that Christ at first chose twelve to be nearest to himself, and have supremacy over the spiritual Israel, indicated by the promise that they should sit on twelve thrones in the kingdom of heaven: after which Christ chose other seventy disciples, to whom he gave nearly the same commission as ministers, but who were evidently inferior to the apostles during our Lord's lifetime, and who, in the work of building the Church, only prepared the way of apostles by preaching the Gospel; after whom apostles proceeded to lay hands on those who believed the word of these evangelists: as at Samaria (Acts viii. 5).

But it is in the subsequent ordinations by the apostles that the distinction between bishops and priests appears; for in the Acts of the Apostles we find that many elders or priests were ordained in every city; yet from the epistles we learn that some one in each city was regarded as president or ruler, and the distinctness and responsibility of that office of rule appears still more clearly in the epistles to the seven Churches in the Apocalypse, each city being regarded as one body or Church, the responsible head of which is called the "angel," and the Church being addressed in the person of him its head.

The Church could not be capable of a fixed organization until the body became sufficiently numerous in any place to assume something like a permanent character there, and this is the only reason why a difficulty is found in tracing settled bishops to times coeval with the apostles. St. Peter alludes to the elders that *rule well*, and are therefore entitled to double honour; and Timothy certainly exercised, in all respects, the functions of a bishop under St. Paul; while the traditions of every Church which was planted by apostles have preserved lists of their bishops in uninterrupted succession from him, who was first set over each Church by the apostle who founded it. But the apostles, themselves, at first did the work which was afterwards done by bishops, and they, being limited in number, went about from place to place, as also did Timothy and Titus, who were St. Paul's ministers and delegates. There is every reason for believing, however, that both Timothy and Titus became ultimately fixed as bishops, each in his own diocese; and it is not at all unlikely that some local bishops were appointed, even before those two became stationary. Nor is it reasonable to doubt the general tradition of the Church that James became Bishop of Jerusalem, and that one other apostle was in like manner fixed in each particular episcopate.

Davenant instances the differences between bishops and presbyters only in three particulars—one bishop in every city, but many presbyters—the power of ordination restricted to bishops—and jurisdiction over the clergy exercised by bishops alone. These are but a few of the distinctions; but a copious enumeration of them may be found in Bingham, in the third chapter of his second book of "Ecclesiastical Antiquities," with references to the authorities on which these assertions are made and these distinctions are founded. But it is quite certain that the opinion of the Church has varied at different times concerning the extent of the episcopal office, and the prerogatives of the bishop as compared with those of the priest. The tendency of Rome has been to elevate the priests

and depress the bishops, because the former could not enter into competition with the Bishop of Rome, but the latter might: while the tendency of episcopalians, who are not in communion with Rome, is to exaggerate the prerogatives of the bishop, in the desire of vindicating their independence, by making every bishop capable of doing all that a pope can do.

We close our remarks with thanks to Mr. Allport for the service he has rendered to the Church by his careful translation of so seasonable a work; and we should observe that he has rendered it more useful by the biographical and other remarks made in the notes on the matters needing explanation contained in the text, and has rendered it more available as a book of reference by a general index, an index of subjects, and an index of the texts of Scripture which have been illustrated.

It is probable we shall again have occasion to return to the subject, when Mr. Allport publishes his translation of the remaining works of Davenant.

ART. V.—*The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., Principal of the University of Glasgow from* 1637 *to* 1662. Edited from the Author's Manuscripts by DAVID LAING, Esq. In Three Vols.: Edinburgh.

THE literary history of this work is soon told. "Baillie's Letters and Journals" have been long familiar to those who have investigated the original documents of the era they describe. It was a necessary work for the historical student: Hume did not overlook it: it was known to Robertson professionally, as a member of the Church of which Baillie has left such speaking records. Members of our own Church will probably recall the name of Baillie in connection with the quotations from his pages which Dr. Wordsworth has given, in his "Ecclesiastical Biography," relative to the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly. So great was the authority attached to the narrative of Baillie that numerous manuscripts were at different times made, and in 1771 an edition was given to the press with many mistakes and still more omissions, the editor having suppressed the passages relating to the author's life, and which are some of the happiest in the volume. On the whole, however, it was the best that could then be had. It has been long out of print, and when copies were met with they brought great prices.

In 1838 the Bannatyne Club in Edinburgh resolved to print an edition for the use of the members, permitting, at the same

time, in accordance with its rules, some additional copies to be struck off in a cheaper form for general sale. The editorship was entrusted to Mr. David Laing, whose knowledge of Scottish affairs was a sufficient guarantee for its due performance.

Baillie was a man singularly qualified for such a work as he has left us. When James Boswell is represented as unique, Robert Baillie is either forgotten or unknown: the one left records of his times—the other those of an individual; but here the distinction in great measure ceases. Sometimes we are reminded of the garrulous Pepys and of other memoir writers of the same class; but the latter, for the most part, were mere observers of events—speculators on what was passing around them. Baillie, on the contrary, was an actor and no inefficient performer in the events he has chronicled. Plodding and persevering, fond of study yet still fonder of gossip, and indefatigable with his pen, Baillie mingled with the stirring spirits of the age as their equal. Without vigour to take the foremost part, and destitute, probably, of the practical ability that is necessary to head a party, he nevertheless proved an indispensable accessory to those of wider views and bolder ambition. He aided them by his ready pen, was their constant diplomatic agent, and, in short, "oiled many a spring" which more conspicuous persons moved. Once enlisted in his party, he adhered to it through good and evil—*per famam et infamiam;* and the usual fate of all partizans was his. He presents the remarkable spectacle of a man of moderate opinions and fond of an easy life carried gradually forward till, unconsciously, he becomes the advocate and abettor of the most extreme measures. Still, there was a boundary beyond which he would not advance. He was a Royalist as well as a Covenanter; and, during the usurpation of Cromwell and the triumphs of the Independents, he endured something which the worthy man might have dignified with the name of "persecution," though the worst that happened to him was a two years' silence in the Church courts, and the being confined to the duties of his professorship in Glasgow College. It required, however, amidst the abounding apostasy, some steadiness of principle to remain firm to even his modified notions of loyalty. On the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, he narrowly escaped being made his chaplain, and after the defeat at Worcester he still continued to pray publicly for him. When the majority of Presbyterians had gone over to republicanism, and *protested* against Charles being considered as the King of Scotland, Baillie was one of those who *resolved* to live under a monarchy. Thus arose the schism between the Protesters and the Resolu-

tioners—a sort of Presbyterian Guelphs and Ghibellines who filled Church and State with their contests. At the Restoration, Baillie reaped the reward of his moderation: he was appointed Principal of Glasgow College, where he had long been a regent or professor; and he lived just long enough to witness the entrance of the Archbishop of Glasgow into his diocesan capital. The first public act of his life was to oppose bishops; the last was his being obliged, in an official capacity, to entertain—we cannot say to welcome—one of the body.

Though his life in one sense may be termed fruitless, since he only assisted in the rise and culmination of a spiritual power which, after establishing itself in one country and overthrowing what opposed it in another, was in turn broken before a fiercer fanatacism, to survive in a state of mutilation to succeeding ages; yet the lessons he has left behind him, in the course of his varied correspondence, make his name of importance to those who can derive experience from the errors of others without going to school for it in their own persons; and inferior to none who have wielded the historical pen with more philosophical pretensions. The course of Providence, as displayed in a lengthened series of human affairs, ever appears to revolve in circles: we talk of a circle of events—one time answers in a strange manner to another. Sir Walter Scott supposed that some great national crisis usually occurs about the middle of each century: this may be only the imagination of the poet; but we cannot deny, as a fact, that in 1643 the seeds of a tremendous revolution were ripened—that in 1745 the country was threatened with the only serious civil war that had occurred for generations; and that in 1846—*absit omen*—there are indications in the political horizon that portend change from some quarter, and that apparently not far from the same quarter whence the lightning flashed and the thunderbolt fell two centuries ago.

Before we proceed to point out some indications of a state of society not very different from our own, it will be necessary to pass in review a few of the previous events. Our retrospect must be historical, but it will be brief.

On his accession to the throne of the two kingdoms it became, as is well known, a favourite object with James I. to bring both to a conformity with regard to their Church polity. James had suffered too much under the Presbyterian discipline to have any affection for its yoke. The conference at Hampton Court with the Puritans, as we have it described by Fuller, shows how severely he smarted under the recollection. One resource only remained—viz., to introduce episcopacy into Scot-

land; but this was to be done in subordination to his political views. The favourite policy of his reign was to unite the two kingdoms—a scheme which he imagined to be impracticable while their religious forms remained distinct.

In pursuance of this design, in 1611, he appointed bishops to the vacant Scottish dioceses, and obtained for them English ordination. This to us might seem a strong measure; but it did not appear so formidable to his northern subjects. The memory of bishops was not altogether obliterated in Scotland. There still remained in exercise so many civil rights appertaining to them that their reappointment was but the filling in a picture, the outline of which was still fresh. To this day a notary public in Scotland describes himself as "Notarius Publicus et Clericus Edinburgensis *Dioceseos*." But James went further. To conform the Scottish mode of worship to the English ritual he induced the General Assembly to pass the five canons, called, from the place where the Assembly met, the "Articles of Perth." These were—1. Kneeling at the holy Communion. 2. The private administration of the Eucharist to the sick. 3. Private Baptism. 4. Confirmation to the baptized. 5. The observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day and Whitsunday. None of these a moderate Presbyterian would now object to, and the most equivocal of them—viz., Private Baptism—the Kirk has silently adopted. But one step more remained—it was to obtain the assent of Parliament to the ratification of these canons.

Strange as it seems, James met with more opposition as to this point from the laity than from the clergy. The cause of it, however, must be sought in the indirect influence of the latter. They thought it safer and found it more effectual, because less invidious, to oppose the designs of the court in the persons of the nobility than in their own; and this again is explained, when we advert to the peculiar character of the Presbyterian ministers of that day. "Presbyter (says Milton) is but Priest writ large"—a line that unites more meaning and wit than almost any other combination of the same number of syllables. The chief ministers of Scotland were the immediate descendants of those who had overthrown the whole system of Popery when hacked up by royal power. This zeal had never flagged; nor had they had time to relax. If their spiritual enemy was defeated, they still kept up the war with its regal ally. The humiliations which James endured from the ministers of Edinburgh cannot be paralleled, except from the history of the Roman pontiffs; but they were not secularized by these fierce political struggles. They had brought to the contest

with Popery the same stern system of self-denial and endurance by which that tremendous power had first been established. The asceticism of the preachers of the new faith was fully equal to that of those who had planted Christianity on the ruins of Paganism. We are told of one that his usual practice was to spend eight hours a day in private devotion—not in the mere mechanical action of telling beads or repeating forms, but in the highest mental exercise—the energy of prayer. His death was also that of a Popish martyr, for ossification of the limbs was brought on by his long kneeling on the cold stone. Under a different creed, these men rivalled the severest penances of their Romish antagonists. What wonder, then, that they wielded a similar influence over the people? The nobles, with the exception of three or four, were all in subjection to such pastors. Nor were individuals wanting among the other sex, who, in zeal and untiring energy, equalled the saints and martyrs of the earliest times. These brought an accession of influence to the spiritual body which was powerful in the age of the "devout women not a few" who assisted in the first propagation of the Gospel, and which has occasionally been felt more or less since.

Another and more secular motive induced the nobility to adhere to Presbyterianism. At the Reformation they had been bribed into acquiesence by the plunder of the ecclesiastical property, and they looked with horror on every change that might possibly involve the necessity of their disgorging any part of these ill-gotten gains. Some years later, Charles I. endeavoured to obtain some endowment for ecclesiastical purposes out of these confiscated estates. "Against this (says Baillie) all the nobilitie did so band themselves that the King's mind was drawn clean off the designe."

The people were in this humour when a Parliament was summoned to pass into a law the "Articles of Perth." The country was in a state of great excitement: one example will show its temper. Sir John Hamilton, the Laird of Preston, one of the Lords of the Articles—a body without whose assent no new law could be laid before the Estates—refused to concur in the designs of the court. It was desirable to have his influence, which was very considerable from his high character and connexions. Many of the chief men had solicited him in vain. At length the Marquis of Hamilton, the Royal Commissioner—his kinsman and the head of his clan—in the phrase of his time, "dealt with him." To all his expostulation and arguments Sir John lent a deaf ear. "His life and land, and all that he had, were at the service of the Marquis; but he could not wittingly offend God and thereby make a hell in his

conscience." The party endeavoured at last to prevent his attendance on the day when the Parliament met; the Secretary of State sent to enquire what place he claimed in the procession. Perceiving it was intended to exclude him if he claimed his official rank, Sir John replied, "he would take such a place as should not be quarrelled;" and so mingled with the lesser barons or landed gentry. Two of the nobles who had long disputed a point of precedence merged, on that occasion, their differences, and appeared side by side to oppose the ratification of the obnoxious Articles.

When feudal pride and passion were thus subdued under the influence of higher motives, thoughtful men required no omen to prognosticate the practical failure of the measure; but to popular superstition there were not wanting signs that foretold national troubles. The day of the "riding" of the Scottish Estates was long remembered as the "Black Saturday." The Articles were indeed ratified by a considerable majority; but as the chancellor stretched forth the sceptre to touch the parchment on which they were engrossed, thereby indicating the royal assent, a thunderstorm of unusual violence broke over the place of assembly; the members separated without distinction of rank or office; and the sitting of the Estates was closed without the customary solemn procession, when the crown and sceptre were borne in front. Courtiers hailed the omen as fortunate, and spoke of the thunder and lightning which accompanied the giving of the law from Sinai; but the common people gave a different explanation—all felt the occurrence was ominous, though the real omen was in the national excitement that led men to regard such accidents at all.

Charles I. was averse from the temporising policy of his father. On principle he desired to see episcopacy established in Scotland, and in Archbishop Laud he had a coadjutor of zeal and learning to support him. Laud at first intended to introduce the English Book of Common Prayer, but this the nationality of the Scottish bishops rejected. He therefore compiled a service book for the purpose, differing from the former only in certain points which he wished to have ultimately adopted in the English Liturgy.

Before this book had been seen or even completed, a royal letter was sent to Scotland commanding "all our subjects, ecclesiastical and civil, to conform themselves to the practice thereof; it being the onlie form which we (having taken counsel of *our* clergy) think fit to be used in God's public worship there." The proclamation of the service book was made in December 1636; but so careless or treacherous were some of

those entrusted with the execution of the design that no copies of it were ready for above three months after Easter, which was the period prescribed in the proclamation for its adoption throughout the country.

The alarm which their measures produced in Scotland we may easily conceive by referring to the excitement which a recent recommendation to restore a few harmless ceremonies in our own service has occasioned: a recommendation, too, proceeding from an authorized head of the Church. But in Scotland a whole Liturgy was at once imposed on the nation without their consent, and the advice of another Church had been exclusively asked in preparing it.

It is at this stage of the narrative that we meet Mr. Baillie: he had previously given up his tutorship in Glasgow College, had accepted (as we now say) a living, had married, and in short was in a fair way of being one of the upholders of the "snug parsonage and poney-chaise system." Strange, too, as it may appear, he had been brought up in his youth by a former professor at Glasgow with a strong leaning towards passive obedience; or, in his own words, he had "drunken in from my Master Cameron in my youth that slavish tenet that all resistance to the supreme magistrate in anie case was simply unlawful."

Events followed each other rapidly. Baillie, unfortunately for his readers, was not present in Edinburgh, on July 27, 1637, when the new Liturgy was for the first time read in the cathedral. It was a scene that should have been painted by Wilkie, and a sketch of it would have been worth many of his later pictures, including even John Knox preaching before Queen Mary. The heroine of the second Reformation, who delivered Scotland from prelacy, was more suited to his genius than the apostle of the first. All the account our journalist gives is as follows:—

"So, on Sunday morning when the bishop and his dean, in the great church, began to *officiate*, as they speak, incontinent the serving maids began such a tumult as was never heard of since the Reformation. However, no wound was given to anie; yet such was the contumelies in words, in clamours, runnings, and flinging of stones in the eyes of the magistrates and chancellor himself, that a little opposition would infallibly have moved the enraged people to have rent sundry of the bishops in pieces."

This description appears to us as meagre and unsatisfactory as the summary apology made by the Vicar of Wakefield's daughters for their non-appearance at Church — "We were thrown from our horses." Both are statements equally unlike

the real occurrence. Jenny Geddes was no serving-maid, but a woman who kept a stall in the vegetable market, well known and "like esteemed" by the chief persons of her persuasion. Whether the tumult was an extempore outbreak of prejudice on the part of the rabble, or a scheme concerted by the heads of the Presbyterian party, historians still dispute. It is of no real consequence; for, had the public mind not been in a high state of excitement, no explosion would have followed, whoever had laid the train. The service on that eventful morning proceeded, we are told, without interruption, till the dean announced the collect for the day. "I'll collec ye," was the exclamation of Jenny Geddes, who immediately made the three-footed stool on which she sat follow the words to the ear of the dean. If, in the language of Baillie, "no wounds were given," it was not Jenny's fault, but the dean's good fortune, or rather dexterity in avoiding the missile. On this signal being given a shower of Bibles, all of them with clasps, and most probably with wooden boards, fell on the heads of the officiating clergymen and magistrates. Public worship was entirely suspended, and, as Baillie intimates, the bishop had to seek his safety in flight from the hands of so unruly a flock.

Such was the disgraceful scene of profane violence that ushered in a long course of changes both in Church and State. What followed is matter of public history. It is observable that Baillie had some compunctions before he signed the Solemn League and Covenant. If he had taken no oath, he at least felt himself bound to obey bishops in everything that did not hurt his conscience; and we cannot, therefore, wonder at a slight hesitation before lending himself by a vow to extirpate episcopacy. But he signed, as others have signed before and after him, and was returned a member of the celebrated General Assembly that met at Glasgow in 1638.

We must pass rapidly over the events subsequent to the General Assembly of 1638. The Covenanters soon after appeared in arms on Dunse Law, led by General Leslie. On this occasion Baillie, laying aside the principles of passive obedience he had imbibed in his youth from Monsieur Cameron, as he calls him, begirt himself with a sword and a couple of Dutch pistols at his saddle, "for the offence of no man except a robber in the way," and so "I (quoth the wren) was then amongst the rest."

But Baillie was soon called to more important services. His talents and willingness to work had impressed his party so favourably that, after the infraction of the hollow pacification in 1639, and the advance of the Covenanters into England, he

was sent for to Newcastle, and there nominated one of the commissioners who would proceed to London, in order to arrange new terms of accommodation with the king. His clerical associates were Henderson, Blair, and Gillespie—the latter of whom was afterwards immortalized by Milton in one of his sonnets under the name of "Gallasp." We pass over his account of the journey which he sent punctually to his wife. It is abundantly curious as a description of the times. The inns were even at that period palaces; but the charges appeared to our travellers enormous. They entered London on the morning of November 16, 1640, and on the evening of the same day another actor in this eventful drama also arrived. The *Court Newsman* of that day might have reported the arrival of "the Rev. Messrs. Henderson, Blair, Baillie, and Gillespie from the north; and of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from the seat of Government in Dublin." It is not likely they passed each other on the road; for the Peer would probably travel faster than the Presbyterians. But if he followed them on that day, they followed him ever afterwards, during the remainder of his career, with implacable eagerness, even till, in Baillie's language, they saw "his head stricken off by an axe."

To a mind so prying, and so indefatigable in seeking the good it enjoyed, London was an inexhaustible field of observation. His journals have become so generally interesting that it is difficult to make a selection. We will attend as much as possible to the ecclesiastical picture of the times. If any one doubts Clarendon's statement that, even at that early period, a strong party was formed which aimed at nothing less than the entire subversion of episcopacy, let him read some of the numerous entries of this date which Baillie records, remembering that he and his countrymen were pledged beyond recal to extirpate bishops wherever they found them. This also must not be forgotten—that Baillie and his companions were commissioners from an independent state; and, consequently, had no more business to intermeddle with the affairs of another than the Canterburians, as he calls them, had to interfere with the ecclesiastical privileges of the Scotch. That one party infringed the rule of right was no excuse for the excesses of the other in an opposite direction.

Our extracts are made without any other connection than that of time:—

"All things here goes on as our heart could wish. The Lieutenant of Ireland came but on Monday to town late; on Tuesday rested; on Wednesday came to Parliament; but, ere night, was *caged*. ..... We are entirely welcome here. The Parliament has granted one

hundred pounds sterling, whereof we shall have near forty in present money to pay our army six weeks, without prejudice to exact what, according to our bargain, is due to us from the four shires.

"Episcopacy itself beginning to be cried down, and a covenant cried up, and the liturgy to be scorned. The town of London and a world of men mind to present a petition, which I have seen, for the abolition of bishops, deans, and all their appurtenances. It is thought good to delay it till the Parliament have pulled down Canterburie and some prime bishops, which they mind to do so soon as the king has a little digested the bitterness of his lieutenant's censure. All here are weary of bishops."

These expressions occur in a letter to his wife. Is this the same man who three years before wrote—"*Bishops I love!*" Again, in another letter about the same date to his northern constituents:—

"Sey and Brock, in the Higher House, and these alone, and some leading men in the Lower, were suspected, by their inclination to the Separists (*i.e.*, the Independents), would divide from the Presbyterians, and so weaken the party opposed to bishops; but so far as yet can be perceived that party inclinable to separation (Independency) will not be considerable; and, whatever it be, these and the rest who are for the Scots discipline do amicably *conspire in one* to overthrow bishops and ceremonies, hoping, when these *rudera* are put away, that they shall well agree to build a new house, when the ground is well sweeped."

Alas, for mortal blindness!

"The people throng to our sermons as ever you saw any to Irwin communion. The crowd daylie increases. Six of us, Mr. Blair, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Borthwick, Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Smith, and I preaches our tour about on Sunday and Thursday. In my last tour—on Psalm cxxvi.—'*The Lord hath done great things for us*'—I spent much of one hour in an historical narrative, the best I could pen, of all that God had done for us, from the maid's commotion in the cathedral of Edinburgh to that present day. Many tears of compassion and joy did fall from the eyes of the English."

Lord Clarendon fully corroborates the fact of this great pulpit popularity. Curiosity and the spirit of faction will account sufficiently for the crowds, "so that the church of St. Antholin's, when they preached, was never empty from daybreak on Sunday till night." Their sermons clearly were of the kind which Swift said he preached—"political pamphlets." Clarendon adds that their style of preaching, "except to palates and appetites ridiculously corrupted, was the most insipid and flat that could be delivered on any deliberation." This judgment has been complained of as the result of prejudice; but, perhaps, there was considerable truth in it. Several of the preachers

named were eminent men; and probably, had they preached in the style of pulpit oratory to which Clarendon was accustomed, they might not have been so effective. It is nothing to say that their printed sermons, delivered before the House of Commons, are not inferior to any of the age: it may be so; but these last, it should be remembered, were preached several years after this period, when Baillie and Henderson had become acquainted with the English style of composition; and cannot, therefore, be taken as a fair specimen of their pulpit addresses when they came fresh from the north. The accounts are not inconsistent. Fancy Mr. Hyde and his friend, Lord Falkland, taking a walk to the city some Sunday morning, out of curiosity to hear the celebrated Scotch preachers: it happens to be Mr. Baillie's "tour:" after listening for an hour to "an historical narrative of the maid's commotion in the cathedral of Edinburgh," would they not be likely to pronounce the sermon—considered, that is, as a sermon—"insipid and flat," and still be without any undue measure of preference for the great preachers who then were or had been popular in England? Crabbe the poet, in much more favourable circumstances, after attending the Presbyterian service in Edinburgh, pronounced it "bald and bad."

Baillie's attention was now fixed on the proceedings of the House of Commons:—

"One of these days they are to cast down the cathedral deaneries and prebendaries; also to spoil them of their usurped ordination and jurisdiction: to erect presbyteries in all the land, and distribute, in one equal proportion, the rents among all the paroches for preaching ministers. When episcopacie is thus made a poor plucked crow, whether our paper, or the city's and many others, will at this time get the neck of it *clean thrawn aff*, only God does know. But the great 'remora' (as Baillie says) to the realizing these visions is the head of Strafford: as for poor Canterburie, he is so contemptible that all cast him by out of their thoughts as a pendicle at the lieutenant's ear."

The savage manner in which he speaks of Strafford shows how soon the nature of a kind-hearted man can be altered by faction:—"This day the carpenters are busy to set up the seats for both the Houses: when that is done, the lieutenant must come to his sentence, and then all affairs will run."

After these stirring events we are little inclined to follow our journalist through the obscure transactions which embroiled the Kirk on his return to Scotland. In all of them Baillie still shows himself the useful and hardworking partizan. We shall take him up on his second visit to London, still in a public capacity. The English Parliament was now at open variance with the Sovereign, and in the war that ensued their affairs be-

came so desperate that they bethought them of calling in the Scots to act as a diversion. On one condition only was their co-operation to be obtained—the Solemn League and Covenant was to be adopted, and Presbyterianism to be established throughout the kingdom. These were hard terms for the rising sect of the Independents; but there seemed no alternative. Sir Henry Vane and others were sent to make the best arrangement they could. It was agreed in the name of the Parliament that the Church government should be established "according to the word of God;" and the Presbyterians, who maintained the divine right of Presbytery, thought nothing more was needed. The "Assembly of Divines," so called, had been summoned to meet at Westminster, July 1, 1643; four clerical commissioners (Baillie being one of them), and three lay elders were invited to join them from Scotland.

The constitution and composition of this body are not generally known. It was summoned by an ordinance of Parliament, not in the form of a convocation or synod of any known Church, but as consisting of men of all parties and of every persuasion. They were by no means all "divines," in the usual sense of the word—many were laymen, mostly members of Parliament. It, in fact, resembled the "Parliamentary Commissions" of which we have of late seen so many. Were the Ecclesiastical Commission, for instance, composed of bishops and members of the existing Government—empowered to decide on the doctrines and discipline of the English Church—this would afford a fair representation of the constitution of the famed "Assembly of Divines." Each resolution to which they came was examined and agreed to by Parliament before it could have authority. It is one of the most glaring inconsistencies of Baillie and his co-adjutors that, but a few years before they had sat in their own General Assembly, which had declared its meetings lawful against the prohibition of the King; and now they had joined another, that was bound hand and foot by the civil power, and where each separate resolution had to receive the sanction of the State. If this be not Erastianism, it is difficult to say what is.

In spite of all external supports, it became every day more evident that Presbyterianism was wholly irreconcileable with the genius of British liberty. There are only three possible relations in which the Church and State can stand to each other: the State may be subordinate to the Church, or the Church to the State, or both may be independent. The last—as a mere paper speculation, impossible to be realized in practice—may be thrown aside. The first was the bold claim equally of the

Romish usurpation and of the Presbyterian tyranny. The condition of a small canton, like Geneva, enabled Calvin to carry this theory to absolute perfection: similar circumstances in Scotland produced for a time the like result. The English Church on the contrary, together with the Gallican Church, has been invariably opposed to ecclesiastical supremacy: both have been ever ready to allow large privileges to the civil power. In France the constant struggle on the part of the Parliament was to narrow the power of the Pope; in England, happy for us, his usurped dominion was at once thrown off, we trust for ever. In taking security that the occupant of the throne should always be one of her members, the Church could with safety entrust all her civil rights to his guardianship; and so long as the Test and Corporation Acts existed in the statute book no flaw could be found in her theory of a Church Establishment. What may be the case now is foreign to our enquiry; but much of the uneasiness that has been felt for some years past derives its origin from the repeal of these laws. The connection between the symptoms and the disease may be obscure, but it is not the less real. To ascertain the proper remedy is now the pressing problem of our times: Popery and Presbytery have never felt this difficulty: their claims are well defined—the only point is to get them established. This is the reason why these two "sects" have always been the troubles of the peace of States. The English Church, even when wronged and apparently most injured in principle, has continually maintained an attitude of deference to the civil power. "The powers that be are ordained of God," has been ever her watchword, even in seasons when some of her members, in their zeal for her honour, may have thought her cold and inactive. Most needless is it to point out the occasions when the Church of Rome has unduly interfered with the kingdoms of the world; but, should any one doubt that the same leaven works in Presbyterianism, let him only look at the times when the Kirk has been in great vigour—not as she slumbered during the last century, owing her escape from the neology of Germany mainly to her want of learning, and to the having for her neighbour an orthodox Church. Into this condition of semi-infidelity Geneva had sunk by contact with the continental Protestants. We are glad to learn there are symptoms of a revival in that quarter, as the daughter—the Kirk of Scotland—may be said to have revived too. But should the time ever come when the parent religious Establishment shall look beyond the personal religion of her members, and attempt to restore the efficiency of her discipline, then there can be no doubt that the same struggle

with the civil power will be exhibited in Geneva that in our own time is shaking Scotland to its centre.

It was a bold attempt of the Presbyterians to endeavour to fix the yoke of their discipline on the neck of another country while as yet it was hardly riveted on their own. The attempt, however, was a failure, and Baillie shows in every page how impossible it was it could be otherwise. One universal outcry against "the forcers of conscience" arose, and long swelled the clamour of a thousand throats, which agreed in no other note. Milton wrote his "Apology for Unlicensed Printing," and Jeremy Taylor his "Liberty of Prophesying"—a work which, written by an Episcopalian and a High Churchman, was carried across the Atlantic by those who, for liberty of conscience, became voluntary exiles from their native land.*

Baillie's labours in London were now drawing to aclose. The year 1646 witnessed the ruin of the royal army, and the king himself obliged to surrender to the Scotch. He was now at Newcastle, and Henderson, one of the Scotch commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, had gone to join him, for the purpose of inducing him to take the covenant. The conferences he held with that "grey discrowned head" are well known; the least that can be said of them is, that they shew the king to have been attached to episcopacy on principle, and to have been its able defender: that Henderson was silenced by his royal antagonist, and died of vexation need not be believed for the sake of enhancing the king's character. Salmasius and Milton might boast—the one of blinding, the other of killing his opponent; the fair fame of Charles would but be blemished by such victories. The veteran polemic, no doubt, displayed the skill of his art, and even though vanquished continued to argue. It is a fact, however, that he did not long survive his visit to Newcastle: worn out with labour he returned to Scotland, and shortly after the second John Knox, as his friends delighted to call him, died. The reports which Clarendon has preserved, that Henderson was defeated in argument by the king, were however early spread: Baillie alludes to them, of course only to discountenance them—still it should be remembered that neither he nor Clarendon were on the spot; so could not personally

* The evidence for this is indirect, but not the less conclusive. Franklin found in New England the "Apologue," which controversy has rendered famous, "of Abraham and the Old Idolater." It occurs on the last page of Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying." So little was the book known that Franklin could dress up the tale in modern language, and send it to Lord Kames as his own. It passed undetected for many years. The echo of Taylor's works thus remained in America, while its voice had been lost in his own country.

know the circumstances: and, in another letter, Baillie distinctly states—"Mr. Henderson is dying most of *heartbreak* at Newcastle." We have pointed out the conflicting evidence and hinted how our own opinion leans. The reader may draw his own conclusion.

"Our army" had now done its part. Arrangements were to be made for disbanding it, and the celebrated sum it was to receive as pay was to be determined. Baillie says—"Their first offer to us was of one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the disbanding of our army. We this day gave them in a paper, wherein we were peremptorie for more than double that sum for the present, beside the huge sums which we crave to be payed afterwards." The Commons appointed a committee which agreed to these terms! It is not generally known how this "huge sum" was raised. Our journalist lets us into the secret:—"The last ordinance about *the sale of the bishops' lands* passed yesterday. *It is now thought that the money for our army will be quickly gotten*;" and again, more in detail:—

"It was my dear friend Dr. Burgess's singular invention that all who contribute to this sum should have also much of his old debt, with all the annual rents (interest) counted to him, and for all have *a good pennyworth of the Bishops' lands*. By this means we get the bishops' lands on our backs without any grudge, and in a way that no skill will get them back again."

The only odd thing about this arrangement is that it should be called "singular." Nothing is more natural than that those who have slain should also take possession. Every thing thus settled to his mind, our journalist marches home with the bishops' lands on his back, to give an account of his long mission to his constituents in Scotland. If his "Canterburians" did not sell, he might console himself with the reflection that the archbishop's lands did.

But Baillie carried something else with him for the approval of the Kirk, which has been of more importance to the people of Scotland than many times the sum in consideration of which their army evacuated England. The "Book of Discipline" had already received the sanction of the General Assembly: they were now asked to adopt the "Confession of Faith" and the "Catechism," as these had been drawn up by the Westminster divines. These two works have ever since contributed to fix the creed and to form the mind of the nation. Whatever objections a theologian may make to the solution of the many obscure and intricate questions that are therein determined, he will be obliged to own that, in completeness and compactness of

system, the "Confession of Faith" stands unrivalled in modern dogmatic divinity. If the conclusion in any particular case is to be objected to, it must be done by denying the premises; for very seldom will there be found a flaw in the mere reasoning. Few of the schoolmen have ever forged so irrefragable a chain of logic as that which binds together the propositions in the "Confession of Faith." But this work was intended to embody the articles of the Presbyterian creed, and for the study of professed theologians. Its influence over the body of the people has been limited in comparison with that exerted by the "Catechism." This latter was appointed to be taught in all schools, and never was a command more punctually obeyed. From the period of its first introduction until very lately—since the population has outgrown the means of instruction provided by the Kirk—this "Catechism" was taught to every boy and girl that learned to read throughout the kingdom—in other words, to nearly every child within it. Whatever may be thought of the "Catechism" as a body of divinity, it cannot be denied it is a body of metaphysics. Subjects of the deepest obscurity, that are never elsewhere touched upon in elementary instruction, are here propounded with scientific accuracy. Fate, freewill, election, perseverance, are all brought before the child's mind, and he has at least to commit to memory the language in which they are embodied. That hundreds of children learn the words without perceiving a glimmering of meaning is inevitable; but of the rest some comprehend all that can be comprehended, others understand a part, and all acquire a technical language which influences their thoughts and unconsciously forms their notions. The man cannot help thinking in the scholastic phrases which, by constant repetition in childhood, have become a part of his mental constitution. The "Shorter Catechism" is a most beautiful specimen of rigid analysis. It begins, with Aristotelic precision and in Aristotelic terminology, by defining what is the "*Chief End of Man*;" and it proceeds, without dropping a link, to name and to distinguish the conditions necessary for attaining it. The modes of thought of its compilers had been formed by the school logic, and they have deposited much of its phraseology and many of its subtlest distinctions in the mind and language of their countrymen. Such an education, applied universally and for many generations, could not but produce some effect; and accordingly we think it has, as one result at least, communicated to the nation at large that tendency to abstract reasoning which has come to be considered as its characteristic. Many suppose that there is something in the air he breathes, or the oatmeal that he eats, which gives a

Scotchman this bent to speculation; but it is in his "Catechism," not in his porridge, that the cause will be found. Previously to the Reformation there is no appearance of such a national turn of thought. Even so late as the commencement of the last century, Swift, in particularising the foibles and peculiarities of different countries, ascribes to the Scotch a love of telling anecdotes in conversation—the lowest degree surely of intellectual life—when a story from Mr. A. reminds Mr. B. of another, and so the talk proceeds without any link of connection, except an occasional catchword. It is probable that Swift had only met with such persons as were either too old to have been subjected to this educational discipline, or who, belonging to the episcopal Church, had never been brought under it. A generation or two later, and the soil of the Scottish mind was found to be deeply impregnated with the tuition in question.

Baillie had now made his way back to Glasgow College, in the capacity of divinity professor. On a vacancy occurring in the headship his claims were overlooked, and a principal was appointed whose views coincided with Cromwell's government. A series of disputes arose in the college, not unlike those (to compare small things together) which vexed Trinity College during the mastership of Dr. Bentley. In the former case, however, there was no law court to which the recalcitrant professor might appeal, and the strife was consequently confined within academic walls. Baillie carried some of the professors along with him, and they contented themselves with protesting against the acts of their brethren, and absenting themselves on fit occasions from the usual college meetings. Some of the charges urged against Principal Gillespie (not the "Gallasp" of Milton) remind us of those brought by the rebellious Fellows of Trinity against their celebrated master. Gillespie was fond of building, and pulled down the professor's old houses to build them new ones, and generally adorned the college by architectural innovations. In these the college funds were first exhausted, and next a debt was incurred. A stop, however, was put to these evils, when, at the Restoration, Cromwell's nominee was ousted, and Baillie substituted in his place. In order to liquidate the debt, Baillie applied to Charles II. for payment of a sum of money which had been promised to the college by his munificent father. The new principal took no notice of its having been already paid by Cromwell! This curious instance of loyalty, in refusing to acknowledge the acts of an usurper, is slily pointed out by the accurate editor, and is almost the only instance in which he seems to fail in the filial reverence which is due by a commentator to his author. How-

ever, our journalist may not have known the circumstance—at all events, we may be pretty sure that the alleged debt was never discharged.

As divinity professor and principal, Baillie would naturally exert a powerful influence on the rising intellects of the age. There is an eloquent passage in the "Prælectiones" of Leighton—that model of modern latinity—where ideas that never entered the minds of the Roman philosophers are expressed in language which they would at once have recognized as their own—a passage in which he asserts the superiority of those who educate the clergy over those who are employed in the discharge of parochial duty. We would recommend it to the attention of such ordained tutors in Oxford and Cambridge as may find themselves, however indirectly, involved in the former predicament. What kind of theology our professor taught may be understood from what has been already related of his share in the preparation of the "Confession of Faith" and of the "Catechism." His notion of practical divinity may be taken from the following extract, which occurs in the early part of his journals. Mr. Nye, the Independent minister, had accompanied Sir Henry Vane in his celebrated mission to Scotland: he preached in Edinburgh, and Baillie gives this account of the service:—

"His voice was clamorous: he touched neither *in prayer nor preaching the common business:* he read much out of a paper book: all his sermon was on the common head of a spiritual life, wherein he ran out, above all our understanding, upon a knowledge of God as God, without the Scripture, without grace, without Christ."

The theologian will be able to detect the exaggeration of this description: when it was required thus to "pray and preach the common business," we can understand Leighton's reply to those who brought against him the same charge—"When our brethren preach on the things of time, may not one poor brother be allowed to preach on those of eternity?" But, as we have already remarked, a class of minds was silently forming in reaction to this narrow dogmatic teaching. At the head of them indisputably was Leighton. Too indifferent to all external forms, he had been selected, by those who opposed the rigid Presbyterians, to become the Principal of Edinburgh College.

A change was clearly taking place in the style of pulpit theology. The generation to which Baillie belonged had been superseded by younger men, who had taken their models from a different period. The fountain at which Leighton drank was the early fathers and the primitive ages of the Church, and his

contemporaries were only in doubt whether he was "a papist or an atheist." Others too were imitating him, as he imitated the fathers.

The now dominant party in the Kirk of Scotland maintain the principles of ecclesiastical government of the Presbyterian school, while they affect the theology of the latter. They are a sort of eclectic divines; but in all practical matters eclecticism is inconsistency. They must not claim descent from the original covenanting stock, and celebrate the bicentenary commemoration of Jenny Geddes's reformation—as they did a few years ago—without being also prepared to adopt the whole of the principles then contended for. They may find it convenient to revive the claims of the Covenanters with respect to ecclesiastical power—claims which, with the consent of all moderate persons, have for long remained in abeyance. Are they prepared, in the new "platform" they seek to erect, to carry out the discipline and perpetuate the theology of the men whom they profess to revere as their "spiritual fathers?" This line of thought would lead us farther than we are inclined to go; for it does not apply to Scotland without having some reference to the present circumstances of our own Church.

We would remind our readers that the Anglican Church does not recognize the infallibility of her reformers: she reposes on far higher grounds. Still less is the Church of Laud the Church of Christ. We may be secure though rival schools engage in deadly controversy, certain that a Church which professes to be founded "on apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone," has nothing ultimately to fear from the violence of parties. One view of truth may be more strongly asserted at one time than at another: one party may look back with regret to past ages; while another remembers that the nineteenth century is not the sixteenth, still less the eleventh or twelfth. Yet there is one bond common to all—*the recognition of episcopacy as a centre.* It is often overlooked that schism is only possible *in a true Church:* sects may separate, break up, subdivide; but schismatics relatively to each other they can never be. It is from the prevalence of sectarianism, there is too great cause to fear, that the sin of schism is so generally forgotten, if not denied. Certainly among sectarians, as it regards themselves, it is a *vitium perditum*—a forgotten vice, like a lost art.

We have little more to say of Baillie, considered as a public character. A few personal notices of himself will conclude our remarks.

He was born in the "Saltmarket"—a street, his editor tells

us, well known in Glasgow—"the birthplace of two principals of the university, and which has obtained greater celebrity from a fictitious character introduced into a work known to every one." Sir Walter Scott was one evening at the theatre introduced to a stranger, after Kemble had been enacting *Cato*, who he was told had never before happened to see Kemble, or *Cato*, or Scott himself. "That reminds me (was the ready reply) of an Indian chief, in one of Goldsmith's essays, who thought the three finest things in the universe were the sun, and the moon, and a brass-hilted sword." The modesty of the great novelist might have suggested a similar comparison, if he had read, as here, of the Saltmarket being the birthplace "of two principals of the university and of *Nicol Jarvie*." There must, however, be a peculiar raciness in the air of that street, inasmuch as we have been frequently reminded of that illustrious magistrate in perusing Baillie's pages, before we knew the fact that accounted for the similarity. The phrases he uses and the illustrations he employs are all redolent of that locality; and, if *Baillie Nicol Jarvie* had ever favoured the world with his views on Church questions, they would no doubt have read like a page of *our* Baillie's "Journal." Those who love odd words and quaint allusions will find a mine in these volumes. Baillie was of a respectable family, though not connected, as is sometimes supposed, with the Baillies of Jerviswood. His descendants were nevertheless distinguished in their own rank: his last female representative, we grieve to say, is a papist, and has married abroad. She possesses, if it still be in existence, the silver cup that was presented to Baillie by the Parliament or by the Assembly of Divines, we are not sure which, for his labours in London. The "testimonial of respect" may possibly be mentioned in some of the religious journals of the period.

But there was a far more conspicuous personage with whom Baillie was intimate. "If misery (as the poet assures us) acquaints us with strange bedfellows," faction introduces its votaries to equally strange associates. John, Lord Maitland, Earl and afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, is one of those ambiguous characters sometimes met with in history, whose later life so contradicts their earlier, and both periods are so strongly drawn by contemporaries, as to make it almost impossible to determine the real character of the man. Burnet's description of him, when chief governor of Scotland, is well known, from its having been adopted by Sir Walter Scott in "Old Mortality:"—"He made a very ill appearance: he was very big: his hair red, hanging oddly about him: his tongue was too big for his mouth,

which made him bedew all he talked to; and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a court." Lord Chesterfield, in his portrait of a literary ogre, is not more personal towards Dr. Johnson than is the bishop to Lord Lauderdale in this picturesque sketch. But Burnet honestly avows that they were at enmity: in fact, he appears to have fled from his native Scotland through fear of Lauderdale's vengeance. Yet this was the nobleman with whom Baillie corresponded confidentially through a long and stormy period. When intercourse was dangerous, they used fictitious names; and "John Reid" and "Jameson" communicated with each other on affairs of Church and State in terms of the greatest familiarity. "You are an old mason (says he to John Reid) and may be one again"—alluding to Lauderdale's early efforts in support of the Covenant. And again:—"Do me the favour to put all my letters in Vulcan's or honest Jacchœus's custody.

At the Restoration, Baillie had some suspicions that Lauderdale, like Sharpe, another of his intimates, was deserting the cause of the Presbyterians; but Burnet distinctly states that he was always firm to his opinions, and was consequently looked upon as a lukewarm supporter of the new bishops. We have no desire to extenuate the cruelties perpetrated on the unhappy Covenanters by the Government of Charles II. They produced an incalculable amount of present misery, and roused feelings of theological hatred which still fester. Still, it should be recollected that the prime agent, if not the adviser of these excesses, was one of themselves—known to be so by the court—and, therefore, more readily listened to when he counselled harsh measures. It might be supposed he knew the case, and that milder treatment would be without effect. For a layman, Lauderdale was an accomplished theologian. He relieved the weary hours of a long imprisonment in the Tower, from the battle of Worcester to the Restoration, by the translation of works of devotion. Burnet owns that he once had "great impressions of religion," and we see no reason for supposing that power had entirely effaced them, except it be the bishop's own assertion, and he might have thought that a strong dislike to himself was a marked symptom of reprobation. If so, many good men have shared in the same condemnation with the Duke of Lauderdale. The letters that passed between Baillie and him, while the latter was confined in the Tower, may be read for edification: they furnish passages with which those who publish consolatory letters to the afflicted might not unprofitably enrich their collections. The truth seems to be that persecution for religious opinions was the universal vice of that age; and

this evil was aggravated by the harsh character and the implacable animosity of parties almost evenly balanced—the one smarting from recent injuries, the other fierce with the remembrances of their lately won triumphs. A more miserable scene than Scotland presented at this period was probably not to be found in any country, civilized or savage.

It is to the Duke of Lauderdale, at least to his administration, that the great schism among the Presbyterians is to be attributed. The episcopal clergy, then the only Established Church, were too few to fill the vacant benefices: it is to be feared that many of them were unfit for their position. It was accordingly suggested that those Presbyterians who should take the oaths to Government, and recognize its authority, should be appointed to the charge of such parishes as were without pastoral superintendence, and the most moderate of the party assented to these terms. Then began an internecine war between those who accepted and those who refused these offers, more inveterate, if possible, than that which they had waged together against the common foe. The men who rejected all compromise with an uncovenanted king traversed the country as religious agitators, exciting the parishioners of the "indulged ministers" against their pastors, calling them in ridicule "King's Curates," in contrast to the "Bishops' Curates"—the episcopal clergy. This "black indulgence," as the Act was popularly called, produced a long train of consequences. The inflexible Covenanters were persecuted with tenfold bitterness, and Lauderdale and the "indulged ministers" were not among the most backward in enforcing the civil penalties. These were partially relaxed by the insidious policy of James II., who offered entire toleration to Dissenters for the purpose of introducing Popery. At the Revolution, the Church of Scotland was found in this condition. William III., we are assured by Burnet, would have supported episcopacy, being desirous of an uniformity throughout his dominions; but the bishops and clergy unanimously refused to take the oath of allegiance, thus putting themselves out of the pale of civil government equally with the fanatical Covenanters. The only party who would agree to the terms offered by William were the moderate Presbyterians, who had already tasted the sweets of an Establishment. The rigid Covenanters, on the other hand—sometimes known by the names of their leaders, as "Cameronians" and so forth—resolutely opposed the revolution "Settlement." They were a powerful body, and long gave disquiet to the civil power, as being suspected of an inclination to join with the Jacobites to restore the Stuarts; under the last of whom, indeed, they were no worse off than their

neighbours. They still, we understand, exist as a small and obscure sect and quiet subjects, though they will acknowledge neither queen nor magistrate who has not taken the Covenant. Not later than the middle of the last century an individual of this persuasion refused to take an oath before Boswell's father, Lord Auchinleck, alleging that his Lordship was an "uncovenanted magistrate."—"Is that a' your objection, mon? (said the judge)—come your ways in here, an' we'll baith tak' the Solemn League and Covenant thegither." It must have been a mere formality to one of the parties concerned, and it shews how complete a *brutum fulmen* this once dreaded Presbyterian thunderbolt had become.

Meanwhile the Kirk, now established, silently dropped such of her tenets as might involve her in civil penalties. The high claims of pure Presbyterianism were abandoned; and, when taunted with this defection by their uncompromising brethren, had little to urge except the expediency of doing so, and to point to the usefulness of their parochial ministrations—a boast which, if sometimes repeated too loudly and too often, is yet by no means without foundation. This discrepancy, however, between the standards of the Kirk and the practice of her ministers, was not unfelt by many, who found their position not an easy one. The sore was skinned over rather than healed; and, at every change of the political atmosphere, the symptoms would recur and the wound break out afresh.

"I hae kend a minister (says the Town-Clerk in the 'Heart of Mid Lothian') wha wad be fair gude day and fair gude e'en wi' ilka man in the parish, and hang just as quiet as a rocket on a stick, till ye mentioned the word abjuration oath, or *patronage*, or sicklike—and then—whiz! he was aff, and up in the air, a hundred miles beyond common manners, common sense, and common apprehension."

In truth, ever since its establishment, two parties, with hostile views relating to ecclesiastical government, have been struggling in the Kirk; and whether Esau or Jacob shall obtain the birthright has not yet fallen within the province of the historian.

——adhuc sub judice lis est.

On the whole, our estimate of Baillie's writings is much higher than our estimate of the man. We have many among ourselves with his faults and his foibles, his natural industry, his shrewdness and practical facility, with his steady hand in business and his keen eye for his neighbour's and his own advantage; but in the disputed parts of history, taking him all in all, "there are few such faithful chroniclers as Griffiths is;" who, in his candour or obtuseness, has given a fair transcript of his own character; and, making an abatement for the unavoidable bias of party prejudice, a representation at once true and vivid of his times.

ART. VI.—*History of Civilization.* By WILLIAM ALEXANDER MACKINNON, F.R.S., M.P. Two vols. London: Longman. 1846.

CIVILIZATION, simple word as it seems, is variously interpreted, and almost every class or creed of men attaches its own meaning to the term. With a certain class, including not a few, civilization and refinement are convertible terms: with others advancement in science, art, or manufactures, is the criterion of civilization. Now, to our thinking, these, which are held to be synonymous with civilization, though they may be its concomitants, are not the tests of it. There can be little doubt that the Egyptians had, at one time, attained to a very high pitch in many branches of science. Take, for instance, the pyramids, which, apart even from the purposes for which they were erected, are a puzzle and a problem to this day. By what known or conceivable power of mechanics could the immense blocks of stone of which they are composed have been elevated to their present position?—and the pyramids form but one of the marvels which baffle modern conjecture. And yet we find the Egyptians, who had witnessed so many and such awful manifestations of the power of the one true God, given over to the grossest idolatry. Look again to Pompeii: there can be as little doubt, judging from the fragments which modern research has rescued from oblivion, that in some of the arts a marvellous proficiency had been attained; and it is equally evident that the Pompeians carried luxury to a point of refinement rarely reached by any nation, ancient or modern; and yet they were sunk in the lowest depths of sensuality and vice.

So various, therefore, and we may add, so questionable and dangerous, are modern notions of civilization, that it is with something like suspicion we take up a volume professing to treat on the subject. Happily, as respects the work before us, this feeling is very soon relieved. An "Introduction" to a book, like an introduction to a stranger, is sometimes sufficient to decide us as to the propriety of cultivating a farther acquaintance. In the second page of Mr. Mackinnon's "Introduction," it is put forth as a fundamental principle that civilization is "formed and gains strength according to the information, moral principle (*based on religious faith*), facility of communication, and amount of wealth possessed by individuals composing a community. These elements (the author adds) we shall style the requisites for civilization." Now, however much we might on other and minor points differ from him, the writer who starts by asserting

that *religious faith* is essential to civilization at once establishes his claim to our attention to the end of his essay.

Mr. Mackinnon commences by stating that civilization and public opinion depend on each other, though they do not co-exist exactly in an equal proportion; "the latter, however (he adds), depends so much on the former, that the history of one includes, in some degree, the history of the other."

"Civilization (he continues), uninfluenced by public opinion, has been recognized, to a certain extent, at various eras in different parts of the world. It is said to have been found in the Grecian republics, in the Augustan age of Rome, and during the reign of Louis XIV., in France; but at neither of these periods do we discover that diffused and all-reaching civilization which can alone exalt the destiny of nations, give comfort to nearly every class, and make each man feel that, in his degree, he has a stake in the country to which he belongs."

It is quite clear that the point of civilization, indicated in the last clause of the paragraph we have quoted, has not yet been attained in any nation or under any form of government with which we are acquainted. With regard to public opinion, which the author designates as a sort of trust held by the middle class of society, and usually exercised for the benefit of all, he declares himself in a passage so full of sound sense and discrimination that we will quote it entire:—

"Before we proceed, it will be necessary to distinguish between popular clamour and public opinion, words often confounded with, and mistaken for, each other, yet essentially different, and emanating from totally opposite causes. Public opinion is powerful in a community where the requisites for its formation are spread among the people; that is, where moral principle, information, wealth, and facility of communication exist, and where the middle class is extensive. On the contrary, popular clamour is influential in proportion as the lower class is numerous, ignorant, poor, and fanatical. Popular clamour is an excitement created by, and exercising influence on, the passions of the multitude, who usually form rash resolves, and act without reflection, judgment, or regard for consequences. In proportion as reason exercises its influence on the people, sudden bursts of feeling will be less common, but public opinion will be more powerful. Popular clamour has probably less influence in this country than any other, owing to the strength of public opinion. If the former occasionally appears, it arises from freedom of speech and action possessed by the people, and the mildness of our authorities; not from any strength in itself. In some nations of the continent popular clamour may be held under restraint; but should the pressure be taken off its effect would be more influential than in this island, because here it is thoroughly subdued by public opinion. Wherever civilization and a middle class are spread over a community, public opinion will be all-powerful, and

popular clamour impotent. It may happen that on some particular question these may be united; but generally the influence of the one is in an inverse ratio to that of the other."

One of the great recommendations of Mr. Mackinnon's book is the lucid simplicity of its style, the absence of all technical and abstruse terms, and a felicity of illustration which we have rarely met with in a work of the character of that before us. This last quality is peculiarly exemplified in the concluding paragraph of the three which we are about to quote:—

"Whatever tends to alter the proportion of the several classes, in reference to each other, is of moment to the civilization of the entire community. The power and general use of machinery adds to the middle class, by augmenting the wealth of the people in a much greater ratio than was formerly thought possible; and considering that this power may, by its capability of expansion, be greatly increased, its effect on commerce, manufactures, and trade, sets all reasoning by analogy completely at defiance. Machinery supplies the use of labour without the expense of clothes and food. Accordingly, in whatever country this artificial and wonderful agent prevails a proportionate amount of capital will be created; and as disposable capital, by its fructifying quality, multiplies itself, it is impossible to assign any limits to the wealth which steam power may produce, or its effect in increasing the middle class.

"In saying that by manufactures and commerce, and especially by the use of recently-invented machinery, the middle class is more augmented than either of the others, we do not intend to assert that the upper may not, by the same means, receive some addition to its numbers; but such increase is trifling when compared with that of the middle. Persons well acquainted with the manufacturing world are aware that very large fortunes are seldom made by one individual. The capital, so created, generally diffuses itself through several channels. It gives comfort and competence to many; but large fortunes only to a few.

"To exemplify the almost uniform tendency towards increase in the middle class, let us, by way of simile, imagine three lakes near each other in a line, the two extremes communicating with the middle by any channel. Let these respectively represent the upper, middle, and lower classes of society. The use of machinery creates capital, which, being subdivided among the children or next of kin of the party by whom it is realized, lifts so many out of the lower rank into the middle; that is, forces so much of the water from the lower lake into the next above it. The parties by whom capital is possessed become purchasers of land, and thus encourage the tendency in the upper class, both by facility of sale, and temptation arising from increase of luxuries created by machinery, to dispose of part, if not the whole, of their landed estates. In proportion as this is effected they merge into the middle class. Accordingly, there is a constant flow from the

upper and lower lake into the middle, to the increase of the latter at the expense of the two former."

Our author then goes on to trace the various stages of civilization. The first advance he refers to the pastoral tribes, who, though possessed of flocks, had no positive ownership in the soil. The next gradation in improvement he describes as that where the earth is to a certain extent cultivated, and in which state laws must be formed, and property is gained in the soil. The foundation of the feudal system he describes as the third step towards civilization, by which the tenure of property in the soil was made more secure, and sudden inroads or permanent conquests by one people over another rendered less frequent. The next stage he refers to the establishment of absolute monarchy, by which the baronial power was to a great degree crushed and rendered subservient to one uniform code of laws, and one entire system of government. The fifth and last state of civilization is described as that in which security of person and property is established by a just and complete administration of good laws, where public opinion has the greatest influence, and where a greater amount of happiness is found in the community. And here the author recurs to the influence of the middle class on civilization, thus illustrating his views:—

"We repeat, that the greater the amount of the middle class, in proportion to the other classes, the greater is the extent of a nation's happiness. It is in this class that individual exertion is chiefly found; and individual exertion adds wealth to the community. A certain portion only of human labour can be productive of subsistence; the other part is instrumental to enjoyment: both are equally necessary, the one exciting the other. Let us call the former the origin for producing food—the latter that for producing clothing or luxuries. It signifies nothing as to the main purpose of trade how superfluous the latter production may be, or whether the want of it be real or imaginary. For example, a watch may not be very necessary to a peasant; yet, if the peasant will work one hour a day additional for a year to get a watch, the true design of trade is answered; and the watchmaker, while he polishes the case, or files the wheels, is contributing to the production of corn as effectually, though not so directly, as if he was ploughing the land. Thus it follows that manufactures increase the produce of the earth; as, whatever is required of luxuries by those who produce food must be obtained by an additional amount of exertion on their part. By these means, in this last stage of civilization, that state in which Great Britain is at present, a vast amount of wealth, created as already mentioned, augments hourly the middle class, and the happiness of the community is increased, while civilization and public opinion are fostered."

We cannot dismiss the "Introduction" without quoting the

author's allusion to Bacon's observation, that philanthropy, "of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity; and, without it, man is a busy, mischevous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin."

"In his latter position (says our author) Bacon was correct: by virtue he meant that moral principle that has already been stated as one of the most powerful elements of all civilization—a principle that cannot exist without true religious belief—the deficiency of which has checked the improvement in civilization of all the nations which history has placed on record. Without this, physical advantages, however great, are but weak auxiliaries; for, wherever moral principle is wanting, only a spurious kind of civilization is found—only that described to have existed in ancient days, as will appear in the following pages. In this spurious civilization, without moral principle or religious belief, what is public opinion? It becomes the voice of national selfishness, sanctioning, if not applauding, the perpetration of acts in violation of the duty of man to his fellow men. To this deficiency of virtue in nations may be mainly attributed the fall of mighty states, and the tardy progress of civilization throughout the world."

What our readers may think of the principles with which Mr. Mackinnon sets out we know not; but, for ourselves, we feel that, in following a man professing them, we cannot wander far from the truth, and we shall now proceed to give an idea of the nature of the work by quoting some of its most striking and original passages. Take the following from the opening chapter on the civilization of Ancient Egypt:—

"We may here be permitted to hazard an observation in reference to the monuments of antiquity which are now remaining either in this country (Egypt), in Greece, Rome, or other parts of the world. On considering the magnificent cities and structures erected in former ages, either Thebes, Baalbec, Palmyra, the Pyramids, the Coliseum, &c., we are naturally struck with awe and amazement at the magnitude of the undertaking, and are inclined to imagine, that the civilization or power of a Government or people must have been considerable, to attempt and bring to maturity such gigantic and laborious works. This conclusion, however, seems not warranted. There is no doubt that, in ancient days, as well as in the present, great individual talent was, and is to be, found. Individual talent or information must not, however, be confounded with the general talent or information spread through the community. We cannot, therefore, but think that these great works originated from a despotic power exercised over an ignorant and uncivilized population, over a mass of people, either confined in slavery, or controlled under the iron grasp of despotism. Take for example the Pyramids: the labour employed, or rather wasted, on these monuments, would have provided the comfort and enjoyment of millions, if expended either on their private dwellings, or in any manner for individual shelter. A population forced to work on such use-

less masses could not in any manner be civilized, according to our comprehension of that word. The same remark will apply to nearly all the monuments of antiquity. As nations advance in civilization, and as the wealth of communities increases, useless monuments lessen in proportion. How few great works of a useless character have been undertaken of late years in Great Britain! The energies and power of our empire might, if so directed, raise works incomparably superior to any production of former ages: such, however, is not the case. The reason is evident. In a civilized and free country the energies and wealth, or command of labour, is employed by individuals for their own convenience, comfort, or luxury; in former days, where the command of the labour of the nation, or the means for payment of that labour, depended on one man, there the population was forced to apply their means and energies to gratify his wishes, not to their individual advantage. Even in the middle ages this appears to have been the case."

The soundness of these deductions is too obvious to render it necessary for us to occupy the reader's time by dilating upon them: let us rather devote the space to a quotation which describes, in colours not more vivid than true, the state of civilization, or rather the absence of it, in ancient Greece.—

"Innumerable examples, afforded by the conduct of the Greeks in former days, abundantly prove their sanguinary barbarism, and total deficiency in moral principle. The massacre, in cold blood, of four thousand Athenians, by the Spartans, in the Hellespont; the reduction of many cities to an abject state of slavery by the Athenians; the extermination of the inhabitants of Melos and of the citizens of Hysia; the slaughter of a thousand Mitylenians; the cruelties at Skione, Ægina, and Cythera; the precipitating neutral merchants or travellers into pits; the atrocities perpetrated in the civil war at Miletos, where the Gergethes, having beaten the townspeople, seized their children, and threw them under the feet of oxen in their stalls to be destroyed; or the retaliation of the inhabitants, who, on being victorious in their turn, took all their prisoners, men, women, and children, covered them with pitch, and burnt them alive; the annual massacre of the Helots, and the treachery of withdrawing the suppliants from their sanctuary and coolly butchering them—all these acts bear evidence of Grecian barbarism, and of the absence of all moral principle.

"Let us even look a little further into the habits of Hellenic society. Neither war nor piracy was sufficient to supply the vast multitude of slaves whom the Greeks considered it necessary to retain. A race of kidnappers sprang up, who, as pirates, roamed about the shores of the Mediterranean, capturing solitary or unprotected individuals. Nothing could be more atrocious than the cruelties practised on these defenceless beings.

"The licentiousness of Greek women was universally notorious, and admitted by their own people in the days of Socrates. The conduct of the Greeks in their wars, and of the Spartans, particularly in

their marriages, bear a strong similitude to the manners of North American savages, when first discovered by Europeans. The immoral marriage of Cimon, son of Miltiades, was in accordance with the custom of the Greeks. In short, the morals of the Greeks were as loose as those of perfect barbarians.

"Children were commonly murdered in Thrace: the usual way was to place the infant in an earthen pot, and, having taken him to some mountainous or desert place, abandon him there to perish with cold and hunger, or be devoured by wolves or birds of prey.

"Some of the healthy and strong infants were preserved; others, when weak and delicate, were cast into a deep cavern at the foot of Mount Taygetus. This pit of death relieved the Spartans from further expences. All the surplus population was thrown into that gulph."

And this was ancient Greece, to which we have looked through the false medium of classic fable with an admiration amounting almost to awe! Of the profligacy of ancient Rome, her poets, to their immortal infamy, supply abundant proofs where her chroniclers fail.

The author having dismissed ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, proceeds to trace the progress of civilization in England, beginning with the conquest by William the Norman. He then passes on to the Charter, the wars of the "Roses," and thence to the grand epoch of the Reformation, to which, as conducing to civilization, the author justly ascribes much importance.

Our allotted space admits not of our following the author as he traces the progress of civilization through all the phases of our own history until he brings us down to the end of the reign of George III. In the next chapter he proceeds to take what he terms a "bird's eye view" of the present state of civilization in England, and we are here tempted to make an extract on a subject which has of late much occupied public attention, and with the author's sentiments on which we are glad to record our entire concurrence:—

"Let us allude to another topic arising from the improved state of society—that is, the infrequency of capital punishments now prevalent, when compared to former times—a manifest proof of the increase of civilization. In this remark we hope not to be misunderstood, or thought to insinuate that the mawkish feeling, which asserts that an atrocious violater of the laws of his country is not to suffer the penalty of his crimes, can be vindicated. Far from it: the fault sometimes in human nature is to go from one extreme to the other, and to imagine that, because too many capital punishments in the last century took place, all ought now to be abolished. Much as society is improved, it has not yet reached such a point of perfection. Although our laws were said to be formerly written in blood, care must be taken they are not now written in milk and water. To come, however, to the ques-

tion of the singular change that has taken place in capital punishments since the increase of civilization.

"Harrison states that in the reign of Henry VIII. there were hanged 72,000 rogues and thieves (besides other malefactors). This makes about two thousand a year. Yet Harrison complains of the relaxation of the laws, and laments that so *few* rogues were punished in his time. Our vulgar prepossession, says Hume, in favour of the morals of former and rude ages, is very absurd and ill founded. Harrison states (chap. 10), that there were computed to be ten thousand gipsies in England; a species of banditti introduced in the reign of Henry VIII., and adds, 'there will be no way of extirpating them by the ordinary course of justice. The Queen must employ martial law against them.' At present, the use of martial law would not be tolerated without strong motives. However arbitrary its exercise might have been, it appears that nobody, in the age of Elizabeth, entertained any jealousy from its adoption."

We have devoted so large a space to the consideration of the first volume of this interesting work that we must defer to a future opportunity a notice of the second, in which the author enters upon the progress of civilization in the continental states of Europe, in Asia, and America. We promise ourselves and our readers the pleasure of a recurrence to the subject: in the mean time we can confidently recommend what has already passed under our review to the earnest consideration of those who are interested in the moral welfare of the community. There is a single-minded simplicity in all that the author says, which commends him to us as an honest man; and there is an utter absence of all those trickeries of style, and attempts to what is called "fine writing," under which the shallow and the superficial would fain hide poverty of thought, and to which even the philosopher of modern times too frequently condescends.

ART. VII.—*The Church in the Catacombs: a Description of the Primitive Church of Rome, Illustrated by its Sepulchral Remains.* By CHARLES MAITLAND, M.D. London: Longmans. 1846.

FEW subjects are more interesting, scarcely any more instructive, and none more touching to the Christian, than the contemplation of these monuments, recording the humble beginnings and cruel persecutions of the Church in that very city where she was ultimately destined to exercise for so many centuries a more than imperial sway; and where, in changing places with the oppressor, there is too much ground for thinking that she

has changed the characters also, and has sometimes even been guilty of crimes of which old Pagan Rome would be ashamed.

We are so accustomed to associate ideas of power and splendour with the very name of Rome, and to regard the Church there as subsisting in an ostensible form from the times of the apostles, and primitive antiquity is claimed by her advocates for so many practices which require and presume the subsistence of a Church at Rome in an ostensible form from the beginning, that Dr. Maitland has rendered no slight service to the cause of truth in this description of the primitive Church of Rome, supported as it is, and indelibly impressed upon the mind, and rendered vivid, as we may say, and incontrovertible, by sketches of these contemporaneous sepulchral remains drawn by his own hand.

When we read, in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (i. 8), that their faith was spoken of throughout the world, the spectacle first presented to our imagination is that of a Church then subsisting commensurate in outward circumstances with this renown—an establishment of influence and respectability, to be thus universally spoken of, and that in the seat of empire, the metropolis of the world. But Christianity had the same humble origin in Rome which it had in Judea—it was a hidden work—it came not with observation—it advanced not with outward show; and, when St. Paul wrote, it does not seem probable that they had ever been visited by an apostle, but had been taught by Priscilla and Aquila, or some of the other less distinguished individuals who are saluted at the end of the epistle. St. Paul says that he had not then visited Rome, and that he longed to impart to them some spiritual, that is, some apostolical gift; and both from this expression, and from the reluctance which he always felt in meddling with a work which had been begun by another, we think that the saints of Rome were straggling converts who had learned the truth in other places, and whose faith is extolled because it remained firm under severer trials and with fewer supports than that of others. "Yea, so have I strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation: but as it is written, to whom he was not spoken of, they shall see; and they that have not heard shall understand.....And I am sure that, when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ." (xv.)

And even after St. Paul had visited Rome, the converts were in such humble circumstances that he was beholden to the casual help of such as Onesiphorus (2 Tim. i. 16), and even to the runaway slave Onesimus. (Phil.) And at his first answer no

man stood with him—all men forsook him (2 Tim. iv. 16); and even the Asiatics in Rome turned away from him (2 Tim. i. 15); showing the desolation of the whole Church in St. Paul's destitution.

Nothing can more conclusively prove the humble rank of the great body of the Church at Rome, and the unremitting persecutions that they endured, than the history disclosed by the catacombs, which were at the same time the place of their daily occupation while living and the place of their sepulture when dead; and yet these sand digger's burrows afforded the only place of refuge for the Church ministers and officers in any time of persecution, and the only place where the eucharist or other solemn acts of devotion and communion could be celebrated with safety during the first and second centuries of the Roman Church.

These catacombs were the underground labyrinths from whence the sand and stone with which the greater part of Rome was built had been procured, and they had been wrought from the foundation of Rome. The arenarii or sand-diggers were persons of the lowest grade, and from the nature of their occupation probably formed a distinct class. There is reason to suppose that Christianity spread very early among them; for, in time of persecution, the converts employed in the subterranean passages not only took refuge there themselves, but also put the whole Church in possession of these otherwise inaccessible retreats (24). That the catacombs were throughout well known to them is evident; for every part was completely taken possession of by them, and furnished with tombs or chapels: paintings and inscriptions belonging to our religion are to be seen everywhere; and for three hundred years the entire Christian population of Rome found sepulture in those recesses (27).

"The fact that the catacombs were employed as a refuge from persecution rests upon good evidence, notwithstanding objections that have been made, founded upon the narrowness of the passages, the difficulty of supporting life, and the risk of discovery incurred by seeking concealment in an asylum so well known to their enemies. These objections scarcely apply to a temporary residence below ground in times of danger; and it is not pretended that the catacombs were inhabited under other circumstances. In the excavations at Quesnel, not only persons, but cattle, contrived to support existence: added to which we have the direct testimony of several writers. Had the intricacies of the catacombs been well known to the heathen authorities, or the entrances limited in number to two or three, they would doubtless have afforded an insecure asylum. But the entrances were numberless, scattered over the Campagna for miles; and the labyrinth below so

occupied by the Christians, and so blocked up in various places by them, that pursuit must have been almost useless.....In the time of Dioclesian, the Christian Caius is said to have lived eight years in the catacombs, and to have terminated this long period of *confession* by martyrdom. Even as late as the year 352, Liberius, Bishop of Rome, took up his abode in the cemetery of St. Agnes, during the Arian persecution" (29).

St. Jerome tells us that, as a youth, he was accustomed to visit the sepulchres of the early martyrs in the catacombs; but from that time they were gradually neglected and blocked up by rubbish. But, in the sixteenth century, "the whole range of catacombs was reopened, and the entire contents, which had remained absolutely untouched during more than a thousand years, were restored to the world at a time when the recent revival of letters enabled the learned to profit by the discovery. From that time to the present, Romanist writers have been suffered to claim identity in discipline and doctrine with the Church that occupied the catacombs; while an attempt has scarcely been made to show from these existing remains the more striking resemblance existing between our Reformed Church and that of primitive Rome" (2).

It was the custom of Pagan Rome to burn the bodies of the dead; but Christianity, by bringing in as its prominent doctrine the resurrection of the body, rendered the body itself in a measure sacred, and introduced Christian burial in hallowed ground, and led to the subsequent abuses of relics of saints and holy earth: and as superstition was at its height in the time of Sixtus V., when the catacombs were reopened, after having been so long unknown, a superstitious colouring was at first given to everything that was discovered in the catacombs, which has since passed away; and we can now contemplate these remains calmly, and assign to them the true place.

The investigation of the sepulchral inscriptions of the catacombs, which had been prosecuted during many years by Bosio, was published after his death by Severano, in the year 1632, entitled "Roma Sotterranea," and it was translated into Latin, and further enlarged by Aringhi, 1651. Fabretti, Boldetti, and Bottari, each added to the number of inscriptions, and contributed some additional information; and Bottari, who perceived the importance of discriminating between works of art executed by Heathens and by Christians, directed his attention more particularly to those inscriptions which throw light on the history of the Church. Latterly the catacombs themselves have been little visited, because nearly all the inscriptions of importance have been removed, and are to be leisurely and commodiously

examined and compared in the different museums of Rome, and especially the Vatican; where in "the Christian Museum" are collected numerous sarcophagi and detached works of art, as well as inscriptions and bas reliefs; and in the long corridor the walls are entirely covered with epitaphs and other inscriptions, the slabs on which they are sculptured being let into the wall. The epitaphs of Pagans are on one wall—those of the Christians on the opposite wall. These have been collected indiscriminately from the catacombs round Rome, and have hitherto remained unpublished.*

Raoul Rochette formerly, and Dr. Maitland on the present occasion, speak with the greatest enthusiasm of this collection, "investing its walls with a degree of interest scarcely to be exceeded by any other remains of past ages," according to the Englishman's sober estimate; while, according to the more ardent foreigner, "this alone would be an inexhaustible fund of recollections and enjoyment for a whole life." Many of the Christian epitaphs contain the names of the consuls in whose year they were erected, and are chiefly those of the better classes, and of the third and fourth centuries; before which time Christianity was confined to the lower orders at Rome with few exceptions; a fact indicated by the rudeness of sculpture, and false grammar and spelling, of nearly all the oldest inscriptions: and a considerable number of them are in Greek, being the memorials of Greek converts, or strangers and sojourners in Rome.

It appears to be established, and is, we believe, at present granted on all hands, that none but Christians were buried in that portion of the catacombs to which we are referring; and that the figures which are found accompanying some of the inscriptions, and which were supposed to be heathen symbols, from not having any apparent connection with Christianity, are

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* "In the year 1841, the writer applied for permission to copy some of the inscriptions contained in the lapidarian gallery, and a license to make some memoranda in drawing in that part of the museum was granted. About that time a misunderstanding is reported to have arisen between the Jesuits and the officers of the Vatican, in consequence of which the former were refused permission to copy the inscriptions in question for their forthcoming work on the Christian arts. An application was also made by them to the custode of the gallery, in order to prevent the use of its contents by a Protestant. On the last day of the month for which the author's license was available, he was officially informed that his permission did not extend to the inscriptions, but only to a few blocks of sculpture scattered up and down the gallery. This communication was accompanied by a demand that the copies already made should be given up, which was refused; and with the understanding that no more inscriptions should be copied, and that they should not be published *in Rome*, the matter was allowed to drop" (p. 8, *note*).

often, like the canting arms in heraldry, an allusion to the name of the parties. Thus Pontius' *Leo* is accompanied with the figure of a *lión;* and *Porcella*, which signifies *a little pig*, has the figure of a *pig* under the inscription. But the most frequent figures are obviously Christian; such as the fish ιχθυς being the initials of Ιησους Χριστος Θεου Υιος Σωτηρ; Jesus Christ, Son of God, the Saviour: or the dove of Noah, the ark, the anchor of hope, or the ship in full sail entering the haven (2 Pet. i. 11).

But the most frequent figure is that of Jonah, probably as having been the sign given by our Lord himself, and as enabling them to express by one figure the grand Christian hope of resurrection, as the only thing worth recording either in commemoration of the dead or for the comfort of the living; and in this connection the ship was used to denote the storms of life, the whale denoting the grave, and Jonah seated under a gourd became the representation of a future paradise:—

"At times the latter part of the history is still more condensed: the ship, the whale, and the gourd, signifying earth, hades, and heaven, are brought into one point of view (as in a marble slab which is engraved): the subject of the awful adventure, but just ejected from the ship, and scarcely extricated from the jaws of the monster, is already overshadowed by the ripened fruit. In this small fragment of marble the Christian of ancient times might trace his own career: his passage from the unstable element too well expressing his present life, through the gate of death, not inaptly represented by the terrible monster, suffered to engorge, though not to retain, its prey; to a land beyond those swelling floods, where the head of the tempest-tossed wanderer rests on the root of that plant whose fruit protects him from the angry sun" (p. 247).

The celebrated monogram, which is said to have been revealed in vision to Constantine, and was emblazoned on the labarum which led his armies to victory, and is perpetuated on several of the imperial coins, is found on many inscriptions from the catacombs, both in its earliest form, in which the letters are kept distinct, as P in the middle of X; and in the later form, when the X, being decussated, one of its limbs was merged in the upright P; and so it became a cross surmounted with P. We do not think it a point of any consequence whether the symbol had been in use *before*, or whether its form was unknown until the vision of Constantine—the effect upon him would be the same in either case; but the changes which were made in it rather indicate that no importance had been attached to the *mere form*, and therefore that it was a common Christian symbol. It is found on epitaphs of women as well as of men, and in some instances with the motto "*in hoc vinces*," which,

though it proves that such epitaphs were *after* the time of Constantine, yet, being also connected with the names of females, shows that it was not necessarily the symbol of soldiers, nor exclusively that of martyrs. It is, however, also found on some martyrs' tombs; but even this is not decisive of its being in use before the age of Constantine, unless it can be proved that the tomb was constructed at that early period; the practice of erecting it long after, and when relics were more highly prized, prevailing so generally. Dr. Maitland says—"The epitaphs of Alexander and Marius, martyrs under Adrian and Antonine, also exhibit the monogram; and, though they do not appear to have been executed at the time, they contain strong marks of belonging to a period of violent persecution. The author does not possess any more decisive means of disproving the assertion made by Gaetano Marini, that the earliest monogram belongs to the year 331—that is, six years after the Council of Nice" (p. 169).

In one instance the monogram is encircled with a crown and palm branches, which last have been regarded as emblems of martyrdom; but, as it is applied to a child three years old, it can hardly be accepted for sufficient proof of martyrdom in this case. The tools employed by the deceased in his trade were often sculptured upon the tomb; and this practice, which was common in Greece, and attained in Egypt and many other countries to the further length of burying in the tomb the implements themselves, has led, in some instances, into the mistake of multiplying the number of martyrs, and of imagining new and unheard-of tortures, under the false supposition that implements of trade used by the deceased were instruments of torment by which he suffered martyrdom. "Yet the entire absence of proof, added to the mass of horrors entailed upon history by the strange nature of the torments thus called into existence, might have staggered their credulity; and the combination of objects belonging to the same trade should have suggested a better explanation." One of these, containing two mallets and a knife, bears the date of the fifth consulate of Honorius, viz., 402, long after persecutions at Rome had ceased. Others bear the saw, the adze, and the chisel—the unmistakeable tools of a carpenter: others have the comb and shears of the cloth-dresser, and so on. On the strength of a forceps engraved on the tomb of one Benerus he was dubbed a martyr, and his relics were transported from Rome to Perugia in 1803. On this, M. Rochette observes—"In the absence of any certain signs of Christianity, this instrument may be considered as belonging to his profession. Benerus, therefore, might have been

a poor blacksmith." The real name is probably Venerius. "Thus it appears that the supposed symbols of martyrdom lie under most serious objections. Excepting in a very few cases, where the deceased is expressly described as a martyr, that circumstance seems to have been left unrecorded in the cemetery. Raoul Rochette betrays the same opinion in the following striking passage:—'The bones of the martyrs are the sole remains of those heroes of the faith, even in their sepulchres: cups and fragments of glass, instruments of their profession, or symbols of their faith, are the only monuments left of their life or of their death. To look at the catacombs alone, it might be supposed that persecution had there no victims, since Christianity has made no allusion to suffering. Perhaps I may be allowed to add that a series of paintings, like those of St. Stephano, in Rotondo, filled with all the scenes of barbarity which the rage of executioners could devise, or the constancy of martyrs support, honours less the faith which inspires such images, or which resisted such trials, than the paintings of the catacombs, generally so pure—so peaceful in their object and intention—where it seems that the Gospel ought to have met with no enemies, appearing so gentle—so ready to forgive'" (p. 151).

In accordance with these remarks, we may observe that the Chevalier Joseph Bard, of the Pontifical Academy of Archæology, at Rome, in tracing the origin of hieratic paintings, and the first representations of the crucifix, states that it was not till after the figure of the cross had been adopted as an imperial ensign, by Constantine, that it was regarded as an ecclesiastical symbol, and that in very early times it was merely a cross devoid of any representation on it—that is, it was *not a crucifix*. He asserts, also, that no part of the passion of our Saviour was ever depicted, or any allusion whatever made to it, on any of the walls of the catacombs at Rome or elsewhere, or on any mosaics, or sculptures, or sacred vessels, except in the character of a good shepherd. When the crucifix first came in, the body was not naked, but clothed in a tunic with a girdle, and the feet are not crossed and nailed with one nail, but placed side by side and nailed with two nails. This continued till the time of Cimabue—from the sixth till the fifteenth century—and during the same period the face was represented long and dry, according to the type derived from the Byzantine artists. The earliest representations of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, and of the Apostles, had been brought by Greek artists from the east, and were adopted without variation until the beginning of the eleventh

century, when some had the hardihood to depart from the precedents which had so long prevailed.

The change from the simple cross to the crucifix was gradual. First it was the plain cross alone; afterwards, a cross with a lamb at the foot of it. In the third stage, Christ clothed, and with hands uplifted in prayer, was placed before the cross. In the fourth stage he was fastened to the cross with four nails, but still living and with open eyes; and it was not till the tenth or eleventh century that the modern crucifix was introduced, the body naked fastened with three nails, and the head hanging down as dead. Paulinus, who wrote about A.D. 400, says—"Beneath the ensanguined cross stands Christ, in the form of a snow-white lamb: as an innocent victim is the lamb consigned to unmerited death." And from the eighty-second canon of the Council of Trullo, A.D. 706, we learn when the human form took place of the lamb—"We ordain that the representation, in human form, of Christ our God, who takes away the sin of the world, be henceforward set up and painted in the place of the ancient lamb."

From the number of Pagan tombstones applied to Christian purposes, in the later times of the emperors, we require some specific evidence to assure us of the Christian origin of any tablet found in the catacombs. The romance of the eleven thousand virgins is said to owe its existence to the inscription "VRSVLA-ET-XI-MM-VV," which was read "Ursula and eleven thousand virgins," instead of "eleven virgin martyrs."

But the most remarkable, perhaps, of these blunders or inventions—we know not which to call them, for we know not whether the authors were greater fools or knaves—is the legend of St. Veronica:—

"About the darkest time of the middle ages arose the custom of painting the countenance of our Saviour upon pieces of cloth: the accuracy of the supposed likeness, or *icon*, as it was called, was attested by inscribing beneath it the words '*vera icon*,' gradually corrupted into Veronica. Many writers mention these *veronicæ*, as observed by Mabillon, who has cited passages from Romanus, Petrus Casinensis, and Augustinus Patricius. Mabillon also mentions (*Iter Italicum*, 88) the petition of a certain abbess, dated 1249, to Jacobus de Trecis, the Pope's chaplain, that he would send her a copy of the picture contained in St. Peter's. He complied with her request, and begged her to receive the copy as 'a holy veronica, Christ's true image or likeness.' The next stage in the growth of the legend (for it does not seem to be older than the thirteenth century) was the discovery that the original veronica was an actual impression of our Saviour's features, miraculously taken at some time or other: according to Mabillon, during the

agony in the garden; to Ducange, on the way to Calvary; and by another class of persons, as noticed by Baronius, supposed to have been left upon the headdress in the sepulchre. But the story still wanted something, and Veronica was at length found to be the name of a holy woman who followed our Lord to Calvary, and who, while piously wiping the Redeemer's brow with a cloth, received, as a reward, the miraculous impression of his countenance. The authorities, so far from discountenancing the fiction, have offered a premium upon its belief. John XXII., who assumed the tiara in 1316, issued a prayer, by repeating which devoutly, looking meanwhile upon the face of Christ, an indulgence of ten thousand days may be obtained.....The handkerchief of St. Veronica is publicly worshipped in Rome on stated occasions" (p. 135).

During the first three hundred years of our era the whole Christian population of Rome looked to the catacombs as their only place of security, and the repository of every thing which they held most dear: thither they resorted to enjoy the undisturbed exercise of their religious solemnities—thither they fled for safety in times of persecution—there the bodies of the departed saints reposed—and beside them they expected to be laid, often during their life providing a sepulchre; and these associations rendered the catacombs dear to them, inducing the majority to resort thither for worship and there to bury their dead long after persecution had ceased, and when the free exercise of religion was not only conceded, but the profession of Christianity, as being the religion of the empire, was honourable in the eyes of all men, and brought reward instead of reproach. "The Bishops of Rome were all buried in the catacombs till the time of Leo I., who died in 462: he was interred in the vestibule of the sacristy of St. Peter's. From that time we may trace the decline of the subterranean cemeteries in public estimation" (191.) The contents of the catacombs remained thus, as a museum sealed up in the bowels of the earth, to teach us, after the lapse of twelve hundred years, the prominent features of the faith and practice of the primitive Church; and to teach us, by shewing what they *did not do*, as well as by shewing us *what they did*. To us the point of chief value, and that which gives us a direct and present interest in the investigation is this—that the primitive Church knew not those things which the Reformers laid aside as innovations of the Roman Church, and repudiated those things which were denounced as corruptions by these Reformers; therefore Rome of the catacombs—*Roma subterranea*—rises up in judgment against modern Rome and condemns it—the very stones cry out against the apostasy.

First, it should be observed that there are no traces in the catacombs of any attempts to pourtray or make an image of

God himself, an attempt which always indicates the pre-existence of idolatry either in the mind of the individual or in the community to which he belongs. "The ancient Christians, though continually in the habit of representing the Saviour, never designed the First Person of the Trinity in human form" (261). One piece of sculpture has been by the advocates of the practice brought forward as an example: it is a representation of the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, where an old man is seated in a chair to receive them. But, as Dr. Maitland and Raoul Rochette observe, this old man certainly represents Adam, whom all tradition points out as the priest of his household, like Abram or any other patriarch. The symbol of the divine presence, when it was necessary to the history, was a hand issuing from a cloud, and, of this there are several examples, as Abraham offering Isaac, Moses receiving the law, &c. Raffael and the other great painters would not have ventured upon such representations of God if the second commandment had remained in force at Rome, and they had not been familiarised with idolatrous practices in the Church, and idolatrous forms in the missals and Church ornaments which began with the second council of Nice; and, though often protested against, had been continually gaining ground among an ignorant and gross clergy and laity.

"The prohibitions of the fathers against visible representations of God may be seen in Bingham's 'Antiquities of the Church': even Paulinus, who greatly promoted the employment of sacred art in churches, stopped short of this impiety. He speaks of the three Persons of the Trinity as being represented by a lamb, a dove, and voice from heaven. According to Milman, the French have claimed the 'happy boldness' of first introducing the Father in a human form. This assertion is made on the strength of an illuminated Bible, attributed to the ninth century" (263).

Christ was usually represented as the good shepherd in the catacombs, or as raising Lazarus, or performing some act of mercy: his sufferings were not represented, nor are any well authenticated memorials of the sufferings of the martyrs: it was on their triumphs that the primitive Church delighted to dwell. "The dismal picture of Sebastian, &c., copied by Bosio and Aringhi, evidently belong to much later times, as proved by the ecclesiastical dresses of the figures and the modern character of the tapers introduced." But at the close of the fourth century, when the actual horrors were past and were not likely to be re-enacted, *then* these horrible subjects began to be introduced in poetry and painting; yet the Council of Illiberis or Elvira, in its thirty-sixth canon, forbade the painting of objects

of worship on the walls of churches, fearing the idolatrous abuses which afterwards came in (*Taylor's Dissuas.*, 11, 2, § 6).

The worship of the Virgin Mary derives no countenance from any thing to be found in the catacombs: she was scarcely noticed in writings, paintings, or sculpture, till late in the fourth century, and then is brought in merely as an accessory to the divine Infant, whom she holds in her arms or watches in his cradle (274). Some judicious remarks were made on the silence both of sacred narrative and of the enemies of Christianity concerning the Virgin Mary, to shew that she could not possibly have held any prominent place in the doctrinal avowals or acts of worship of the primitive Church. Every friend and every foe of modern Rome cannot but notice the honours paid to the Virgin Mary, as being in all papal countries the most conspicuous thing—the feature which first presents itself. Had any thing like this subsisted in primitive times it could not but have appeared in all the acts of the faithful, and could not but have been a constant theme of reproach in the mouths of pagan persecutors. The Heathen do continually taunt the Christians with worshipping Christ as God: how much stronger would the taunt have been could they have found that a mere woman was worshipped as the mother of God and the queen of heaven!

Dr. Maitland endeavours to account for the worship of the Virgin by some revival of humanity and tenderness impersonated in the Virgin Mary, at a time when the religion of Christ had been made to consist of the curses and excommunications directed against each other by rival sects, and *autos da fé* were consummated in blood and fire, and Christ himself was regarded with terror instead of with love. "A system so hard and repulsive needed some softer element—some niche in its temple assigned to the gentler virtues already fast disappearing from the face of society. In the worship of the Virgin, the missing element seemed to be supplied: her gospel preached in silver tones fell with strange and sweet effect upon ears that had listened to no voice from heaven but the thunder: a new religion was introduced containing boundless promises without terrors—sentiments without duties—and an object of adoration that would injure none, while her power to aid was all but infinite" (276).

But it is to be remembered concerning the catacombs that, though they were associated with Roman ideas of worship, they were not associated with Catholic ideas. Christianity was not confined to the sand-digger of Rome, and there were other ideas of worship besides those derived from the catacombs. The most offensive feature in the arrogance of Rome is her having

forced upon the whole Church, when subject to her rule, customs which where strictly local, and which have no sense of significance apart from associations with their place of origin. There were churches in Judea, Asia Minor, and Africa, which had no connexion with catacombs—some of which could boast an earlier establishment and less disputable apostolic origin than the Church of Rome—many of which had the advantage of worshipping in open day, at times when the Church of Rome was driven to the catacombs; yet all these were expected to conform their practices to that of Rome, when Rome was in the ascendant, though those very practices might have been originally local, and derived from such accidental circumstances as retirement during persecution to the catacombs, and continuing by association practices which had begun in necessity.

In the catacombs, when the Lord's Supper was administered, the tomb of a martyr served for the holy table. "The same slab (says Prudentius) gives the sacrament, and faithfully guards the martyr's remains: it preserves his bones in the sepulchre in hope of the eternal judge, and feeds the Tibricolæ with sacred meat. Great is the sanctity of the place, and near at hand the altar for those who pray" (216). The sanctity of the place depended not so much on the presence of the martyr's remains as in its being his *sepulchre*, his cemetery, or sleeping place, where his body would rest *undisturbed* until the resurrection. The early Christians felt a perfect horror at the thought of any one disturbing their graves and scattering the remains, which feeling is strongly expressed in some of the epitaphs; as, "if any one violate this sepulchre, let him perish miserably and lie unburied, and not arise, but have his lot with Judas" (53). Rome has mistaken the ground of this sanctity, and so has actually violated it by plundering sepulchres of their relics, and distributing far and wide fragments of the same body, when the original feeling was that the grave was sacred and the body inviolable, because there, in that resting place, it awaited the resurrection. When the mad desire for relics began common humanity was shocked, and Theodosius in 386 enacted a law against the unholy traffic. "Let no one remove a buried body; let no one carry away or sell a martyr; but liberty is granted to enlarge any building already existing under the name of a martyrium." Not that it is probable that any real martyr's grave was disturbed, but fragments from any malefactor's body were palmed off as the relics of saints. Augustine has said of the monks—"Some retail the limbs of martyrs, *if martyrs they are*" (273). And when the Empress Constantina applied to Gregory I. for some portion of the body of St. Paul—*even the*

head of it could be spared—Gregory declined on account of the judgments likely to fall on those who meddle with such things, and advised her not to covet so dangerous a possession; and when the empress continued to urge her petition, and cited the Greek practice of bringing relics from other countries, Gregory related an incident which had just occurred at Rome, where Greeks had been detected ransacking the tombs of St. Paul's Basilica by night, and, being questioned, declared that they meant to carry them to Greece as bones of saints: "from which circumstance (argues Gregory), I suspect that the Greeks do not *really* transport sacred relics" (*Greg. Ep.* iv. 30. p. 279).

The use of lights again was indispensable in the catacombs, but it was a strange perversion to continue it when worshipping during subsequent ages in the broad daylight. "We almost see (says Vigilantius) the ceremonial of the Gentiles introduced into the churches under pretence of religion: piles of candles lighted while the sun is still shining, and every where a people kissing and worshipping, I know not what, a little dust in a small vessel wrapped up in a precious cloth. Great honour do such persons render to the blessed martyrs, thinking with miserable tapers to illumine those whom the Lamb, in the midst of the throne, shines upon with the splendour of his majesty" (226).

We had noted many other points on which these monuments of the faith of the primitive Church have an instructive bearing; such as compulsory celibacy—separation of the clergy and laity—intercession of the saints—purgatory, &c., &c. But these errors are innovations so notoriously, and are so much more clearly refuted by Scripture and the open pages of history, that the producing these inscriptions for such a purpose would be something like bringing out a lighted taper in the noon-day sunbeam; and there is, moreover, such a touching tenderness and such directness in the simplicity of these memorials of conjugal, and parental, and filial affection, that the heart becomes too deeply engaged to allow the head full liberty to do the hard, cold, dry work of the mere theologian. And we ask ourselves—what must be the feelings of one who has taken upon himself vows of celibacy on reading such memorials of affection? He is still a man—he cannot uncreate himself—he cannot eradicate the affections which God has implanted in the heart; but, alas, he may pervert them! He cannot cease to be a man, but he may more and more approximate to the condition of a fiend. Satan himself is but the perversion of the highest endowments bestowed by God on one of his creatures; and when violence is unnaturally done to the affections im-

planted by God, the least of the evils produced by it is that of crushing these affections, as is the case in weak characters. Something worse is produced in strong minds—indignation against all those who have inflicted these cruel wrongs and "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness" towards all those who enjoy unrestrained those bounties of Providence from which we find ourselves debarred—just as Milton represents Satan lashing himself into tenfold fury against God and man at the sight of Adam and Eve in the enjoyment of their own innocence, and such a creation as the garden of Eden.

"To Basilius the presbyter, and Felicitas his wife" (191). "Petronia, a priest's wife, the type of modesty, in this place I lay my bones; spare your tears, dear husband and daughters, and believe that it is forbidden to weep for one who lives in God. Buried in peace, on the 3rd. nones of October, in the Cousulate of Festus (i. e. in 472)" (193). "This grief will always weigh upon me: may it be granted me to behold in sleep your revered countenance. My wife, Albana, always chaste and modest, I grieve, deprived of your support, for our Divine Author gave you to me as a sacred boon; you well-deserving one, having left your relations, lie in peace—in sleep—you will arise—a temporary rest is granted you. She lived forty-five years, five months, and thirteen days: buried in peace. Placus, her husband, made this" (44).

And to sum up in one word the instruction to be derived from the Church of the Catacombs, and to meet thereby and refute thereby that one erroneous principle which lies at the root of all the Papal dogmas and superstitions—RESURRECTION—the resurrection of the saints, *preliminary* to the kingdom of heaven—this is the fundamental doctrine of the Church; and it was by disregarding this, and acting as though the kingdom heaven was begun on earth, and the Pope as Christ's vicar were the head of that kingdom, that all corruption came in.

St. Paul appeared to the Athenians a setter-forth of strange gods, because he preached the resurrection of the dead. But it was this one doctrine which formed the distinguishing mark of Christianity, as it was that the most scorned and opposed by the enemies of the Gospel. Pleading before Agrippa he says—"And now I stand, and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers: unto which promise our twelve tribes instantly serving God day and night hope to come; for, *which hope's sake*, I am accused of the Jews: why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?" The Jews, of all people, should be the last to reject it, being the hope of their fathers; but they did reject it and persecuted St. Paul for preaching it. The Church, in like manner, fell

away from the primitive faith; and purgatory, intercession of saints, relics, indulgences and other corruptions of doctrine, and worldly pomp and worldly devices, and all other corruptions of discipline and practice, have been the evil consequences.

It was in the hope of a resurrection, and not for the expectation of any benefit to themselves, that the primitive Christians so reverently interred and kept sacred the bodies of the departed; and they looked for a resurrection of which all the faithful should be at the same moment put in possession at the coming of the Lord; and in which, all partaking, each one would receive his own reward in proportion to the diligence which each had shown during life in improving present opportunities and using aright all the means of grace; but in which none would have aught to spare—none would lose his full reward.

Till the resurrection none are in any other than a waiting condition; the departed saints are waiting for their consummation in the reunion of soul and body at the resurrection; neither the soul without the body, nor the body without the soul, being the perfect man; and the Church on earth is waiting for that change of body which shall take place at the translation of the saints; because flesh and blood as it is—under the taint and corruption of the fall—cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. The danger at the beginning was lest the living Church—the Church where the separation of soul and body had not taken place—should suppose this condition gave them a precedency, or facilitated in any way the consummation. Therefore, St. Paul warned the Thessalonians by reminding them of his former teachings, asserting that those alive and remaining should not prevent or go before those which were asleep; for the dead in Christ shall rise first. But the danger since has lain rather in the supposition that the departed saints have an advantage over the living members of the Church; but against this mistake St. Paul has also provided, in asserting that the change of the living, as well as the resurrection of the dead, shall be in the same moment, as in the twinkling of an eye. The whole Church, from the first martyr, Stephen, to the end of time, is in precisely the same condition—all waiting to hear that voice of the Son of Man which shall raise the dead and change the living. Their spirits sleep in Christ, and therefore in peace and joy; we which are alive, in like manner, hope in Christ and find peace therein. And this hope it is which has been the strength and the joy of the faithful in all generations; and which has in it not only balm for our own sorrows, but an antidote against all the poison of the false doctrines we allude to, leading us to look, from first to last, unto Christ as the only Saviour.

It is not by relics of saints, whose bodies need to put on incorruption and immortality as much as our own, that any sanctity can be imparted: it is not by the intercessions of those whose final condition is not yet determined that we can be in any way helped or benefited: it is not by purgatory or any material process that our sins are expiated, and the stain left by sin can be obliterated. It was by the sacrifice of Christ alone that atonement was made: it is to the Son of Man alone that the Father hath given life in himself: it is His voice that all that are in the graves shall hear and shall come forth—they that have done good unto the resurrection of life; they that have done evil unto the resurrection of condemnation.

ART. VIII.—*The Real Danger of the Church of England, by the Rev. W. Gresley, M.A., Prebendary of Lichfield, Examined.* London: Seeley and Co. 1846.

2. *A Second Statement of the Real Danger of the Church of England, by the Rev. W. Gresley: containing Answers to certain Objections which have been made against his Former Statement.* Second Edition. London: Burns. 1846.

THE first of these publications consists of extracts from the *Record* newspaper; and the anonymous scribbler of that paper finds it prudent, upon coming before the public in a less ephemeral shape, to preserve the incognito enjoyed by him when he first wrote in its pages—a proof that he does not feel quite satisfied with his theology, and that he thinks it discreet to be modest. The second is the reply of Mr. Gresley to this and other assailants, and a very masterly reply it is. We predict that it will go beyond a second edition, and that every succeeding copy will add to the conviction of the public that the Evangelicals are not less faulty in their views of the doctrines of the Church than were the seceders to Romanism, and that they are not so honest as they were, in that they still retain their berths.

That something in the way of ejection must be resorted to, before the Church can be placed in its true light, we have already said; and of the soundness of this view nothing that has hitherto been published can cause us to doubt. The Evangelicals will not voluntarily surrender their places: sacrifices will not be made by them: they know the money-value of incumbencies too well to think of changing their position. Were the Church to be remodelled to-morrow upon an exclusively Roman basis they would hold on; they would not see, or they

would pretend that they could not see, that it was no place for them. Nay, so strong is their desire to be beneficed in the Church of England that they almost quarrel with their opponents for setting the example of secession, as though it might be brought up as a precedent against them when their conduct shall form as prominent a topic of conversation as that of Mr. Newman and others, and the "tocsin of Popery" shall be sounded with less effect than at present—when Low-Churchmanship and Dissent shall be seen in their true colours, and special pleading shall no more prevail.

Speaking of the comparative merits of the two extreme parties in the Church, the writer in the *Record* says:—

"The issue has been that the head and many of the most distinguished Tractarians are now in the bosom of Rome; while men of Evangelical principles stand steadfast on those great principles which they have ever held, and which they believe to be the great principles of Scripture, on which rests our apostolic Church."—(*Gresley Examined*, p. 16).

If the writer had said that the issue of the principles of the seceders showed them to have been, from the beginning, inconsistent with the doctrines of the Church of England, while those of his own party were as yet untainted with suspicion, we could have understood the argument that was intended to be pursued; but when he talks of the opinions of his party being the same as ever, and contrasts its position with that of others who have gone to Rome, it does appear as if with him the maintenance of principles was of more consequence than their consistency with the prescribed rules of the Church, and as if to stay in the Church were of more consequence than to believe with it. The writer appears to be rubbing his hands, and chuckling over his security, when he ought to be enquiring into the tenability of his position: his argument is as follows—we are as we always were: therefore we must be right; we hold our livings: *that* is truth. He does not appear to think that documents should be examined to justify his position: the timidity of our rulers is enough. Not but what he does go into documents, but it is merely to furnish a popular argument for the defence of his party—nothing more. He cares not whether his argument be tenable or not—he cares neither for conscience nor truth.

Our readers will probably recollect that the great point, in the former pamphlet of Mr. Gresley, was that the Evangelicals denied the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and that, notwithstanding that denial, they retained their places in the

Church; that from that denial much of the diversity of opinion in the Church arose, and other and more serious evils. To this the writer in the *Record* replies that Mr. Gresley denies doctrines quite as strongly maintained by the Church as that of baptismal regeneration; and that, though there be a doctrine of baptismal regeneration, Mr. Gresley's view of it is not the Church's view. The service, which is supposed to afford opportunity for retaliation upon Mr. Gresley, is that of the burial of the dead. The writer's words run as follows:—

"Let us apply Mr. Gresley's principle and rule of interpretation, in relation to the baptismal service, to another of the services of the Church.

"We ask him, does he believe that every member of the Church of England, baptized and buried by the Church, is infallibly saved? He will answer unhesitatingly—no!

"But 'reasoning *a priori*' (to use Mr. Gresley's own words) 'one would have thought it incredible that Mr. Gresley, or any set of English clergymen, should seriously deny the doctrine of the *universal salvation of the members of the Church*, and yet continue to officiate at the *burial of the dead*.'—'The utter incompatibility of the denial of *the uniform salvation* of her members with the profession and practice of an English clergyman, is we say (continuing the use of Mr. Gresley's language) as self evident as the maintenance of the supremacy of the Pope or any other Romish doctrine.'—'The Church, in our Prayer Book, does, in truth, set forth the doctrine of the *sure salvation of all over whom she reads her sublime service* in words as positive as can possibly be used. Words have no meaning in them if the formularies of our Church do not contain the doctrine in question, and repudiate the contrary.'

"'For the sake of those among our readers (as Mr. Gresley says) if any there be who may not be familiar with the subject, we will set down a few short passages from the *burial* service.'

"It begins—'Forasmuch as it hath pleased God of his GREAT MERCY to take *unto himself* the soul of our dear brother here departed.' Again, 'We *give thee* HEARTY THANKS for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world.'

"Now, from 'these passages we would appeal to any man of common understanding (still adopting the phraseology of Mr. Gresley), whether there can be the shadow of a doubt that the Church of England holds the doctrine of *the salvation of all her members*?'—and this the rather that there is little or nothing to qualify the truth she so strongly enunciates in this service, while there is much of this character in the baptismal and other services from which erroneous inferences have been drawn? In this service, according to the Church's view, 'God *hath* in his *great mercy* taken *unto himself* the souls of the departed'—and how can this puritanical prebendary, Mr. Gresley, venture to deprive the faithful of the comfortable doctrine which the Church so plainly inculcates? The impugners of the doctrine of bap-

tismal regeneration would deprive the members of the Church of the comfortable assurance that they are necessarily born again in baptism; but this heretical person would deprive us of the assurance, which the Church so fully conveys, that remaining in her arms we shall be most certainly and eternally saved.

"We say, without fear of successful contradiction, that the argument is of equal potency in both cases. In both services they are alike the words of hope and charity which are employed; they are and can be no other; though, that they are so, might have been brought out somewhat more plainly in the services, so as to relieve those of tender consciences. The services of our Church, as the word of God itself, must be taken as a whole; and so viewed, with a spiritual and enlightened eye, it will no more be considered that the *infant* in baptism is uniformly born of God than that the *departed* is certainly received into the arms of God's mercy"—(*Gresley Examined*, pp. 10, 11).

The words, which are usually relied upon by the assailants of the Church service, and by the Evangelicals in particular, to show that the Church speaks of the universal salvation of her sons, are those which speak of the committal to the ground of those that are buried "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." The Evangelical scribbler in the *Record*, however, is aware that the argument that has been founded on these words is not tenable, inasmuch as "the sure and certain hope of *the* resurrection to eternal life" is something different to the "sure and certain hope of resurrection;" and so has, wisely enough, endeavoured to found his attack upon the Church and upon Mr. Gresley; for in attacking the latter he attacks the former, upon something different from this oft repeated phrase; but he is not more successful than his predecessors in the assault—his premises are not more tenable than theirs—his conclusions are as erroneous. He alleges that "the Church, in our Prayer Book, does, in truth, set forth the doctrine of the *sure salvation of all over whom she reads her sublime service* in words as positive as can possibly be used;" and further states that "words have no meaning in them, if the formularies of our Church do not contain the doctrine in question and repudiate the contrary." But what evidence does he bring forward in support of this allegation? Two passages which will not bear him out: one that speaks of God's great mercy in taking *unto himself* the soul of the departed brother, though he may have been of the lowest moral character; and the other, that it hath pleased him "to deliver him out of the miseries of this sinful world." Beyond this there is absolutely nothing.

Now, as our Church very beautifully expresses herself in the office for the Visitation of the Sick, "Almighty God is the Lord of life and death, and of all things to them pertaining, as

youth, strength, health, age, weakness, and sickness;" and when we die, he does but *take to himself* what he originally gave us; and though he shows great mercy in doing it, and we thank him that he takes our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world—yet does it not necessarily imply that he takes our brother to himself in the sense that the Evangelicals attach to those words when they speak of eternal life; for it is a sufficient ground of thankfulness, and an evident exercise of mercy, when we are removed from trouble and temptation; and it is not necessary to look to salvation for a solution of the use of that term: nay, it is absolutely impossible that the Church can mean, as the Evangelicals say she means, when she uses these expressions—seeing that it is inconsistent with a future judgment to talk of the sure salvation of all or any of her members at the moment of death, as any one of the least sense can see. For, if our salvation or ruin is to depend upon a trial to be made of us at some future period, it cannot be published now, or at any time previously to that period. God undoubtedly knows what will become of us all; but the Church does not and cannot know, until after that awful moment. When, then, the Church teaches us, as she does in the Athanasian Creed, that our Lord shall come again from heaven to judge the quick and the dead, and that at his coming, "all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account of their own works;" and that "they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire," she cannot pretend—neither would she venture to say—that God has taken all or any of those she has committed to the ground to himself in the peculiar sense contended for by these persons; for it is so manifest a contradiction as at once to expose the error. The Church does not speak of the reward or punishment of any: of that she is quite silent.

But something was to be done. Mr. Gresley had put forth an argument that was likely to produce an effect upon the Evangelical party which they would fain avoid; and, as he had charged them with contradicting the Church, and showed them to be therefore fit objects of censure, the readiest way to get rid of the inconvenience appeared to be to throw the charge back upon him, with interest, in the shape of a counter-charge of a similar tendency. The Church, therefore, is made to speak differently to what she does, to condemn him. This is all very natural—nothing in truth but the common expedient of vindictive men; but it is not very honest for all that, and, not being honest, will not be very effectual: men will not be taken in by so transparent a device.

But if the analogy, which is attempted to be drawn between the supposed case of Mr. Gresley and the known case of the Evangelicals, fails, as we have seen, for want of proof—if the Evangelicals cannot with truth say, what they do not scruple to say, that Mr. Gresley contradicts the Church as to the salvation of all that are buried by the ministers of our Church—perhaps they may be more successful in the other part of their argument than in this—in that part of it which is addressed to the confutation of Mr. Gresley's position by more direct arguments than are to be brought from analogy. And it therefore becomes us to look into their more positive arguments before we presume to decide against this party. What, then, says the writer in the *Record* in the way of direct argument against Mr. Gresley's position? Let us see:—

"We shall now proceed to give a short sketch of what may be deduced from the Articles and Services of the Church as her doctrine on this important subject, not following the example of Mr. Gresley in deciding on the case from some isolated passages of one of her services, but referring to the whole. The 'common sense,' of which Mr. G. somewhere speaks, leads mankind to the belief that as this is the only honest, so is it the only satisfactory course of procedure. Let us only premise that we do not object to the doctrine of infant regeneration, if by the term is only meant the introduction into a new state, communicating new privileges and blessings, and involving new responsibilities and duties. To these all are introduced by baptism; and to this statement of a regeneration, to spiritual privileges and blessings by the initiatory rite of the Christian dispensation, we make no objection whatever.

"To begin, then, at the foundation, we ask, what does the Church authoritatively declare of baptism in her twenty-seventh Article?

"She says it is 'a *sign* of profession and mark of difference;' not only so, it is 'a *sign* of regeneration, or new birth;' by which *sign* 'they that receive baptism *rightly* are graffed into the Church:' further, forgiveness and adoption are thereby, 'visibly *signed and sealed*;' and, lastly, 'faith is *confirmed* and grace *increased* by virtue of prayer unto God.'

"So far, Mr. Gresley being judge, there is no *baptismal regeneration;* and yet this is the whole formal and dogmatic announcement of the Church on *baptism.* It is *a* sign (not *the* sign) of regeneration; by this *sign* the spiritual blessings of the Gospel are 'visibly signed and sealed;' and 'they that receive the *sign* rightly are graffed into the Church;' faith is *confirmed,* accordingly faith previously *existed;* 'grace is *increased;*' therefore grace was previously in exercise; and these last two effects follow, not from the administration of the sacrament, but, as our Reformers say (with a caution as if intended to meet such error as that before us), '*by virtue of prayer unto God.*'" (*Gresley Examined,* pp. 11, 12).

This appears perhaps to be very satisfactory, and, doubtless,

would be, were it a fair representation of what is said in the Articles; but it happens to be no more than a part of what is said—it is by no means the whole. A more striking instance of the dishonesty of this controversialist could not have been furnished, nor of the use of that "economy" which was so much spoken of in another quarter. But Mr. Gresley so well exposes the fallacy put forth in the *Record* that we will leave it to him. The following is his answer:—

"I turn next to the objections of the *Record*. The editor of the *Record* blames me for not having quoted the Articles. My object was to show that no person who denied the doctrine of baptismal regeneration could, without gross inconsistency, use the baptismal service. However, I have no objection to follow him to the Articles, if he will but quote them fairly, which he has not done in his strictures on my publication. 'What (says the editor) does the Church authoritatively declare of baptism in her twenty-seventh Article? She says it is a sign of profession and mark of difference; not only so, it is a sign of regeneration or new birth, by which sign they that receive baptism rightly are graffed into the Church; further, forgiveness and adoption are thereby visibly signed and sealed; and, lastly, faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer to God. *This* (he adds) *is the whole formal and dogmatic announcement of the Church on baptism.*' The twenty-fifth Article, on the sacraments (though afterwards quoted), Articles nine, fifteen, and sixteen, the catechism, the declarations in the baptismal service and the confirmation service, are here set aside, and the whole controversy made to rest on this one Article. And will it be believed that the editor of the *Record* has, by a method of suppression which I will not characterize, *left out the very passage* on which, so far as this Article goes, the whole argument turns? 'Baptism is *not only* a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by *an instrument*, they that receive baptism rightly are graffed into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by *the Holy Ghost*, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer to God.' This writer best knows why he has thought proper to leave out the very words on which the point in controversy turns. He and his school believe sacraments to be mere signs. The Church teaches that they are not mere signs, but signs which work as instruments, producing that whereof they are the signs. Thus the twenty-fifth Article declares, that 'sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and *effectual* signs of grace, and God's good-will to us, *by the which he doth work invisibly in us*, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.' In the words of the catechism, a sacrament is 'an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace given unto us:' *externum et visibile signum spiritualis et internæ gratiæ collatæ nobis*—τὸ ἐκτὸς καὶ ὁρατὸν τῆς ἔσω

καὶ πνευματικῆς χάριτος ἡμῖν δοθείσης. It consists of two parts—'the outward visible sign *and the inward spiritual grace*,' without both of which, as before observed, there can be no sacrament either administered or received. Baptism is no baptism, but mere washing with water, if the inward and spiritual grace be not annexed to the outward visible sign. 'But (says the *Record*) the Article asserts over and over again that it (*i. e.*, baptism) is *a sign* of the thing, and *not the thing itself; and it cannot be at once the sign and the thing itself!*' Why, this is the very nature of a sacrament. It is 'an *effectual* sign of God's good-will towards us, *by which he doth work invisibly in us;*' it is 'an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace given unto us.' One *part* of each sacrament is the sign, and another the thing signified. Are there no analogies in nature? Nay, rather is not all nature a demonstration of the outward visible sign accompanying that which is inward, and that which is spiritual? What are the blossoms of spring but signs of God's preserving and sustaining care in the world which he has created? When these appear, we recognize God's earnest of present life and future fruitfulness. What are the showers that water the soil but signs and pledges to us of the care of Him who visiteth the earth, and increaseth it? In these things the laws of nature are analogous to those of grace. And where is the difficulty of imagining a sign which shall be the instrument or efficient cause of the thing which is signified? As when a man signs, seals, and delivers a deed, the sign, and the seal, and the delivery are the actual taking or yielding possession of the estate—so baptism is the sign and seal of our heavenly inheritance, and the instrument whereby we obtain a sure title to its possession" (*Gresley's Second Statement*, pp. 22-25).

And this dishonest handling of the Articles is continued throughout, as our readers will see, if they compare the quotations of the writer with the Articles, and observe how much has been taken and how much left. But the grave theologian of the *Record* is pleased to suppose that he has discovered incontestible proof of the soundness of his position in other points besides those we have already touched upon. Here is the wonderful discovery:—

"The authoritative declaration by our Church, in the Article, of the nature and effects of *baptism*, would receive fresh light (did it require it) from two facts; *first*, that in the Article of Henry VIII.'s Liturgy (framed when the Church had but partially escaped from Popery), that baptism is regeneration is authoritatively asserted. That Article, so strong that Mr. Gresley himself might have drawn it, is blotted out, and our twenty-seventh Article is substituted for it. Does this fact not speak in a language stronger than words? The *second* fact to which we allude is contained in the closing words of this twenty-seventh Article. They, are, as our readers know, the following:—'The baptism of young children is in anywise to be retained in the Church.' From this it appears that the body of the Article refers to *adult* baptism, or, in any case, to baptism in general; then, at the close, the baptism

of young children is specifically referred to, and it 'is in anywise to be retained in the Church.' Why? We ask Mr. Gresley, why? We ask the abettors of infant regeneration at large, why is 'in anywise the baptism of young children to be retained in the Church?' The Article has said nothing in support of baptismal regeneration so far; nay, it has said a great deal in direct opposition to the dogma; for it asserts, over and over again, that it is a *sign* of the thing, and not the thing itself, and it cannot be at once the sign and the thing itself. But now, at last, surely we shall have the assertion of infant regeneration in baptism. If infant regeneration is the doctrine of the Church, the reason for the administration of baptism to children is wholly overwhelming, and will now be shown forth. But no! It is to be retained, says our Church, 'as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.' No doubt of it! Moderate, sound, wholesome doctrine; but what resemblance in it to the dogma of baptismal regeneration we shall leave Mr. Gresley to declare" (*Gresley Examined*, pp. 12, 13).

Now, with regard to the two points thus brought under notice it will not be necessary to say much. For, with regard to the first point, it is not sufficient to show that an alteration has been made in the wording of the exponent of doctrine. The writer who would argue from that must show that alteration has been made in the doctrine also; or, in other words, he must show that the new wording does not contain in it that which favours the old hypothesis, and this the writer does not. And, with regard to the second point, it is not sufficient to allege that nothing is said of infantile regeneration; for it was not necessary to the proof of that point that anything should be. For, as the passage as to infant baptism forms part of the Article which asserts the general doctrine of the Church upon baptism, and regeneration is insisted upon in it, its connexion with it is sufficient to carry it on: what is predicated of baptism in general is predicated of baptism in particular: there is no occasion that the doctrine should be repeated. The writer goes on with his proof in the following language:—

"The next Church authority in order on the doctrine of baptism is the twenty-fifth Article—*Of the Sacraments:* they are declared to be certain 'sure *witnesses* and effectual *signs* of grace and God's goodwill toward us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.' This is spoken of both sacraments. They are *witnesses*, and, if witnesses at all, they must be sure or true witnesses. They are also *signs* (corresponding to the twenty-seventh Article) and must be 'effectual' for the purposes for which the signs are given—namely, for quickening, strengthening, and confirming the faith of those that worthily receive them. Still there is anything here rather than the assertion of infant or baptismal regeneration; and, as we learn from the twenty-ninth Article, that 'such as be void of a lively faith, although they do

carnally and visibly press with their teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in nowise are they partakers of Christ,' in like manner we conclude in relation to both sacraments (in the words of the twenty-fifth Article), 'that in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation'" (*Gresley Examined*, p. 13).

In this passage there is the same stress laid upon the words *signs* and *witnesses* as had been before laid upon the former of these words; but here the Article is quoted more honestly. The writer probably could not see that it went against his argument, and therefore thought he could afford to be honest. The invisible working, however, is entirely overlooked, and the quickening of faith—words which are fully sufficient to point to regeneration, and which cannot be explained upon his hypothesis. And, though it be true that the last part that he has quoted speaks of some who have no benefit from the sacraments from the unworthy receiving of them, yet can he not argue from thence that some children may not be regenerated who are baptized; for not only does it contradict the language of the Church, which says of each and every one "*this child is regenerate*;" but, himself being witness, it applies, in so far as it applies to baptism at all, to adult baptism, which is a very different thing. We shall not, however, detail the argument upon this point until after we have made further quotation, as the service of adult baptism is referred to by the writer, and it may be as well to see what he says first. The following words will introduce that part of the subject to our notice:—

"We turn, then, next in order to 'the ministration of baptism to such as are of riper years.' In this solemn service, by which men are engrafted into Christ's visible Church, the foundation is laid in a profession of a true faith, and the renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil. If this profession is sincere, then all the blessings of the new covenant, on this sealing ordinance being administered, flow in full abundance to the true convert. But if, on the contrary, those coming to the ordinance are without 'a lively faith' and a true heart, the administration of baptism, far from having 'a wholesome effect or operation,' is unspeakably injurious; they rather thereby, in the words we have just quoted from the twenty-fifth Article, 'purchase to themselves damnation.'

"But how does the Church speak of all such indiscriminately? Why, exactly in the words, both before and after the administration of the ordinance, which Mr. Gresley quotes to show that it is impossible 'there can be the shadow of a doubt that the Church of England holds the doctrine of baptismal regeneration!' We need not go over all the passages which Mr. Gresley has quoted to establish this imagination, some of which indeed have no bearing on the question. We shall only say that, in the service for adult baptism, the Church, immediately

after the administration, says—'Seeing now that these persons are regenerate,' exactly as in the case of infants, while there can be no doubt that as regards multitudes, according to her own teaching, a curse and not a blessing is the effect.

"So is it in 'the order of confirmation,' and so in the 'order for the burial of the dead.' All are crowned by the language of charity and hope from the cradle to the grave; but many distinct intimations are given that it is only the language of charity. It is only they 'who die in the Lord that are blessed,' and who are taken 'by Almighty God of his great mercy unto himself' (*Burial Service*). It is only they who possess a lively faith who are partakers of Christ in the sacrament of his body and blood (*Twenty-ninth Article*). On them only who worthily receive the sacraments have they a wholesome effect or operation (*Twenty-fifth Article*). On the possession of a true faith and corresponding life alone is any one declared to be regenerated and born again (*Services for Adult and Infant Baptism*). And all men who, like Mr. Gresley, take the promises without the root from which they grow—are satisfied with the sign without the thing signified—are so exclusively occupied with the words of charity which the Church employs, as to separate them from the truths which she propounds in connection with them, and without which they die as the body from which the spirit has escaped—all such men, we say, are only deceiving themselves and all that trust in them.

"These observations apply with full force to the service for infant baptism, and to the catechism. The former is nothing else than the adaptation of the service for adults to infants. We have seen that while the Church, on the one hand, authoritatively pronounces all baptized adults regenerated, exactly as in the case of infants, she on the other hand declares, with equal clearness, that if there be want of faith and sincerity, on which profession she administered the ordinance, instead of being a blessing it is a curse. There is no command to baptize infants in the word of God. The Church rightly directs the ordinance to be administered to them as 'most agreeable with the institution of Christ.' But that she thereby imparts to them absolutely and invariably spiritual regeneration is a power which she neither possesses nor assumes, and the superficial fancy that she does either possess or assume it rests on a basis which she emphatically and repeatedly rejects. It is a fit dogma for apostate Rome; it is without foundation in Scripture; it is opposed to the marked experience of mankind; it is carnal, antinomian, destructive: and they are those alone (though themselves ignorant of the fact) who are more or less infected with Popish doctrine, and whose eyes are but partially opened to God's truth, who can receive or tolerate so gross a delusion" (*Gresley Examined*, pp. 13-15).

Our readers have probably observed that the service for infant baptism is here expressly stated to be "nothing else than an adaptation of the service for adults to infants," and that the whole argument proceeds upon that supposition. A more untrue assertion was never made—a more unfortunate argument

was never ventured on. The second book of King Edward VI. was confirmed by Parliament in 1551; and the last revision of the Prayer Book was subscribed by the Convocation in 1661, and confirmed by Parliament in the March following; and when we say that there was no alteration in the service for the baptism of infants subsequent to the former period, and that there was no service for the baptism of adults prior to the latter period, it will at once be seen that the assertion and argument of the writer in the *Record* are untenable. That which was alleged to have been copied from the service for adult baptism was publishsd one hundred and ten years before, to the very evident discomfiture of this very dishonest theologian.

Nor let it be supposed, that, because the same words are used in the baptism of adults, or words of an equal import, and it be true that *some* adults may not rightly receive the sacrament of baptism, children may not be entitled to claim the blessings of baptism more than *they* are; for, in truth, the service for the baptism of adults is not only a later but an exceptional service: adults are treated in a different way altogether from infants. They are never admitted to baptism, till after examination; and, as it is possible for them to deceive those who examine them, so it is possible that the regeneration, which is pronounced to be imparted when they are baptized, may not in some cases be given. It is possible certainly, but not very probable. There is, however, not only no probability of this with children, but no possibility; for children are never examined—they are baptized—and the Church pronounces them regenerate without. It certainly may be a question how far their baptism may benefit them if they afterwards refuse to ratify the vows made by their godfathers and godmothers at the font; and forgetfulness of their vows may turn God away from them, even though they have been previously confirmed; but this has nothing whatever to do with the question of the *bestowal* of grace—only with the *loss* of it. Now, not only must a thing be had before it can be lost, but there is no doubt that the new birth is given in all cases of infant baptism, if at least the Church is to be heard; for, though it may be afterwards despised and fail therefore to produce its full fruit, the Church does not hold that such subsequent circumstances are to be supposed to shew that it was never given; because the Church not only says of every child that it *is regenerate* when it is baptized, but strengthens that assertion with observations which are entirely incompatible with the supposition alluded to. The rubric at the end of the service for the public baptism of infants expressly states, that "it is certain by God's word that children

which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved;" and that could not be said of them if they had not been regenerated, or if the regeneration bestowed on them was to depend upon after life. The regeneration is absolute at the moment of baptism and effectual, notwithstanding that in such as grow up it may be thrown away.

The theology of this writer in the *Record* is so contrary to that of the Church that we do not wonder that a man so zealous as Mr. Gresley should visit it with unmeasured condemnation; nor are we surprised that he should class the *Record* amongst the wicked publications of the day. We go with him to the whole extent of the following observations:—

"It is really one of the most painful and shocking things to know that such a print as the *Record*, which thus perverts the doctrine of the Church, is a publication which many hundreds of well-meaning people constantly read, supposing it in their ignorance to be the organ of the Church; nay, some almost take their religion from it. You shall see advertisements of persons desiring situations, 'whose religious opinions agree with those of the *Record*.' The thing is so monstrously ludicrous, as well as so sad and grievous, that one really knows not whether to laugh or weep. And the *Record* scatters its calumnies and misrepresentations in such a manner as to preclude contradiction. Who amongst the *Record's* readers will see my contradiction of the passages which I have just quoted? First, in order to injure my reputation as a Churchman, my name is most unrighteously coupled with those of Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley, who are known to have left the Church. Then one Article, the twenty-seventh, is declared to be the 'whole formal and dogmatic announcement of the Church on baptism;' and, even in quoting this one Article, the point on which the controversy turns is omitted. These unfair and untrue statements go forth amongst the ignorant persons of their party, and are received with implicit belief. It is really most discreditable to such persons as 'Mr. Carus Wilson of Casterton Hall,' Mr. Bickersteth, Mr. Trench, Mr. Goode, Mr. Burgess, and others, that they should suffer their public organ thus to blindfold the eyes of those who ignorantly receive its statements. On the other hand, I cannot think those persons wise who affect to despise such an instrument of mischief, and 'make it a rule to fling the *Record* into the fire whenever a copy is sent to them,' because 'they will not read wicked publications.' It is a wicked publication beyond question; but one that should be read and marked as amongst the worst signs of the times, and embodying all the evil qualities of the most fanatical puritanism" (*Gresley's Second Statement*, pp. 25-26).

There is not one word in the whole of this passage that is too severe to be applied to the person who has written, or to the paper that has adopted, the very gross perversions of the Church's doctrine that we have been noticing; and not one

word too harsh for the stigmatizing of the dishonesty that has been exposed: it is more than a match for any that has yet been discovered in the extreme opposite party, and can only be treated with commensurate indignation. We know not whether the writer be a clergyman of the Church of England, as he reserves his name; but this we know, that if he be, the most unmitigated heresy must be constantly inculcated by him upon his wretched hearers, if he be in active service. We have but one hope, and that is, that his activity is circumscribed by the wants of the *Record*—in that case he will be comparatively harmless. Not but what the *Record* is able to do and is continually doing much mischief; but, if the writer's lucubrations be confined to that, they will not be invested with that air of authority which they would have were they delivered from the pulpit.

That there is a great struggle of parties and conflict of opinions going on, arising out of the different views that are inculcated by clergymen of opposite opinions, even in the same pulpits, and that this is to be attributed to the ordination by bishops of persons so opposed in opinion, even though they know it before the imposition of hands, was the object of Mr. Gresley's pamphlet to shew; and when he pointed out the contrariety that existed between the views of a large body in the Church and the doctrines of the Church, and the effect that was produced upon the working of its machinery, one would have thought he had done enough. But the apathy of our bishops allows the evil to go on, and the specious apologies that are put forth in its defence require further arguments to be brought forward and more elaborate proof, and Mr. Gresley comes forward again to furnish the one and the other, and very successfully indeed has he treated his subject. But, notwithstanding that, we shall go on as we are—there will be little or nothing done to remove the shameful anomaly. The "tocsin of Popery" is sounded, and men who deserve condemnation are thrust out, and others, who deserve it not, discouraged, out of respect to the fears of the public; but to the real case of danger no attention is paid, because it does not form an element of popular excitement. So long as things outwardly go on well, everything will be allowed to proceed as at present—not even the shadow of a remedy will be applied. Fundamental doctrines may be assailed, and the watchwords of party be introduced in their place; the offices of the Church be absorbed by a mere faction and its societies be perverted to foreign ends, and no notice will be taken, unless the movement be unpopular; when suddenly the machinery of punishment will be brought to

bear upon those who offend, as if the popularity of the Church were of more consequence than its purity—as if God were not to be pleased but man.

That our bishops are surrounded by difficulties we do not, for a moment, deny: the popularity of Evangelicalism places them in such a situation, and it behoves all who revere the Church to strengthen the hands of the authorities as much as possible, especially when they see them making efforts to repress the evils we have alluded to. But more might be done than is done, and more must be done if the authority of the Church is not to be usurped by individual members of it, and it be no matter of indifference how we go on; nay, increase of action is more necessary, as it has already been brought into play in driving from the Church some of its members. The extreme opposite party is destroyed—therefore it is nonsense to talk of antagonism; something else must be used to restrain that desire to wander from the paths of the Church, which is evinced by so many who yet do not scruple to retain their offices in it with their emoluments, unless those persons are to be permitted to revolutionize the Church without an effort being made to stop them. Already they boast that they have the countenance of their bishops, and, under that plea, are carrying out their ends. With regard to this point Mr. Gresley declares himself as follows:—

"Mr. Close boasts openly of the countenance which he and his friends receive. 'Our respected diocesans (he says), before whom we have preached, under whom our labours have been patent for many years, judge us differently — *uphold, sanction and applaud us.*' Yes: that is, I fear, one principal cause of the mischief. While it is notorious that nine-tenths of our spiritual rulers are in principle averse to Evangelicalism—at least, to that worldly factious form in which it now appears—yet they seem, both to the Evangelicals themselves and to the world at large, to 'uphold, sanction, and applaud' it. Though, in reality, dreading and disliking this most restless and obtrusive party, yet, by their courtesy to individuals, and by the countenance which, in the abortive hope of conciliation, they afford to some of their societies, they give the people the most erroneous impression that they approve their principles and sometimes their proceedings—at least, that they consider them neither dangerous nor reprehensible. The system of Evangelical teaching, the denial of one vital doctrine at least, the exaggeration of others, the consequent confusion of all, and the sectarian means employed to promulgate these views, are most erroneously supposed to have our rulers' sanction. The Evangelicals boast that they are 'upheld, sanctioned, and applauded;' and the people believe that their peculiar doctrines and proceedings are so; whereas nothing, I am persuaded, is more contrary to the intentions of our spiritual rulers. They are

men of eminent character, whose opinions have been long known to the world; and it is notorious that, with one or two exceptions, they are all decidedly averse to the peculiar doctrines and factious proceedings of so-called Evangelicalism.

"Still they are claimed by this party as aiding and abetting them. This wrong impression—for a wrong impression it most certainly is—cannot but be productive of evil effects. If parties were quiescent, even then the inculcation of a false or defective system, with the supposed sanction of the heads of the Church, would be no slight evil. But when an active contest between truth and error is going on—when religious strife rages more or less in all the principal parishes of the land, and the false system is in many quarters superseding the true—it is fearful to contemplate the result of the neutrality of those in power. The Church cannot but suffer grievous harm from such a state of things" (*Gresley's Second Statement*, pp. 72-74).

Mr. Gresley does not wish, any more than ourselves, to hold up the bishops to censure; but he is anxious, and upon good grounds, to arouse them to a perception of the real danger of the Church. Shortly afterwards he makes all this very plain:—

"I will not allow myself to believe that our spiritual rulers will be induced by any consideration to betray their trust, to sanction the direct admission into the Church of unsound doctrine, or the exclusion of the true. But I would only beseech them to consider what a store of trouble they are laying up for themselves by suffering the Puritan party, even now scarcely controllable, to spread themselves as they are doing over the land, and gather every day fresh accessions of strength and influence. Every unsound minister they ordain or license in an important cure will be the cause of additional difficulty by giving strength to the Puritan faction; every new trustee-church that is consecrated will be an enemy's fortress within our lines; every new Puritan society established, another battery raised against the Church" (*Gresley's Second Statement*, pp. 76).

When, too, he goes into the question of remedy, Mr. Gresley uses language that will not admit the supposition that he desires merely to attack our rulers: there is throughout his remarks nothing but what was to be expected from one who is desirous to uphold the Church—nothing that could have been spared without disregarding justice and truth. We say this most emphatically, as Mr. Close has endeavoured to make us believe the contrary. The following extract will shew that he does not lay all upon the bishops, or expect that every thing can be done by them; and it is in other respects so worthy of attention that we shall not hesitate to give it. After speaking of the perplexity that has arisen, not only from diversities of opinions as to the sacraments, but from the conflicts of sentiment introduced by the Evangelical party into our larger towns, he goes on in the following strain:—

"I will not attempt to describe the religious and social evils to which this state of feeling must give occasion; and only point out its obvious probability, in order to shew the extreme danger of allowing Puritanism to fix itself more strongly in the public mind, and the urgent necessity for those who have the power to discountenance and check its progress.

"That the progress of the evil may yet be checked by vigour and prudence on the part of our rulers I have no doubt. There is yet enough of sound principle in our Church congregations to respond to the voice of their chief pastors, if they did but speak out. Even amongst those who have been led to favour Puritanism, a large number do so because they believe that the views they have embraced are the real views of the Church of which they are baptized members. They desire to be good Churchmen; they are so in intention—their error is attributable mainly to the false instruction which they have received from the ministers ordained to teach them. Only let the rulers of the Church explain what the doctrine of the Church on these disputed questions really is: let them disabuse the public mind by openly discountenancing the promulgation of error, and checking any flagrant teaching of unsound doctrine; above all, let them prevent the farther spread of the evil, by refusing ordination to all candidates, of whatever party, who are unsound on vital points; and the downward career may yet be checked, and the Church preserved in her integrity.

"But the onus and responsibility does not all rest on our rulers. Priests as well as bishops are pledged by their ordination vows to 'be ready to give faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's word.' The question is, whether the time has not arrived, or is not fast approaching, for all members, and especially all ministers of the Church, who value her antiquity, to stand forward and declare so. We all know the peculiar temper of the times, and how difficult it is for those in authority to act without support. Truth, unless it have some basis of public opinion to rest on, is too often quietly set aside and treated with contempt. Is it not time for those who are determined to abide by the Church, as it is, to diverge neither to Romanism on the one hand or Puritanism on the other—those who believe the Reformers of the English Church to have been providentially guided to preserve essential truth—who desire to stand in the old paths—to keep to the formularies of the English Church, and neither add thereto nor diminish aught from them, believing them to be according to the word of God: is it not time, I say, for such as these to take council together, and enter into some mutual bond to stand by their rulers and each other in resistance to any attempt to mutilate or corrupt our formularies? I am far from wishing to be an alarmist. In truth, I believe that there is still within the Church enough of right principle, with God's help, to preserve it. There is no cause for apprehension, if only men were agreed as to the quarter from which the danger threatens, and were prepared to act together on the defensive. The Church has often been compared to a fortress, and such, in truth, must ever be her position in this world. She must ever be on her defence against beleaguering enemies. At present Satan has made a feint, as it were, on the side of popery; and

while the attention of the garrison has been drawn off in that direction, the forces of Puritanism are establishing themselves in the very centre of the citadel, and quietly occupying all the posts.

"*This is the real danger*, if men could but be brought to discern it" (*Gresley's Second Statement, pp* 77-79).

This is the real danger: of that there can be no doubt. Though some have, unworthily enough, betrayed the Church by advocating Roman doctrines and practice, yet are they not the only traitors: the opposite extremes have been as insidiously at work in the direction of Dissent. Nay, not only has the party to which we allude been as insidiously but much more effectually engaged: they have sounded the "tocsin of Popery" to cover themselves, and right well has it answered their purpose. One cannot go into a large town, and scarcely into a large village, without tracing their footsteps, even as one cannot go into such places without tracing something to bewail: the Church can hardly get a hearing anywhere through the infidelity of her sons. "A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?"

Were the differences of opinion upon less important points, or had nothing been done to set matters upon a proper footing, so much need not have been urged upon the attention of the public, because either fundamental doctrines would have escaped attack, or found a safe-guard in the antagonism of parties. As it is, however, nothing can be done in the way of counteraction short of the resort to authoritative reproof. Extreme parties can only be met by other parties that may have something to cede by being in an opposite position of equal extremity; for, if we are to be left to ourselves and none are to be cast out, it is only by mutual concessions we shall come to agreement. But the High Church party cannot concede anything to their opponents without lowering the doctrines of the Church: what remains, then, to be done but for the authorities to step in? Either that must be done, or uniformity will be hopeless. The Romanizing and the Evangelical parties might have reduced each other to something like agreement, not only with each other but with the Church; but now, that one of these parties is destroyed, things cannot get to their proper level by being left to themselves: the party that is left will not surely lose any of its influence from want of antagonism—the contrary effect will be produced; so that it must go on in its process of absorption unless the arm of authority be stretched out to

prevent it. This surely cannot be the wish of our bishops, or any of the true friends of the Church.

We do not wish to see the Evangelical party put down *because* the Romanistic party has met with that fate: we desire only that the Church should be rid of the undue influences that are at work within her pale, and we would effect this object by the restriction of the Evangelical party through the interference of the bishops and of the sound part of the clergy. We never thought that the Romanistic faction were the true guardians of the Church, as any one may see who will turn to our pages; but their absence from the scene of discord only makes it more imperative upon those who are left to resort to other means to restore the balance; and those considerations of justice, which actuated us in our last number to enter upon this subject, will not allow us to withdraw as yet from the assertion of the danger of the Church, or the denunciation of the causes that have produced it. We have nothing to do with revenge, as we have nothing to do with the party shaken off; but we cannot refrain from the advocacy of the integrity of the Church for fear of giving offence to the extreme opposite party—especially as it is most *patent* that *that* party is in error. Nay, we respect the party that is gone more than that which remains to disturb the Church; because, erroneous as it was, it has shown its honesty —a quality which we look for in vain in its rival. That party at any rate has fairly acknowledged that it was wrong, and is gone: when will Mr. Close and his compeers follow its example?

We say nothing now of the Evangelical Alliance, and the foolish members of the Church of England who have joined it, though we do not think that their coquetting with Dissent is more laudable than the coquetting of others with Popery; but we wish to show, by speaking of those who think themselves the most moderate of their party, that none of the party are, in our view, consistent Churchmen, and to suggest to them what to do. If they will but go they will save their lordships, the bishops, a world of trouble, and that is surely something in days like the present.

But still better would it be, if, remaining in the Church, they would become consistent Churchmen; would take their theology from the authoritative declarations of that Church, in the plain literal and grammatical meaning of the words; then would they be a strength and a comfort to their mother, instead of pursuing a course which is calculated to bring her with sorrow to the grave.

ART. IX.—*A Pilgrimage to the Temples and Tombs of Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, in* 1845-6. By Mrs. ROMER. Two vols. 1846.

THE very lively lady to whom we are indebted for these volumes commences her tour with a few observations on the scene of St. Paul's shipwreck, which has been placed by some writers in the Melita of the Adriatic, and by others in the Melita of the Mediterranean sea. The Maltese will accept no compromise of their claim, and Mrs. Romer enumerates several strong points in their favour. The ship in which the apostle sailed was bound to Puteoli, and Malta lies in the direct course from Alexandria to that place; whereas the Melita of the Adriatic, lying off the Dalmatian coast, would require a considerable deviation to reach it. In addition to this, it is properly urged that Malta enjoyed a large traffic; and it is suggested that the vessel may have discharged there a cargo of wheat from Egypt in exchange for cotton, for the growth of which the island was at that time famous.

"Besides, St. Paul mentions that in their progress they touched at Syracuse, which would have been again out of the way for a vessel voyaging from the Adriatic Melita to Puteoli; for, assuming that he sailed from the Adriatic Melita, it would have been unnecessarily dipping down to the southward to touch at Syracuse, and from thence he must have again steered northward in order to regain the course by Reggio and the Straits of Messina: whereas Syracuse lies in the direct and unavoidable course from Malta to those Straits, through which, under either supposition, St. Paul decidedly passed."

After the recent elaborate accounts of Cairo bestowed upon us by so many liberal hands much of novelty was not to be expected from a passing lady-traveller. We have, however, met with one or two pleasing notices; among these is a visit to the collection of Dr. Abbot, a physician in that city. To him belong what may be supposed to be the oldest memorials in the world—the gold ring of Cheops, who built the great pyramid; and the ring, in the form of a scarabæus, which once encircled the finger of the Pharaoh of the Exodus. He also possesses the helmet and a portion of the breastplate of Shishak, that Pharaoh who sacked Jerusalem in the time of Rehoboam, within fifty years of the reign of Solomon, and nearly ten centuries before the advent of the Saviour.

On the 10th of November, 1845, Mrs. Romer commenced her journey upon the Nile—*that broad redundant Nile* which has flowed through so many splendid descriptions in poetry and

prose, from Claudian to Gray. She did not commit her fortunes to one of the frail boats which Lucan mentions and Gray fills with dusky people, who to

—— "neighbouring cities ride,
That rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide."

The common boats of the country are sufficiently miserable to call down the most poetical malediction: employed chiefly to transport slaves and merchandise, they are so populous with vermin as to require an immersion in the river for two or three days, and a new coat of paint, before they can be ventured upon with any reasonable anticipations. Mrs. Romer succeeded in hiring a Dahabech. These boats, ofwhich there are only three on the Nile, cost thirty pounds a month, and offer many conveniences: they carry two masts, with three Latteen sails, and have cabins in the after-part of the deck, fitted up with Turkish divans, contrived like Goldsmith's chest of drawers, "a double debt to pay," being fitted up at night into four beds; a *cabinet de toilette* and a tent for the servants completed a very satisfactory floating hotel.

The travellers proceeded on their voyage without lingering much by the way; but they could not pass without a pause the magnificent temple of Luxor, with the rosy light colouring those gigantic pillars. They also visited the quarries of Syene, from whose bosom were dug out the obelisks which, in the twilight of antiquity, drew men's eyes to Thebes and Memphis, and are now scattered over the cities of Europe. The beds of stone were visible through the drifting sands.

Going up the Cataracts is one of the most difficult achievements of the Egyptian traveller; a strong wind is necessary; and here, if anywhere,

"With advent'rous oar and ready sail,"

the Dahabech and its crew

"Drive before the gale."

The first appearance of the Cataract is very well described:—

"After the tame scenery which characterises the banks of the Nile from Alexandria to Es-souan, it was quite refreshing to our eyes to rest upon something rugged, and differing in form from the eternal *dhorra* fields and palm-trees. The commencement of the Cataract presents a complete Archipelago of granite rocks, some red, others black, and shining in the sun as though highly polished, with various torrents rushing between them in all directions. These rocks are of the most extraordinary forms; now awful, now grotesque, they look as old as the earth itself—the skeletons of the antediluvian world! On the western shore the sands of the Great Desert, yellow as gold, and rippled by the action of the winds into wavelets, descend to the water's

edge, interspersed with great masses of black basalt. On the east, rocks rise above rocks of granite, piled up in such strange and uncouth forms that one is led to attribute them to some terrific volcanic eruption—to one of those early revolutions of the elements which changed the surface of the globe—the creation of that chaotic wilderness. The breeze held strong; and well it was that it did so, for I cannot conceive how destruction could be avoided, if, for one moment, the impelling power should be overcome by the resistance of the torrent we were driven through. Here and there our course lay between rocks narrowing so closely together, and towering to such a height, that the wind was momentarily taken out of the sails; and, I assure you, such moments were awful, for it was just a struggle whether the impetus with which we entered the narrow pass would carry us through it or not; and often there was a momentary pause, when that struggle rendered the boat stationary.

"I had established for myself a test of the safety of our progress, which inspired me with more confidence than the friendly visits of Reis Ali; and this was our excellent cook, Hadgee Mustapha, whose little portable kitchen, in which he performs such great feats, is placed just opposite to the awning where I was standing. There he was, fixed to his post, and, in the midst of the deafening noise and bustle around, imperturbably making preparations for dinner, which I began to think it doubtful that we should ever eat: but his unruffled *sang froid* satisfied me that he, who is a Nile bird, thought that there was no danger; and in my fancied security I lost sight of the fact that as a Moslem and a Fatalist—above all, as a cook—he was, in religion and honour, bound to show an immovable countenance—to leave the boat to its fate and to stick to his *casseroles*, and snap his fingers at the Cataract. Thus matters stood at noon; and, in reply to the anxious enquiries I addressed to Mohammed, he declared that we should soon arrive at that part of the Cataract called the *Bab*, or gate, where the eighty men were stationed to haul the boat up the rapids; and, that operation once achieved, half an hour would bring us to the island of Philæ, when all our troubles would be over. Scarcely had he made me that assurance when the *Swift* entered one of those short but furious torrents through which the practicable channel lies. A scene of general confusion ensued. I heard the voice of every man of the two crews screaming in angry vociferation, and the hoarse shouts of the Reis loud above the rest. I saw Mohammed draw his sabre and rush towards the spot where the Reis of the Cataract's pilot was stationed. I was immediately conscious that our onward course was not only arrested, but that we were retrograding; for the surrounding rocks, which but an instant before we were rapidly passing by, now appeared to be running away from us ahead. I looked up and saw the sails trembling; I looked forward and—oh, *comble de déséspoir!*—beheld the cook drop a pudding-mould from his hand, and, seizing one of the poles which the crew employed to prevent the vessel wearing round, go hastily to work with the rest. All is lost, thought I, since Hadgee Mustapha abandons his pudding!" (T. i., pp. 169-73).

This is sufficiently amusing, even though the affected grimace

of French phraseology should be subtracted from the account. The fall of the pudding was not prophetic of the catastrophe feared. The pilot, whose bad steering had brought the boat into the peril, abandoning the helm, fled into the desert, and naked Nubians began to make their ominous appearance behind the rocks, prepared to assist or plunder, as circumstances might determine. The boat was at length run upon the sands of an adjacent island, where it awaited the repairing hammer of the carpenter. The next attempt was successful, and the fruit of the enterprise did not prove unworthy of its trouble, since the first Cataract is considered the most picturesque feature of the Nile scenery, which soon began to change its aspect, becoming picturesque and hilly. The figures in the landscape are less pleasing. The young ladies of Nubia, in particular, offer few attractions to the pencil. Their hair twisted round numerous pieces of wood-shaving, and drenched in castor oil, is cut square at the bottom, and is never unfastened or combed.

At Ibsamboul they caught a passing glimpse of the temple cut out of the rock. Four giants sit at the gates of the great temple, and six smaller figures stand before those of the lesser one. The solitude is perfect—the wilderness is around and the Nile before them! And there these representatives of a magnificent antiquity still keep their august watches. The tourists had now followed the Nile for a thousand miles without discovering the presence of one tributary stream. So true, as well as beautiful, is the panegyric of the poet:—

> "From his broad bosom life and verdure flings,
> And broods o'er Egpyt with his watery wings."

The second Cataract was the limit of the journey. It is said to cover a space of six or seven miles in length, thickly sown with rocky islets. Commencing the descent of the river, Mrs. Romer visited, in the way, the temples of Lower Nubia. Those of Ibsamboul were restored to scientific investigation by the united exertions of Belzoni, Irby, and Mangles in 1817. The great temple is strictly speaking an excavation, not an erection; and is supposed to have preceded the awful architecture of Thebes. The statues are so enormous that our fair explorer, wishing to rest herself after her toil, found a cool and commodious niche in the ear of one of them, whose head alone remains above ground.

The contrast of such remains of a perished dynasty with the metropolis of modern power is striking indeed. Derr, the present chief town or capital of Nubia, consists of mud huts: one

custom of the inhabitants is, however, extremely pleasing: they are too poor to erect tombstones, and the homes of the dead are accordingly indicated by an outline of pebbles, or a fragment of stone at the head and foot; yet at every grave the travellers observed a bowl of water and an earthern vessel full of roasted Indian corn, which the people place there every Friday for the relief of the destitute. The practice of giving to departed friends the privilege of relieving the distressed, is at once original and affecting.

The Nubian prince who rejoices in the shadow of sovereignty at Derr, maintains a very humble position: his palace is built of mud, and the reception-room, composed of the same material, is "covered with beams of palm-trees thatched over with the dried leaves." A fire of live embers burnt in a hole of the clay floor; five Nubians were resting on a mat, with their slippers before them; and, upon enquiring of her interpreter who they were, the traveller was informed that they were the mollah and great lawyers of Derr, what we "call in England the attorney-general and Lord Brougham." Whenever Mohammed spoke of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, or head of the Mohammetan religion at Cairo, he called him the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the most intelligible synonime to English ears.

Mrs. Romer was introduced into the hareem of the prince, containing three Nubian wives and three Abyssinian slaves, with attendants and children: she was received in a very primitive chamber, roofed only by woven palm leaves, with a large mat of the same leaves woven in different colours for a carpet. The ladies wore their hair in the fashion previously described, flowing, like their cheeks and garments, with oil, which in smell, at least, bore no resemblance to Macassar's. Their chins and cheeks were studded with blue stars, the under lips of the same colour, and their eye-lids stained with *kohl*; their arms and necks were covered with bracelets and necklaces. Nubian beauty is more than usually fragile and fleeting. Girls are married at thirteen, and at twenty-five time is making rapid advances. Old age in Nubia is hideous.

Egypt has been long known to be deficient in romantic scenery. A calm monotony pervades the country: it is all river, desert, and temple: it is the land of ruins, of which all the beauty is derived from their grandeur. Time has not clothed them with ivy or grass: there are no weatherstains in this cloudless climate. The island of Philæ is almost the only exception from the general character. "Placed above the confines of the first Cataract, just far enough from it to be beyond the turmoil of its rocks and rapids, the Sacred Isle,

calm and smiling, reflects in the smooth water, on whose bosom it appears to float, its belt of bright verdure rising in terraces from the waves, its graceful tufts of palm-trees, and its prodigal confusion of ruins, in lonely contrast to the chaotic masses of black granite and basalt that bound the prospect on either side of the river." Here, in the temple of Isis, is to be seen the portrait of Cleopatra, probably from life. The face is said to want the charm ascribed by fancy to her who enchanted Antony, but to be handsome in the upper part: and is this, indeed, the *serpent of old Nile*, with all her fascination and poison?—that rare Egyptian who—

> "—— did lie
> In her pavilion (cloth of gold, of tissue),
> O'er-picturing that Venus, where we see
> The fancy outwork nature;"

when floating down the river of Cydnus, in her golden boat with purple sails,

> "—— on each side her,
> Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
> With divers-coloured fans, whose wind did seem,
> To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool."

The portraits of two other queens—Arsinoe and Berenice—also remain on these walls; but they touch the beholder with a very faint interest.* They will not long withstand the ravages of travellers and natives. An Arab village, once built on the roof of the temple, is now mouldering into dust; but other pillages are in full activity. Workmen were breaking up for lime huge blocks, rich with the mysteries of hieroglyphics.

The famous statue of Memnon, of which poetry has sung such beautiful wonders, is now silent and desolate—not a feature being uninjured: the outline, however, still remains to impress the eye with its calm majesty. The lower part of the statue is

* On the wall of the temple of Denderah there is another portrait of Cleopatra, with her son Ptolemy Cæsarion. Mrs. Romer says:—"As these are undoubted portraits, I contemplated them with peculiari nterest and curiosity; but in vain I sought, in the profile of Cleopatra, for that surpassing beauty which had made captive her Roman masters, and lost a world to Antony. The features possess none of that delicate charm which I expected to find in them; and the expression (if expression there can be found in Egyptian sculpture) is stern and unintellectual. If this portrait is a resemblance, it is, therefore, to be presumed that the secret of Cleopatra's seductive charm lay not so much in her beauty, as in her grace and powers of fascination. The portrait of Cleopatra, at Philæ, is even coarser and less attractive than the one at Denderah; and there is a heaviness and animal expression in the lower part of the face, which is scarcely redeemed by the beauty of the upper features. Altogether, the countenance of the Cleopatra of Philæ reminded me of the portraits of Madame George Sand."

hewn out of a single block of sand-stone, while the upper part "is composed of five layers of stone in blocks, cemented together as in the wall of an edifice." The statue of Rhamses Sesostris, cut out of one block of rose-coloured granite, belongs to the same style of colossal sculpture; and measured, when entire, twenty-two feet across the shoulders.

Mrs. Romer underwent considerable toil and inconvenience in prosecuting her enquiries among the Theban tombs. You enter some of them by an embellished door-way, while others can only be reached through a narrow aperture upon the hands and knees; while into one the adventurous visitor was introduced in a more uncomfortable posture, being drawn in upon her back, "head foremost." They consist of chambers and galleries cut out of the rock, and curiously decorated with paintings, illustrative of manners and customs. Mrs. Romer brought away a piece of the wall containing a portrait, as she supposes, of a Hebrew captive. The mummies have been torn from their hiding-places; but our traveller observed, through a hole in the roof of an Arab hut, two untouched mummies lying over the beams. The royal tombs afford the most remarkable specimen of the funereal genius of the Egyptians. They are approached through a long valley, winding among barren rocks, unspotted by grass or weeds. No insect is heard or seen: the Valley of the Shadow of Death lowers before us in a figure. It was here that Belzoni discovered the alabaster sarcophagus which now adorns the Soane Museum. It had been already deprived of its once mighty inhabitant. In the sepulchre, from which this sarcophagus was taken, are black ink outlines perfectly fresh and vivid. In another tomb, opened by Bruce, about eighty years ago, Mrs. Romer found pictures of Egyptian furniture—arm-chairs, the little steps of English bed-rooms, scenes of domestic economy, cooks preparing their joints, beggars waiting at the door; or rural operations—the ploughman turning up the furrow, and the husbandman sowing the seed.

But in magnificence of conception and general solemnity of appearance, the ruins of Karnak surpassed all preceding sights:—

"Nothing that remains of the architecture of ancient Greece or Rome, can vie with the tranquil majesty of the scene that presents itself, as approaching the ruins of Karnak, by the great western entrance that faces the river, the eye pierces through a huge vista of propyla, colonnades, peristyles, and obelisks, following each other in almost endless succession, and terminated by a distant perspective of the Arabian hills, seen as through a magnificent frame of sculptured stone. You enter, and on either side prostrate columns, mutilated

colossi, headless sphinxes, and huge fragments of stone, that have toppled down from the lofty roofs and carried destruction in their fall, lie scattered around; and then the hypostyle, the great hall of Osirei, bursts upon you like a forest of columns, each one—and there are now a hundred and twenty-eight of them standing—measuring thirty-four feet in circumference, lofty in proportion, and covered with a lavish profusion of painted sculptures, representing the deities and the sacred animals of Egyptian pantheism, mingled with the ovals of the greatest among the Pharoahs. In the centre runs a double row of columns, still larger and loftier than the lateral ones, surmounted by graceful lotus-flower capitals, and embellished with the same sacred subjects. The bas-reliefs and sculptures on the walls of the palace of Karnak are descriptive of the campaigns of its founder, Osirei, in Asia, and are executed in the best style of the best period of Egyptian art; in short, all that meets the eye is of surpassing beauty. The Colosseum of Rome, and the Christian temples of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the Iglesia Mayor in Seville, mighty as they are, shrink into littleness when measured by the standard of Karnak."—(pp. 304-6.)

These sublime works of human daring and skill are known to have suffered from the fierce plunder of Cambyses, who gave the city of Thebes to the flame; and it is related that while watching the devastation of the fire, the beauty of the obelisks, towering above it, attracted his attention, and induced him to command their preservation. It is indeed a wondrous vision of—

"Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreath'd."

The Persians transported into their own country the artists of Egypt; and from that time Egyptian art declined; liberty and genius expired together.

The travellers rode over the plain to the north of Western Thebes, and found the ground full of catacombs arranged in long galleries, with entrances that recalled the new cemetery of Kensall Green to the memory. The mummies have all been extracted. The city of Thebes is still a mystery—it is only one tomb. What has become of its walls, its hundred gates, its crowded houses? It is suggested that then, as now, mud hovels may have enclosed its swarming population, who devoted all their riches and labour to the decoration of death. Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, under the dominion of the Pharaohs, has followed Thebes into the same gulf of oblivion. A mutilated statue of Rhamses Sesostris, half buried in a pool of water, is its only monument.

Upon her return to Cairo, Mrs. Romer visited the schools supported by the Christian Missionary Society; and as she says, though we do not quite understand the assertion, under

the sanction of the highest Church of England authority. Universal toleration seems to be the principle of the institution. The children of Copt, Arab, and Jew are alike received, and have the Old and New Testaments put into their hands. The schools have been in operation nearly ten years, and when they were opened no Egyptian woman could read or write. The girls' school is divided into a high class and a Lancastrian department. In the former, children, varying in ages from seven to fourteen, were found transcribing passages of Scripture in Arabic, which they wrote extremely well. In the forenoon they receive instruction, and in the afternoon they are taught sewing and embroidery. A few learn English, and all are examined in what Mrs. Romer calls the "Christian Catechism." Besides the ornamental branches of their education, they are practised in the humbler acts of washing, ironing, &c.; and it is not easy to over-estimate the value and influence of such acquisitions, when transferred beneath Egyptian roofs.

The Lancastrian school is under the direction of a Syrian Christian from Lebanon, who is assisted by monitors. The school of Coptic youths is more interesting. Being designed for the ministry of the Coptic Church, the study of that language forms an important feature in their education; they add to it the Arabic and English tongues; they are made acquainted with Church music, and are said to chant the Psalms very well in English and Arabic. In the same building is a school entirely devoted to the children of houseless beggars. At the period of Mrs. Romer's visit it contained thirty-eight children, all of whom were under ten years of age. The institution has the approval of the Copt Patriarch.

Mrs. Romer's indisposition prevented her from ascending the pyramids; but she has made some sensible remarks on their construction. The great pyramid is built of stone from the Lybian quarries, and was formerly cased over by the white stone of the Moleattam hills, which was easily susceptible of the chisel. Part of the second pyramid is granite; and the third was originally faced with the same material. The three lesser pyramids of Ghizeh were probably the tombs of the Queens of Cheops, Cephrenes, and Mycerinus. The neighbouring sepulchres, where the courtiers of Pharaoh were buried, have supplied most interesting illustrations of Egyptian life.

Perhaps, after the pyramids, the most surprising object near Cairo is the desolate tract called the Petrified Forest, the sands, to a great extent, being covered with fragments of wood, now hardened into agates and flints, but retaining "all the knots, veins, fibres, and even the rough coating of bark that charac-

terized them in their vegetable state. At the distance of about four miles from the commencement of the forest, some of these wonderful petrifactions are to be seen in the shape of trunks of trees, measuring about sixty feet in length, lying prostrate on the sand, having to all appearance snapped asunder in many places in their fall, as the different fragments are severed, but not separated from each other." When did those magnificent forests cease to wave over the burning sands, where the South Wind from the wastes of Africa now breathes its suffocating blast? The mind goes sounding back through the perilous ways of antiquity into remote ages, when those wide-spreading branches sheltered

> "Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings,
> Or embassies from regions far remote—
> Some from farthest south—
> Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
> Meroe, Nilotic isle, and, more to west,
> The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea."

In the second volume we find our traveller very busily engaged in preparations for a pilgrimage into Palestine. The cavalcade of the party was composed of four saddle horses, six baggage mules, and a donkey; their private servants, a Copt cook, two Sais's, and three muleteers. With all these aids to comfort, the journey was most fatiguing, occasionally relieved by glimpses of sacred beauty. The excellency of Carmel—so frequently met with in Holy Writ—was one of these. The olive grows luxuriantly on the lower ground, and the thick grass sparkles with the richest flowers. The orange groves of Jaffa are also a charming spectacle; nor is the road to Ramla, across the plain of Sharon, less delightful: it is sown with the brightest bloom. The travellers looked for the rose of Sharon, but found only the dwarf eglantine, with purplish pink and white blossoms. "It was there that Elijah 'girded up his loins, and fled before Ahab;' and beyond it, to the south, lies the country of the Philistines." They found Jerusalem full of strangers; but nothing can cheer the gloom that hangs over it—the shadow of the veil that was rent in twain. Not even the desecration to which the city is now exposed—placards of London porter—touters for rival inns—can fling it forward into the *present;* it looks as if the most awful of all tragedies was only just concluded. Mrs. Romer gives an interesting account of the chief scenes that attract the pilgrim, especially of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is said to contain within its walls all the places consecrated by the Death, Passion, and Burial of our Lord.

"It stands in the corner of a small open space or square, filled at this season with the vendors of chaplets, rosaries, and other trifles, manufactured by the Christians of Bethlehem from the mother-of-pearl brought from the Red Sea, and possessing no architectural merit, within or without. The greater part of the church was destroyed by fire in 1808, and re-constructed by the Greeks at their own expense, and in a most faulty and tawdry taste. The various sects of Christians of the East—viz., Latins, Greeks (both united and schismatical), Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Georgians, &c.—possess each a chapel in the church; but the protection of the Holy Sepulchre is entrusted to the Latins (or Catholics), although the greater part of the edifice, as well as the spot upon Mount Calvary where the cross was planted, belongs to the Greeks; while the Latins now only possess the chapel containing the Pillar of the Flagellation, in the body of the church, and a small chapel upon Calvary, constructed over the place where our Saviour was nailed to the Cross.....There is no fixed hour for the church being open, as each of the three religions have their Turkish Janissary, and not one of them dares to unlock the doors but in the presence of the other two; so that it is often requisite to send all over the town to bring these functionaries together. As they invariably expect a *backshish* for the trouble of coming, they take care never to be in the way.....Each of the three religions have habitations connected with the interior of the church, where some of the monks take it in turn to reside, and are relieved from the convents outside. During these periods of seclusion the brothers never quit the precincts of the church, but their friends come to speak to them through a little grated aperture in the door, and convey to them through the same channel any thing they may require.

"The first of these (sites) to which the stranger is led on entering the church is the Stone of Unction, upon which the body of our Lord, when taken down from the Cross, was anointed and prepared for entombment. It is covered with a casing of marble, to preserve it from the destructive adoration of Christian pilgrims, and over it are suspended silver lamps, burning night and day. A few paces from it, an iron machine, looking like a large unglazed lanthorn, marks the spot where the Marys stood and watched the performance of the last sad offices. Turning to the left, a few steps bring you into the nave of the church, over which rises a lofty dome supported by columns. The nave is circular, and in the centre of it is placed the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre—that spot which the chivalry of Europe poured out its last blood in torrents to rescue from the hands of the Infidels, and only succeeded in retaining during eighty years.....On the north of the Holy Sepulchre is the Chapel of the Apparition, built upon the spot where Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene, after he had risen from the dead.....But the most revered of all these chapels is that of *the Cross*—a subterraneous chamber, approached by two flights of marble stairs and dimly lighted by lamps, which just serve to render darkness visible. The Greek chapel is in harmony with the preponderance of Greek influence, over the spiritual and temporal affairs of the church of the Holy Sepulchre; it is by far the largest chapel in

the whole edifice, and contains, amid much faulty ornament, an accessory of a somewhat questionable character. In the middle of the marble pavement is placed a spherical stone, which the Greeks aver covers the centre of the earth; and underneath it, or somewhere very near, they also tell you the head of Adam is buried."

All our readers are aware that many of the scenes in Jerusalem, which are connected by tradition with events in our Lord's history, possess no genuine claim to the sacred distinction. It is not so beyond the gates of the city. The hills and vallies are safe from Helena. The traveller feels this holy confidence with a particular liveliness on the Mount of Olives: there, time has stood still; and to the eye of faith the shadow of the Saviour remains unbroken upon the hill-side. From the Mount of Olives the most striking view of Jerusalem is obtained, as it seems to slumber in the pale and awful repose of weakness and death. All visitors concur in describing the mournfulness and silence of the city as impressive and almost painful, and find her truest picture in the words of the prophet:—"How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people? How is she become as a widow? She was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces—how is she become tributary?"

Of Jerusalem itself Mrs. Romer gives a very pleasing sketch. It is surrounded by a low wall enclosing the hills of Sion, Moriah, and Acra, the last of which is consecrated by the rock of Calvary. These heights are built over with flat-roofed houses, affording, however, no sign of joyous hospitality or life. Among the affecting objects spread before the eye is the valley of Jehosaphat—that beloved burial-place, to which the aged Hebrew looks forward with so strange and melancholy a love. In this valley the Jewish tradition places the solemn scene of the last Judgment. The Mount of Olives is now desecrated by a Turkish mosque, commanding a magnificent prospect over the landscape of the Bible, embracing the Dead Sea and the blue mountains of Moab; hitherto the boundary of European enquiry.

The birth-place of our Lord does not partake of the gloom of Jerusalem: the green fields are divided by hedge-rows, "and the large flocks of long-eared and large-tailed sheep, tended by their ragged guardians, remind one of the shepherds to whom angel voices announced the glad tidings of the Nativity, and of the still more antique idyll of which this was the locality—Ruth gleaning in the fields of Boaz. Olive plantations abound in the environs, and the sides of the hill, upon which the town stands, present a succession of cultivated terraces." It is also pleasing to know that the population is entirely Christian. The Good News has not altogether passed away; and the beautiful alle-

gory of the Good Shepherd and his flock may be read with unusual significancy in this pastoral home: and yet, even here, that peace which He gave to His disciples is not always to be found: the Latin Convent is divided among the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians, and is accordingly the source of frequent heart-burnings and more open annoyances.

The home of our Lord's youth partakes the calm happiness of Bethlehem. "The little town of Nazareth is so placed that a distant view of it cannot be obtained; but, after scrambling along a difficult road for three quarters of an hour, we came suddenly upon the valley on the western side of which it is situated. Peaceful, and primitive, and unworldly it looks, resting on the lower slope of the circular chain of gray barren hills, that convert into a sort of basin the green vale of Nazareth spreading at its feet."

It is very interesting to read of the bleak and inhospitable road from Bethany to Jericho, the scene of the parable of the Good Samaritan, still retaining all its early reputation of peril: to this day the traveller incurs great risk of falling among thieves, who would quickly strip and plunder him, leaving him wounded and well nigh dead. The Samaritan race is now confined within a very small compass: seventy families reside in Nablous, preserving all the superstitions, laws, and customs of their ancestors.* No other members of the family are known to exist in the world; no human dwellings remain in Jericho: the soil is poor and sandy, producing only a shrub, from which the decaying apple of the Dead Sea may be gathered. As the traveller approaches the Jordan the eye is again refreshed with verdure. The place of our Lord's descent into the river seems to be accurately fixed by tradition; "for the current is so extremely violent that it would be impossible to venture into the river, with any chance of safety, except in that particular part

* Mrs. Romer gives a pleasing sketch of the town:—"Nablous itself, the Shechem of the Old and the Sychar of the New Testament, is beautifully situated in a valley between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, the Mountain of Blessings, and the Mountain of Curses, where, in pursuance of the commands of Moses, Joshua caused six of the tribes to bless the people, and the other six to utter the curses that should follow their evil doings. The approach to the town is through a grove of olive trees: on the right hand is the Well of Jacob, where Jesus communed with the woman of Samaria: on the left, the tomb of the Patriarch Joseph, now covered over with a Turkish mosque. The olive grove was filled with people apparently in a state of great excitement—groups were eagerly talking to one another—a daring robbery had been committed in the house of a citizen on the preceding day.....I dismounted, and walking to the well, sat down upon it—no one was there to draw water, and I could not say, 'Give me to drink,' although my soul thirsted to taste of the spring. The time was too late, and we were too weary to linger there long" (T. ii. 294).

ART. X—*The Succession of Bishops in the Church of England unbroken; or the Nag's-head Fable Refuted. With a Postscript on the Ordination Services of Edward VI.* By E. C. HARINGTON, M.A., Prebendary of Exeter, &c. London: Rivingtons. 1846.

FALSEHOOD is hydra-headed and needs to be branded as well as crushed; and this Nag's-head falsehood, which has been often crushed, has such tenacity of life that Prebendary Harington is rendering good service to truth, as well as to the Church of England, by the full exposure and refutation contained in this pamphlet, which every one may procure and more conveniently refer to than the volumes of Bramhall, Courayer and others from whose writings the facts are selected, or than ecclesiastical registers which few can consult.

The story appears to be one tissue of falsehood from beginning to end, and it was first invented to throw discredit on all English ordinations, by insinuating that Archbishop Parker himself and the bishops of our Church had not been truly ordained; and that, therefore, the Church of England is cut off from the Catholic Church, and all her ordinations and other ecclesiastical acts thus invalid—she being self-constituted and therefore only a voluntary sect. It is so strange an invention that it could not have obtained a moment's credence at the time to which it relates; but, having first appeared full forty years after the events supposed, it obtained currency to a certain extent, in consequence of the death of all those who figured in the story, and among persons who find an interest in propagating the calumny, and who are ignorant both of the history of the time and of the habits and manners of the English people. For it cannot obtain the least credence with persons who are acquainted with history, these would at once perceive the impossibility of practising such a deception as the story supposes, which would involve the falsification of great numbers of the most important documents, both civil and ecclesiastical, without there having been one honest or one interested person in the nation for forty years to make known such wholesale forgeries; and that at a time when half the kingdom were of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and each one of these had an interest in believing the English ordinations invalid! The whole tale is so absurd that it has generally been scouted with contempt by every well informed person, and it was *so received* by Mr. Harington, when he published his ordination sermons, in 1845. For he then said:—"The objection sometimes advanced, that the succession was broken in the sixteenth century, *is too weak to require re-*

futation." But he now says—"Unhappily the author, when he wrote the above paragraph, was unacquainted with the extent of human credulity and the influence of popular prejudice. He has been informed that the *Nag's-head fable* is still believed by many, who, therefore, deny the fact of *the apostolical succession in the Church of England.*"

None of the respectable or well-informed classes, even among the Roman Catholics, have believed the story, or questioned on any such grounds as these the validity of the English ordinations. Valesius, a Franciscan, writing in 1664, says—"Where I seem somewhat too severe on Matthew Parker, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, under Queen Elizabeth, you must *not* persuade yourself I do *at all reflect upon his ordination.* And twelve years after he writes "*The ordination of the Protestant Church of England is valid:*" and a case which brought the question to an issue is mentioned by Prideaux of an English clergyman, named Goffe, becoming a Roman Catholic, and the question arose whether he should be re-ordained. "The matter was proposed to many doctors of the Sorbonne, who after having examined it gave in their opinion *that our orders were good;* but that affair appearing too important to be left to the decision of a few divines Rome was consulted, which, according to her practice, enjoined the (second) ordination, upon account that the doubt still remained for want of clearly stating the fact .....yet the Sorbonists still stuck to their opinion that he was *a good priest by his first ordination.*" The re-ordination was conditional, lest there should have been some irregularity in the first, which was not administered in the Roman communion; and in like manner it is their practice to re-baptize those who are admitted amongst them, notwithstanding they hold with the Catholic Church that baptism with water, and in the name of the Trinity, is valid by whomsoever administered, and hold also that this sacrament may not be repeated. But they re-baptize conditionally, lest perchance something essential should have been omitted.

Of the Nag's-head fable itself, Dr. Lingard, himself a Roman Catholic, writes as follows:—

"I ought perhaps to mention a story which was once the subject of acrimonious controversy between the divines of the two communions. It was said that Kitchen and Scorey, with Parker and the other bishops elect, met in a tavern called the Nag's-head, in Cheapside; that Kitchen, on account of a prohibition from Bonner, refused to consecrate them; and that Scorey, therefore, ordered them to kneel down, placed the Bible on the head of each, and told him to rise up a bishop. Of this tale, concerning which so much has been written, *I can find no trace* in any author or document of the reign of Elizabeth.

It is not improbable that the *commissioners*, having *confirmed* the election, dined together at the *Nag's-head*, the inn chiefly frequented by the clergy at that period; and that *this circumstance may have given rise to the story (Hist. of Eng.* vii. 380. *note*).

Dr. Lingard gives the true account of the invention; but it is necessary to give it more particularly. Mr. Neale, who seems to have been the inventor, published this fable in 1600; and the consecration of Parker took place in 1559; yet during these forty years, "neither Stapleton, nor Harding, nor Bristow, nor Alan, nor Reynolds, nor Parsons, nor any one of the Roman Catholic writers does so much as allude to it." Neale mentions no time, but Dr. Champney says that it was *before* the 9th Sep. 1559. This date was a guess, but it is palpably wrong: there was a commission issued under the great seal bearing the date, but this commission *was not executed;* the commission which was executed was dated the 6th Dec. 1559—*both* of these being recorded in the rolls. But this is not all: it was the *Confirmation* only that took place at Bow Church, in Cheapside, and it took place on the 9th Dec., and at the confirmation *Parker was not present;* his *consecration* took place at Lambeth on the 17th of Dec. 1559, as is proved by the most incontestible documents.

"In the registry of the metropolitan chapter of Canterbury the vacancy of that see is noticed from Nov. 1558, when Pole died, until the 8th of Dec. 1559, in the several commissions to the officers of the province and diocese of Canterbury, occupying one hundred and six leaves in the registry. Again, the registry of the Prerogative Court contains the probates of thirty-seven wills, between the 15th of Sep. 1559, and the 9th of Dec. following, all entered as having been made before Walter Haddon, commissary of the court *during the vacancy* of the see; and on that day *the form is changed*, and the entries until the 15th of Dec. are in the name of Walter Haddon, acting under the authority of Archbishop Parker *elected and confirmed*."

In addition to the legal documents proving the time and place of Parker's consecration, the following testimony of one who survived to the time of the invention of the fable is given in Mason's "Vindication:"—

"The consecration of Archbishop Parker, which was solemnized sixty years ago and more, is beyond the memory of most men now alive; and yet it has pleased God to preserve for us one witness, venerable for his age, and every way above the reach of exception—I mean the most noble and renowned Lord Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and late Lord High Admiral of England, who, in the year 1616, being asked by a friend whether or no he was invited to honour the consecration of Archbishop Parker and the solemnity thereo

with his presence, answered that he was indeed invited and earnestly entreated to be present at it. Being again asked to what place he was invited, and particularly whether it was to the Nag's-head, his lordship replied—'By no means, but to the palace at Lambeth,' whither he also declared he went on the day appointed for that very purpose..... Thus you see the testimony of this famous nobleman exactly agrees with the Acts of Parliament and the venerable records of the Church of England" (36).

Moreover, Courayer gives the following protest of Bishop Morton, inserted in his will by way of codicil, as read publicly in the church at the end of his funeral sermon, and published by Dr. Barwick:—

"I do therefore solemnly profess in the presence of Almighty God, that by his grace preventing and assisting me, I have always lived and purpose to die in the Catholic faith, wherein I was baptized.....If I had not believed upon sufficient evidence that the succession of bishops in the Church of England had been legally derived from the apostles, I had never entered into that high calling, much less continued in it thus long; and, therefore, I must here expressly vindicate myself from a most notorious untruth which is cast upon me by a late Romish writer (Le Quien), that I should publicly in the House of Peers, the beginning of the last Parliament, assent to that abominable fiction which some Romanists have devised concerning the consecrating Matthew Parker, at the Nag's-head tavern, to be Archbishop of Canterbury; for I do here solemnly profess that I have always believed that fable to proceed from the father of lies, as the public records still extant do evidently justify; nor do I remember that ever I heard it mentioned in that or any other Parliament that ever I sat in!

"THOMAS DURESME.

"Sealed, published, and declared this 15th day of April, 1658. T. Sanders, J. Barwick, J. Draper, R. Gray."

Having thus disposed of the facts, we cannot refrain from expressing our surprise that any man in his senses should at any time have credited such a tale of such a man as Matthew Parker—a man who was not only of a grave and reverent character, but notorious for his regard of ancient institutions, as we yet perceive in his collections and writings, and acknowledge in calling associations for such a purpose, by his name. That such a man, when the churches were all open to him, should gratuitously enact such a scene in a tavern, and that other grave divines, who were some of them bishops at the time, should be parties to such a profanation, is, we venture to say, beyond the belief of any one who knows anything of the English character, and will set the question seriously and dispassionately before him; and the story is not only thus in its very nature incredible, but it has no consistency when looked

at in the relations of different individuals. Truth is consistent with itself: when men are engaged in lying they contradict each other.

The statement of Champney in his treatise on the vocation of bishops is as follows:—

"In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Catholic bishops, being deprived and committed to prison, others were to be made and placed in their sees. They who were nominated and elected to that dignity met by appointment in London, at an inn, at the sign of the Nags-head, in the street called Cheapside. Thither also came upon invitation the Bishop of Landaff, very ancient and decrepid, and a weak and timorous man. By him the new candidates expected to be ordained; which Bonner, Bishop of London, then in prison for religion, having some intimation of, threatened Landaff with excommunication if he ordained them. He being frightened with this message, and being also possibly touched with the checks and pricks of his own conscience, drew back, and, pretending that his eyes were too weak, refused to lay hands upon them. The expectants, therefore, being disappointed of what they hoped for, and looking upon it as his putting a trick and abuse upon them, began to load the old man with reproaches, whom before they had treated with great honour and respect; some of them saying—'This doting old fool thinks we shall not be bishops unless we be *greased*;' ridiculing both the ancient bishop and the Catholic ceremony of consecration. But being thus disappointed of a consecrator, they were forced to take new measures, and addressed themselves to Scorey, an apostate monk, to be ordained by him. He, who with his religious habits had laid aside his conscience, soon did the business, making use of this ceremony:—They all kneeling before him, he laid the Bible upon each of their heads, and said—'Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely.' And so they rose up all bishops" (9).

Fitz-Simon, professing to derive his information from the very same sources, relates:—

"They make choice of Scorey, an apostate monk. He bids them fall down upon their knees; then taking *Parker* by the hand, he says —'*Up! rise Lord Bishop of Canterbury;*' and again in like manner to *Grindall*—'*Up! rise Lord Bishop of London;* and so to *Horn*—'*Up! rise Lord Bishop of Winchester;*' and then to *Sands*—'*Up! rise Lord Bishop of Worcester;*' and so to the rest" (11).

These stupid fabricators are not only inconsistent with each other, but they do not seem to have had so much knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs as to perceive that three bishops are required for episcopal consecrations, and that there are three stages—election, confirmation, and consecration. They imagine that it was possible to make a batch of bishops, including an archbishop, at once and by one bishop and—*proh pudor*—in a

tavern!!! But the refutation of the whole story is found in the letters patent still preserved among the records, from whence it clearly appears that the bishops mentioned above were not consecrated at the same time, and none of them till long after the period spoken of in this silly story. Archbishop Parker's letters patent bear date the sixth of December; his election was confirmed at Bow Church the ninth of December, he was consecrated at Lambeth the seventeenth of December, 1559. The letters patent for Grindall, Cox, and Sands, bear date the following day—viz., December 18, 1559; they were consecrated together December 21, and Horn was not consecrated till the sixteenth of February, 1560.

The partizans of Rome would never have had recourse to so ridiculous and disgraceful a fabrication as this, if they could have denied or in any way impugned the ordinations of the Church of England. But they well know that these orders are conferred by a succession of bishops who have themselves been regularly ordained and consecrated—whose ecclesiastical commission is as unimpeachable as their own: and they know that by the common consent of the whole Catholic Church orders once given are indelible and irrevocable; for, though man is the instrument he is but an instrument in the hand of God: man cannot revoke the gift, nor can the ordained man renounce his obligations, and to God he must give an account of his trust—to God he is responsible.

Dr. Elrington observes "that the forms in King Edward's ordinal were not considered as invalid at the very time when the question was most important—in the reign of Queen Mary—appears plainly from the case of Scory (the Scory who is said to have taken part in the Nag's-head affair), who had been consecrated by those forms, and was, as I have already observed in proving him to have been a bishop, restored to the exercise of his office by Bishop Bonner, *without any new consecration*... And that this of Scory was not a solitary instance, in which orders conferred by the ritual of Edward were admitted as valid in the reign of Mary, appears decisively from the complaint made by Sanders, one of the earliest and most violent opposers of those ordinations—'*that many ordained in the time of the schism of Henry and of Edward were permitted to exercise their ecclesiastical functions without enquiring into the manner in which they were ordained.*' Sanders indeed disapproves of this having been done, and plainly says that this *supina et irreligiosa negligentia* was the cause why the favour of Divine Providence was withdrawn from England.....but it may fairly be considered as the opinion of the *Roman Catholic Church*, par-

ticularly as the whole was conducted under the especial direction of the Pope."

The objection made by Sanders obviously goes farther than any Roman Catholic will now support him in, reaching to the orders conferred during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., against which no objection lay as to the *forms* used, for they were those of the Church of Rome, but merely to the *schism*. "But this is a point that need not now be argued; for *schism*, it is universally acknowledged, does not render orders conferred during it invalid" (43 *note*).

Nor could the Church of Rome call in question orders conferred *during schism* without committing *a suicidal act; for all her own orders* would be invalidated thereby. The schisms in the Church of Rome have been innumerable, some like that of the fourteenth century, when one Pope resided at Rome and another at Avignon for nearly seventy years, each the whole time appointing to ecclesiastical offices, and no one being able to say which ought to be held invalid; therefore, all the acts held to be equally valid. Rome cannot question the English ordinations without rendering all her ordinations equally questionable; and the facts prove that they did not at the time question any of the English ordinations.

"For the first ten years of Queen Elizabeth, a great part of the Roman Catholic laity came frequently to church. This, Sir Edward Coke declared in his charge at Norwich assizes and in his speech against Garnet and other conspirators in the Powder Plot; and this he affirmed on his own certain knowledge, and gave an instance in Bedenfield, Cornwallis, and several others of the Roman Catholic persuasion. And to fortify Coke's evidence the same thing is averred by the Queen herself in her instructions to Sir Francis Walsingham: here, with reference to the principal persons of that party, it is expressly affirmed that they did ordinarily resort from the beginning of her reign, in all open places, to the churches, without contradiction, or show of misliking." (23 *note*.) "Coke also affirmed that the Pope wrote a letter to Elizabeth, in which he consented to approve the Book of Common Prayer as used among us, as containing nothing contrary to the truth and comprehending what is necessary to salvation, though not all that ought to be in it, and that he would authorize us to use it if her Majesty would receive it from him, and upon his authority. And this is the truth touching Pius V., which I have often heard from the Queen's own mouth; and I have frequently conferred with noblemen of the highest rank in the state who had seen and read the Pope's letter on this subject as I have related it you. And this is as true as that I am an honest man." (47 *note*.)

The providence of God works in so mysterious a way that things which at first appear disadvantages turn out in the end

most advantageously. England was not so forward in the Reformation as Germany and Switzerland; and its first appearance amongst us was tarnished by the vices and impeded by the tyranny of Henry, and not long after was in danger of utter extinction, when his daughter, who may also be called the daughter of Babylon, came to the throne. But these very circumstances appear to have contributed towards preserving the episcopal succession amongst us; for Henry standing aloof for a time was courted by both parties, and the principles of the Reformation worked their way quietly among the people; and the Papal party on the continent not only exhausted their first rage but learnt how fruitless and vain these violent proceedings were likely to prove against reviving Christianity, and that now, as in the first ages, the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. Rome doubtless did all in its power to conciliate the formidable Henry, and the wiser friends of Rome would have restrained the sanguinary Mary, and thus interfered as little as possible with the English bishops; and such of these as were Englishmen felt with their countrymen, and partook of the heroism as well as the disgust at Rome which was roused by the frightful cruelties which were re-enacted by Mary and her brutal minions. The tolerance which Coke declares the Pope expressed himself willing to grant to Elizabeth and her subjects we believe to have been the true policy of Rome—we believe it to have been discerned to be such by the sagacious Italians long before, and that it was frustrated by the violence of Henry and the bigotry of Mary. Had it been allowed free course, it is not improbable that England might have remained in subjection to Rome some time longer; but, being frustrated, we have gained thereby both independence of Rome and the continuance of the episcopal succession.

It is well known that both Luther and Calvin desired to retain the order of bishops, but in their circumstances it was impracticable. It is also known that the Protestants of Germany and Prusia feel the want of bishops at the present day; but how to supply that want, without seeming to lose independence and without acknowledging some subjection to a foreign Church, is the difficulty, and it seems to be insuperable. England, more fortunate in separating from Rome, separated together with her hierarchy—separated as a complete Church. And thus, in retaining all the orders of the primitive Church, and the line of succession unbroken, demonstrates in the clearest manner that she professes no new religion, and sets up no new Church: she only clears the foundations of the one Catholic Church from the corruption which had accumulated like rubbish to obscure its original beauty; and, while jealous of every spurious

incumbrance which carelessness has allowed or superstition has introduced, would not rob the Church of any one of its fair proportions or legitimate ornaments.

The efficiency of the Church does not proceed from its being called this or that, nor even from its having *nominally* all the characteristics of a Church which are found in Scripture: its efficiency depends upon the machinery being complete, and this organization being filled with power. Christ had called apostles during his life time; but he commanded them not to begin their work, but wait at Jerusalem until they were endued with power from on high. Succession from the apostles means continuing to carry on the same work in the Church now which the apostles *began*; and as they transmitted to others the power which they had received from above by laying their hands on the baptized, so that power has been transmitted by the laying on of bishops' hands throughout all ages of the Church. And it does not appear how, where the succession has been broken, the power can be continued. We do not say that the sacraments are invalidated so as to lose their saving efficacy where the succession is interrupted; for it has often been determined that baptism is valid by whomsoever administered: nor do we say that this succession supersedes the necessity of faith, or that faith may not realize all the blessings of the Gospel, even where this succession is wanting; but, like all the other ordinances and means of grace, when received in faith, it will be accompanied with a larger measure of blessing. And the Churches in which it is found should feel a greater responsibility resting upon them in consequence: they should shew forth the fruits of the Spirit in a larger measure of zeal, diligence, holiness, and brotherly love towards each other, and charity towards all men.

The *via media*, which the Church of England advocates and exemplifies, is not a compromise of truth, but gives to truth its fair proportions, by keeping each one of the ordinances of Christ in its proper place, and so in harmony with all the rest. The reading of the word and the preaching of the Gospel are commanded by Christ, and these are therefore means of grace which he will acknowledge and bless. But these are not the only means of grace, nor are they the highest ordinances and most solemn of our Lord's commands: for Christ's *last* institutions—his *parting* legacy to the disciples and the *highest* ordinances of the Christian Church—are the *sacraments;* and these, received in faith by those who know the Scriptures and believe the Gospel, shall nourish, strengthen, and preserve all such Christians unto life eternal.

ART. XI.—*The Discipline of the Church in the Choice of her Ministers.* London: Painter.

2. *The Discipline and Government of the Church of England.* London: Painter.

3. *Discipline of the Anglican Church.* By the Rev. H. CHRISTMAS. London: Painter.

4. *Practice of the Anglican Church.* By the Rev. H. CHRISTMAS. London: Painter.

THE English Church, in its present condition and organization, is one of those anomalous things that we occasionally, though rarely, meet with in this world; and, as a vast and influential body, it is certainly one of the most extraordinarily constituted in existence. It has amongst its orders, and degrees, and ranks, dignitaries so high that the Sovereign only is higher; beneath those are others who take precedence of all the barons of the realm; others also, its thousands upon thousands of subordinate ministers, dispersed over the whole land, officiating in every nook and corner of the kingdom, having everywhere a local habitation, and everywhere exercising a considerable influence over all around them—and yet has this great and active body no Head—no Executive.

Meanwhile it is in itself utterly powerless to make any laws, to enforce any canons, to correct any defects: it can neither reform itself nor extend itself: be its wants whatever they may, it cannot add one to the number of its bishops: it can form no new dioceses, nor in any manner change the old: it can in no case interfere for spiritual purposes with any existing parochial boundaries, inconvenient often as these are, and advantageously as they might in many cases be enlarged or diminished. It is in itself powerless to effect any change in its present condition and system—it has no settled *lex scriptæ*, and no power to form one. Canons it certainly has, which have, however, no force of law, and which are besides so unsuited to its wants that the greater portion are little better than a dead letter, and many are by general consent allowed for peace sake to lay by obsolete altogether.

Even the rubrics of the Church—the directions printed expressly in the Prayer Book for the very purpose of securing, as it was thought, uniformity in the service—even these are in some cases at variance wholly with its present practice; and some of these rubrics, if not actually contradictory one to another, admit at least of a wide difference of opinion, and are

variously acted upon according to the various views taken of them, and the various meanings assigned to them. Even the men who call themselves the especial interpreters and expounders of its laws, the proctors and the judges in the Ecclesiastical Courts, greatly differ at times among themselves as to what the law in reality is, and are continually giving very opposite judgments in causes ecclesiastical; nor can any one at this moment say what law is to guide the clergy in all their ministrations of the services of the Church; nor do they know whether the rubric, and the rubric alone, is in every case to be considered as their sole guide; or whether present customs may lawfully supersede the rubric; or whether an order from the bishop may legally set aside both, or the Arches Court judgment set them all aside. As a necessary consequence—where the law determinately settles so little, and present customs can plead no great antiquity, and so wide a field is open for diversities of opinion—the most opposite practices prevail in all the details of ministerial duty throughout all the dioceses in the kingdom.

None have more just cause to lament this than the clergy themselves; and many have been the attempts made by tracts, and pamphlets, and letters, and books, to suggest something that would amend the evils complained of. The very little result that has followed from all that has been hitherto written and said on the subject proves very clearly that our condition and discipline are such as to admit of no amendment from trifling means or from petty legislation. The confusion that prevails in the obscurity and complexity of the laws that bear directly and indirectly on the Church—the uncertainty in so many cases as to what the law is until the Dean of the Arches has given his judgment upon it—the ignorance and the indifference of the laity to all such subjects, and the extreme jealousy of the State and of statesmen of all parties lest the Church should escape from its present thraldom and subjection to the temporal power, paralyze the will as well as the power of all who attempt to legislate on her behalf, and seemingly convince all that profitable legislation is impossible.

Men's minds are exceedingly perplexed in reference to the bishops on this subject. It is argued that they must know the defective state of discipline in the Church, and yet they move not a finger nor lift up a voice to amend that which in the Church most needs amendment, and which, if amended, would relieve them of nineteen-twentieths of their trouble. But it is difficult to conceive that so many men of such various talents, and such active habits, should all tacitly agree to do nothing, unless they were all morally convinced that they would be al-

lowed to do nothing. The seeming indifference of the bishops to the present almost lawless condition of the Church may arise from their utter hopelessness to effect any good, if they attempted to do good. It may be something more than a question with them whether the law lords would suffer any bill to pass that a bishop introduced, or any bill relating to Church subjects that was not introduced by themselves. What passed in the session of 1846 would lead to such a conclusion; but, if we are wrong in all this, the silence and inertness of the bishops on the subject is undoubtedly unaccountable, and for any thing we know indefensible.

Help, however, from some cause or other, does not come from them, and it can come from nothing beyond them; and herein is our difficulty that we are a multitudinous body, set apart for directly spiritual uses, having exclusively spiritual functions to perform, and exceedingly ill defined laws to lead us to a faithful performance of our various spiritual duties: and yet have we no Executive in the Church—no spiritual head to govern or to guide us—to direct us in the right way, or to correct us when we are wandering from it. When difficulties arise, or doubts and perplexities on any subject, we must settle our own diversities of ideas as we best can, and compromise our many differences of opinions as we are best able. The bishops are invariably divided upon every subject that can possibly interest the Church: it seems to be a fixed law among them that there never shall be agreement between them—that their house shall, on every question spiritual or political, be ever divided against itself—that Norwich shall always oppose Exeter; and, so far as votes and speeches can go, invariably defeat all the designs of London. As there is never any concord among them on any imaginable subject, and there is no spiritual authority superior to their own in the kingdom, the Church at large has provided the next best substitute for a spiritual head that it could find in the Dean of the Arches. The nearest approach to a Pope that we have yet attained is Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, who has more power over the Church than all other persons, lay or ecclesiastical, in the kingdom: no one, like him, can enunciate laws, or decide controversies, or punish delinquents: he alone has the power to suspend or deprive clerics *ab officio et a beneficio*, and to decide absolutely upon all the multifarious questions that, from time to time, are agitated within the Church; so decisive is his judgment, and so deferentially is it received, that the *dicta* of all the bishops of the united kingdom would not upset it; nor would their most strongly expressed opinion be valued one rush in comparison with it.

This in times to come may work for good or for evil, as those times will show; but at the present, for any head that hears, and sees, and thinks, that opens its mouth and speaks, the Church must content itself with the head of the Judge in the Arches Court: that head unfortunately, perhaps unavoidably, winks at much that it sees, and nods drowsily or otherwise over much that it hears: and it would never in fact open its mouth at all, did not some learned advocate force from it an opinion, and call upon it deliberately and decidedly for a judgment. It being a rule of the Arches Court never to know anything whatever of what the Church does but what is spoken of within its own walls—but what is brought before it expressly for adjudication—we can never hope that the head of that court would look a little into the strange disorders of that body with which he is so strangely connected, and endeavour to heal some of its very many infirmities. No one, however, better knows its constitution than he does, nor the many just causes of its continual complainings; nor has any one the power and the influence over it which he has. Any mere hint from him would be received as a law by the Church, which would at once tacitly and firmly act upon it. Even bishops must bow under the weighty sceptre he wields when he chooses to rule; for he has rods of brine for all ranks and for all sorts of clerical delinquencies: one word from him would suspend the whole bench, if just cause arose, and send them adrift on the world without a profession and without an income.

A power so great that it cannot be defined—that is limited by no law—that has never yet been exercised perhaps to its utmost limits—is a formidable power, and a power greater than is professed by any other subject: it is the power to make laws and to enforce them when made; or, which is very much the same thing, of saying what the law shall be on every subject with which the Church has to do, and what the punishment shall be when such law is not obeyed. Yet, great as the power is, our regret is that it is so seldom exercised—that the hands that wield it are so slow to use it; in safer hands such power could never be. All our past experience has taught us, and all history teaches, the power, by whomsoever usurped, when put in force upon the Church, has invariably been scandalously abused; and to prevent it being ever again usurped it should be conferred or confirmed, and that in the amplest manner, upon those who were never known to use the power they possessed but for the Church's good.

Many instances are there of sovereigns, and of subjects, and of rebels, who used all the power they could grasp to plunder,

to ruin, to annihilate the Church; but there is no instance on record of any Dean of the Arches doing aught else than benefitting the Church by his judgments. As executive power must be somewhere, and the power to direct and make laws for the Church is a power so general in its nature as to be almost absolute of its kind, and so irresponsible as to be almost irreversible, we the more incline to enlarge, if needs be, the power which the Dean of the Arches already possesses—so as to make it as absolute as it can be made in all causes ecclesiastical, and in all cases connected with the discipline of the Church, and the correction of all spiritual persons within it.

It was a bold attempt that the Bishop of London lately made to filch from the dean his power, and from the advocates of his courts their fees; and how a man of his knowledge of the world and of his experience of men could hope to succeed is beyond our comprehension. He, however, either felt or feigned great surprise when he was assured that his efforts were hopeless, and that the learned in the law did not hold power and money so cheap as to part with both through any suggestions from him; and, in his attempt to legislate for the Church on that occasion, we may read a lesson of no little importance to ourselves. The bill which he introduced into the House of Lords, in the session of 1846, was entitled "A Bill for Amending the Laws for the Correction of Clerks;" but it was no sooner read, and its purport understood, than it was summarily rejected, from various motives, perhaps, which it concerns us not further to enquire into. But the provisions of that bill very clearly reveal to the clergy what the *animus* of the bishops is towards them; and how cordially and unanimously they should agree to allow the power for their correction to remain in the hands where it now is: for with what a rod of iron do the bishops, according to this bill, desire to rule the Church!—and what whips of scorpions they desire to be armed with who are called by Divine Providence to preside over the ministers and pastors of Christ's flock!

We hail it as eminently providential that the proposed bill could find no favour nor countenance from the Lords, and that to the bishop was at once and sternly denied the power this bill prayed for; for it was more than anything else the odious power to worry and destroy, to prosecute and persecute—it was arming the shepherd with a spear instead of a crook, and encouraging him to mangle his flock altogether as he pleased. And there was, moreover, a very high premium asked for by the lordly prosecutor, to induce him and excite him to prosecute eagerly and successfully: upon his success depended all his costs; and the hope of gaining these might very naturally, however uncon-

sciously, occasionally give great bitterness to the charges, and add intensely to the desire to convict. Besides, the costs, when gained, were after all to fall upon a party innocent of wrong; and this was one of the most objectionable portions of a very objectionable bill—that it allowed the bishop to sequester a living to his own use, and for any number of years he pleased: he might make the trial very expensive, and lengthen it out almost indefinitely, without any regard to the means which the tithe-payers had to discharge the debt with which he was charging them. Thus, a benefice might be so mulcted by an expensive law-suit that a whole generation of men in a parish would pass into their graves before the sequestration would be taken off—before any other minister than a poor curate could reside among them.

Despotism never yet produced either affection or veneration, and bishops armed with such despotic powers as this bill would give them—and their asking for it with so much earnestness proves that they meant to use it—would be inclined probably in far too many cases to prosecute when without it they would persuade; and they would certainly be generally regarded as delighting rather to carry swords than olive branches, and as more disposed to make wounds in the Church than to heal them. If other laws are indeed really and absolutely needed for the correction of unruly clerks, it would seem to the world more seemly that the bishops should be less ostentatiously anxious to be made the prosecutors, and less eager to sequester the livings of their clergy.

Besides, how foolish is such legislation! How impolitic it is to ask the House of Commons to pass a bill for the sequestration of livings! Gladly would many in that house do it, and on a far larger scale than any bishop would desire. It is *precedent* they want: it is reasons of any kind for sequestrations that they desire; and, to reasons assigned by the bishops for the necessity or propriety of such a measure, they would add a few reasons of their own; and greatly would the bishops regret that they had ever called the reasoning powers of such a body on such a subject into exercise. Sequestration is but a milder kind of spoliation, and the Church has undergone so much of the stronger process that it is naturally very sensitive when the bishops talk so loudly about the milder.

Our case besides is hardly so bad as to justify such extreme measures as the bishop's bill called for. Suppose milder means were first tried, and a more truly pastoral intercourse was established between the bishop and his clergy. At present the distance is so immeasurable between the episcopal palace and

the country vicarage that no communication of a kind and friendly nature can pass between them. We can hear the thunder growling sometimes in those elevated regions where bishops reside; but no kind, encouraging, soothing, sympathising, sounds ever reach us from hence; and, until all the milder means of persuasion can be shown to be exhausted, and all the influence and resources of the bishops, as men of peace and as faithful shepherds of the flock, have been tried and tried in vain, it is to be hoped that the Legislature will not grant to them greater or more direct power over the clergy than they already possess. They have power enough for all profitable uses; and what they most need after all is discretion to use well such power as they have; and wisdom, zeal, and charity to make it perfectly effectual to all the great and important purposes for which it is entrusted to their charge. They may gain and they may secure the affection and veneration of thousands of good men, who, as their clergy, are yearning to love them, and honour and esteem them, and who would desire nothing more earnestly than to have every cause for obeying reverently, and faithfully, and conscientiously, all their behests, and to serve them diligently in love for the truth's sake. As faithful, just, and merciful overseers of the shepherds of the flock, they may secure our obedience and veneration to the utmost of their desert; but as stern and despoiling legislators they never will.

That the present state of discipline in the Church, both as regards ecclesiastics and layman, is miserable in the extreme is allowed on all hands, and is lamented by almost all parties; but the question is how is this state of things to be improved, and what has the Church of laws by which discipline can be enforced? Could we discover any law whatever which all parties would acknowledge as *the law*—which the common law courts, equally with the ecclesiastical, would consent to be ruled by—there would be some light in the gloom—some hope in the midst of the darkness that surrounds us. One ray on our path would enable us to see our way to some more certain conclusions than we are now able to do; but the difficulty is to find out what all parties will receive and acknowledge as *the law* by which the Church is to be guided. Many urge that the canons and constitutions ecclesiastical form the law to the Church; but if the lay courts will not suffer its provisions to be enforced, it must of necessity remain, in a great degree, a dead letter; if the penalties imposed under it cannot by any process be recovered, careless men and men of no principle will transgress its enactments without scruple, and in the full confidence of impunity. To take the sixty-second canon as an example—that

canon says:—"No minister upon pain of suspension, *per triennium ipso facto*, shall celebrate matrimony between any persons except the banns have been published three several Sundays in the churches where the said parties dwell." Now, as every one must know, this canon is by many hundreds and, perhaps, by some thousands of clergymen totally disregarded—some make no enquiries about the parties having no time—others, indifferent altogether, will publish any names whatever that are brought before them—and others will publish them for the sake of the fees they bring. This instance shows in what little estimation the canons are held by the clergy, and how little they regard them as laws binding upon them. The Dean of the Arches does not pay much more attention to them, when they presume to teach him his duty, as the eighty-sixth canon proves; yet he invariably refers to them in all his judgments as his guide and his authority for all his decisions. Yet, whether even he, in the plenitude of his power, could enforce the penalty the sixty-second canon imposes, and suspend *per triennium* the offending clergymen, may be questioned; and, as the bishops do not observe the canons with any great care themselves, they can hardly be considered as any helps to discipline—much less as decisive authority to us in all such matters. Acts of Parliament, however, are authority, or at least are always spoken of as authority, of force sufficient to bind us all to obedience; and a great deal has been said, and especially of late, of one especial Act of long standing—the Act of Uniformity—as having within it authority to awe the most unruly, and power to chastise the most disorderly. Whatever defects there might be in the title of the canons to be called legal enactments, there could be no doubt of the legality of an Act of Parliament; therefore, the Act of Uniformity was a law to the Church which no one would dispute about, and which all the law courts would enforce. Such has been certainly the generally received opinion hitherto, and a very natural one it was, and perfectly warranted by the words of the Act itself; and to those who would most gladly find some law somewhere, to which they might cling as the law and prove their obedience by, it is very mortifying to discover that, after all, there is no Act existing of any legal obligation; and this instance is sufficient to convince all how difficult it is to legislate on such matters, and how impossible to enforce obedience and discipline by any Acts of Parliament, however plain, however stringent.

In the whole kingdom there is not, perhaps, a man more cautious and considerate than Dr. Howley, the Archbishop of Canterbury—no one who more carefully deliberates before he

resolves, or more deeply reflects before he acts: for once that he speaks he twenty times thinks, and weighs most thoroughly and well whatever he has at any time to do or to say. Shrewd, penetrating, and keenly observant of other men, he is ever awake to them, and their doings and sayings; and no coaxing of theirs avails them with him, and no cajolery deludes him. To fear or to flattery he is equally inaccessible; and, with a remarkable perception to discern what is right, he has a peculiar firmness of character that invariably sustains him in doing and saying whatever he thinks right. Such a man would never transgress the laws of the Church willingly, and his very high position within it is the pledge that he could not do it ignorantly. Whatever he does, therefore, with the services of the Church, is at once the guide and the law to all others, and the view he takes of the Acts of Uniformity is clearly seen by the manner in which he has treated them. In the Act of the first of Elizabeth for the "Uniformity of Common Prayer in the Church," and which is prefixed to all the large Church Prayer Books, we read that "if any parson, vicar, or other *whatsoever minister*, shall wilfully use *any other* open prayers than is mentioned and set forth in the said book, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted by the *notorious evidence* of the fact, shall forfeit to the Queen's highness the profit of all his spiritual benefices arising in one whole year, and shall suffer imprisonment by the space of six months; and, for the second offence, shall be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions; and so offending the third time, shall suffer imprisonment during his life."

Now, the archbishop has not only wilfully used other prayers than is set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, but he has himself made them; and this not only once, twice, or thrice, but repeatedly, during the last few days; and he has insisted, moreover, that all the clergy of the kingdom shall do as he did. The possibility to the clergy of such an occurence as this, as compulsion from high quarters, seems to have been very clearly foreseen by the framers of this Act; for there is a clause in it which, if it does not provide complete protection for the clergy, makes some provision for it, by awarding a heavy and well defined punishment for all, however high in office, who cause others to transgress. The words are—"It is ordained and enacted, that if any person or persons *whatsoever* shall *compel* or *cause* any parson, vicar, or other minister to say *any prayer otherwise* than is mentioned in the said Prayer Book, that every such person shall forfeit to the Queen one hundred marks; and for the second offence, four hundred marks; and for the third offence, all his goods and chattels,

and shall suffer imprisonment during his life." The Act of 14 Carol. II. confirms the above enactment, and says that the above law shall stand in full force and strength to all intents and purposes whatsoever, for the establishing and confirming the said book. Thus, this much talked of Act of Uniformity, which has been so often pointed to, especially of late, as amply sufficient to awe the clergy into subjection, is shown to be no law at all. It has been disobeyed by all spiritual persons in the kingdom from the archbishop to the humblest curate; and yet no one has been molested, and no one has been blamed. We have, therefore, no Act existing with any force of law to compel uniformity in public worship.

It is sad enough to find that such is truly the case; but, meanwhile, another fact peers out of rather portentous aspect, which is this—that the Sovereign in Council, the bishop being present, may at any time, for any purpose, or on any occasion, order such prayers to be read in all the Churches as may please them, in total independence of the whole Church besides, and in direct disobedience to the Act above cited. Here is new cause for embarrassment, and our perplexities are not a little increased by it; for, where so many masters present themselves and each commands our service, it is difficult to say whom lawfully we shall serve. The rubric says one thing—others, and bishops among them, say that custom supersedes the rubric. The Act of Uniformity says that no prayers shall be used in the churches but such as the Prayer Book contains; and yet those very persons who, were it only for example's sake, should show the utmost respect for the laws, and who are more concerned almost than all others that they should be faithfully obeyed—namely, the sovereign, the bishop, the chancellor, the ministers—very deliberately sit down and command a new prayer to be made, and that prayer to be read in all the churches in the kingdom. This is a state of things that may some day or other lead to much confusion in the Church, for that is again possible which has already happened: the reigning sovereign may be at heart a Socinian or a Papist; and, in proportion to his heterodoxy, so many be his zeal, and his determination to force forward his own views. As he has all England to select from he might be able to promote to the see of Canterbury a prelate who would willingly render him all the aid in his power: a very small council could make most objectionable prayers, and on most objectionable subjects; and, if we were to judge of the future by the past, the bishop has authority to enforce the reading of those prayers throughout his whole province. It may be that the Church will concede the point—will allow that the

bishop has authority to make any additions to the service, or to introduce any inconsistent subjects in the prayers; but, if not, what is the Church then to do? It has already virtually acknowledged the superior authority of a Council over an Act of Parliament—it has shewn its willingness to adopt any prayers into its ritual that that Council may choose to send forth—it has tacitly yielded to the Council the power of deliberating and determining what its liturgy shall be; and if the power thus exercised by the Council and thus allowed by the Church is allowed also by the law courts, it is undoubtedly a fearful and a dangerous power which may at any time, by any administration, be brought to bear upon us and to trouble us.

But the Act of Uniformity not having been as yet formally repealed, and no new Act that we know of having conferred on a Cabinet Council the power of making additional prayers for the liturgy, it is not quite clear what the Dean of the Arches would say on the subject, were his judgment appealed to. He might, perchance, decide that the proclamations of the Council were no law to the Church, and that the Act of Uniformity binds us and binds them in bonds that he would not allow to be rent asunder. The case may possibly come before him ere long for a decision, and his decision would set us right on some points: either he would declare the orders of the Council illegal, or the Act of Uniformity of no obligation—any way, we should be instructed and have our path made much plainer than it now is. But the Cabinet has provided another means of interfering very deeply in Church matters; and even though the judgment of the Arches Court should be adverse to their claim of interference with the liturgy, as advanced by them in the Council-chamber, yet they have established a new power which may in time, and with proper management, enable them to contend with and to overthrow the authority of all ecclesiastical courts, and to annul all their judgments.

Some years since an Administration that, for various reasons, was decidedly hostile to the Church, and that was the more especially remarkable for the peculiar haughtiness and arrogance of its members, appointed a commission with hitherto unheard-of powers to disturb to the very utmost the state of things as they then existed in the Church—prompted by this chiefly, as it would seem, by their excessive pride, which could not tolerate that bishops of plebeian race should be raised by their office to a seat among themselves. This commission is so constituted that it can, at any convenient time hereafter, receive all sufficient powers for all assigned purposes; but its powers are limited at present to the taking possession of the incomes of dissolved sees

and demolished chapters. Prebendaries are removed from their stalls, canonries are annihilated, episcopal palaces are overthrown, that this commission may have in its custody and at its disposal a large share of the Church's temporal things. What was Church property it now receives year by year a large portion of, and re-distributes it in a fashion of its own, and very much according to its own views and its own pleasure. This is something, but this is not all—it is a never-dying and a never-ceasing commission: it neither slumbers nor sleeps: its eye is ever upon its prey: its sittings are permanent, and its decrees, irreversible and unchangeable, at once become laws to the Church the moment they issue from its sanctuary. But it has capabilities and capacities far beyond any thing it has yet displayed, and may readily be made an exceedingly influential body whenever any able statesmen of the day may choose to make it so. A time may come when a ministry hostile to the Church may determine to interfere with it in the root and branch style; and it would be very easy, under the plea of extending the labours of the commission and increasing its cares, to add to the number of its members—thereby to outvote the bishops, and to carry any measures that concern the interests, the discipline, and the organization of the Church.

We must not, therefore, despise this thing of small beginnings: like other small things it may in time attain to a most portentous growth and gain sufficient strength even to strangle the Church. We must not forget that it was the creation of a party who made no scruple of saying that they designed by it to humble us, and even to degrade us—who told the bishops to their face "to set their house in order," for that the enemies of their house were at their door; and that "heavy blows and great discouragement" awaited them from the State. As their gift this commission merits, therefore, that we should keep a very watchful eye over it; and, so far as we can, look to its deeds and mark its tendencies: it may work for good, as even evil things sometimes do; and it may in the end greatly benefit and strengthen the Church, and, so long as we can rest in this hope, we must think charitably of it, and judge of it kindly and favourably.

The writer of the "Tract on the Discipline and Government of the Church" seems to think that we should at once be freed from all our apprehensions, and find a cure for all our ills by the re-establishment of the Convocation in full force. It is not for us to say one word in disparagement of the Convocation—otherwise than that its re-establishment could tend to no good—no one really useful purpose to the Church would be answered

by it: it could have no power in itself: its decrees would settle nothing; and, of itself, it could enforce nothing. The law courts would give it no assistance, and would probably, out of sheer contempt for it an ill will to it, overrule in every instance all its decisions and judgments. In the one hundred and thirty-ninth canon it calls itself the Church's representative, and pronounces it as a wicked error to deny the fact. We will not, therefore, deny it; but this we may say, that wars and ages have had their influence upon it, and that it is now a very sorry representative—it scarcely exists. Once in a year it just shews life, and then dies away: it does nothing certainly but this, and there are millions in the land who are not in the least conscious of its being: it is not therefore, now, a fair representative of the Church, whatever it once was. Whether it would be possible or advisable to reconstruct it anew, instead of re-establishing it as of old, is another question; but we have no statesmen in our day competent to such a task; and, if any have the ability, certainly none have the inclination, and we should do well to give up every idea of either re-establishing or reconstructing the Convocation.

And, after all, the present singular condition of the Church may rather be a blessing to it than a misfortune. If we had one supreme spiritual head on earth, that head might at times govern us very arbitrarily, and might even occasionally direct us very unadvisedly: at any rate, we should be bound by it, and could have no alternative but to obey it; and as to the power of the State over the Church, that is rather a power negatively exercised than actively enforced. Its influence is felt rather as restraint and a clog than a spur, and serves to repress the the very forward, the zealous, the impetuous, and the busy, to deter the Church from trying or assuming too much of its own powers, or of taking the management of its affairs, or the administration of its laws, too freely into its own hands. As to the canons also, if they had received the sanction of the Legislature, and been received in consequence as a portion of the common law of the land, all the provisions of those canons must of necessity have been carried out; and experience has proved to us that many of these are very unsuitable to the times in which we live; that strict obedience to them all would be impracticable in some cases, and exceedingly prejudicial to the Church in others; they are regarded, therefore, by us all rather as guides than as laws—rather as helps to uniformity than legal obligations. This is the view seemingly that the Dean of the Arches takes of them on their application to his own case. The eighty-sixth canon directs him personally to

survey the churches severally in his deanery once in three years; but who ever heard of his wasting his time, as he might call it, in this manner? What dean was ever guilty of visitation and examination of church fabrics?—he can employ himself, as he thinks, in a manner more suitable to his talents and his station, and so probably he may; but, then, he does not consider it as strictly and legally binding upon him. And it may have been from the consideration that the canons and constitutions ecclesiastical could never be throughout all time a law to the Church, and were never in their present state designed so to be, that induced Sir H. J. Fust, in the summing up of his arguments in the celebrated case of "Faulkner *v.* Litchfield," to cite other authorities for his opinion than the canons. He endeavours to strengthen his judgment by quotations from Roman Catholic writers—from Durandus and Cardinal Bona—a very evident proof of the secondary consideration he gave to the canons, since, if what they had said was law, that was at once decisive of the question; and it was weakening their force, if not annihilating their objection, to appeal from them to the writings of men of another Church who could not be received as any authority to us.

Perhaps it is to be regretted that the rubrics were not so framed as to admit of unqualified obedience from all the clergy through all time. Uniformity in all the ministrations of the Church would seem so desirable, so beneficial, so conducive to its interests, its strength and its usefulness, that one cannot but lament that there should be such a diversity in the ministration as there seems to be; but then, to obtain universal assent, the rubrics should be so plain as to admit of no two opinions; and the services to which they refer should be so unexceptionable that all would be agreed to use them as they find them. This, however, is not the case; for, to take one example, we never heard any clergyman read the whole form of solemnization of matrimony: some omit the first two causes—some the prayers for fruitfulness—and some the substitutes for a sermon; and we know an instance very lately where the bridegroom, being a clergyman and a very earnest and faithful one, and the bride a very devout woman, both were very anxious to receive the holy communion after the solemnization of their marriage; but the bishop, who had heard of their wish, positively forbad it to be complied with. Thus, though the rubric directs this, it was of no force when the bishop was opposed to it, and there is not probably any one bishop on the bench who would exhort his clergy to obey all the rubrics unreservedly.

Even our great legal head, Sir H. J. Fust, when he found, in the case of Faulkner above cited, a rubric opposed to his views, and asserting the very contrary to the opinion he was about to express, set aside its authority without scruple by one of those clever devices which none can ever propose but the very learned in the law. He said that what the rubric directed was not what the parties asked for. The rubric directed stone altars to be retained—what was asked for was a stone communion table—so he refused the table without giving offence to the rubric, further than by quoting Durandus, as a more explicit or a more decisive authority.

Where, therefore, there is so much diversity of opinion among bishops and judges concerning the rubrics, strict uniformity and general agreement among the clergy can scarcely be expected; but, the fact is, the clergy must arrange these things among themselves: there is no authority over them so infallible as to procure universal acquiescence to his opinions, and the difficulty of obtaining a decisive and unqualified opinion from a bishop upon any subject of ecclesiastical law or discipline leaves to the clergy a very wide discretion in all things that concern both; and it is discretion that in the present circumstances of the Church is so greatly and constantly needed. But the very discreet man is seldom a zealous man—the very prudent is very often a *do little*—the very earnest is frequently very hasty; and, therefore, the value of bringing the clergy by some constituted authority very frequently together, that they may when together gain wisdom from each other—profit by each other—that the burning zeal of one may be tempered by the wise moderation of another, and the excessive caution of one be quickened by hearing of the successful exertions of the more active ministers. Wherever ten or twenty men can be collected together in friendly intercourse on such subjects for one day three or four times in the year, and are presided over on such occasions by one with authority, and who is capable and willing to exercise that authority for the pleasure and profit of all, it is incalculable the good that results from such meetings. A mutual esteem is felt by all one towards another; singularities in a great measure disappear; party spirit is softened down; knowledge is communicated; kind feelings are felt and exercised; charity is improved and enlarged, and uniformity in ministrations greatly promoted. And, with the power that the bishops possess of appointing rural deans in every portion of their diocese, and with their irresponsible power of selecting everywhere the very best men for the purpose, they have most decidedly the very best means in their own hands of establishing

discipline among the clergy, and through them among the laity; of promoting a more cordial agreement among all parties in the Church, and of securing a more general uniformity of opinion and practice than any Acts of Parliament could give them, or than any judgments from the Ecclesiastical Courts could secure to them. Through the rural deans the bishop might communicate to the clergy his wishes upon all Church matters; paternally and confidentially could learn what the opinions of his clergy were on all subjects submitted to them; and their views and feelings personally upon all things that concern the interests and welldoing of the Church in all its complicated relations with the State. He would then have a most correct knowledge of his diocese, and of all parties and opinions within it; he would know what precisely, with the general concurrence of his clergy, he might do or say on every subject that came before him in his legislative capacity—to use a military phrase, he would have them "well in hand," and they would have the utmost confidence in him.

But, to make this machinery work well, the rural deans must be men of business habits, and they must have matters of business always in hand ready for consideration at the quarterly meetings. Clergymen do not like to be taken half a dozen miles out of their parish for nothing; and, with the work they have already in hand, it would be very undesirable that they should do so; but they would gladly go where their diocesan desired their presence and solicited their deliberations, where he sought their advice, and where they might profit by his exhortations and his counsels. If brotherly love is universally to to prevail amongst us—if effective discipline is to be established among us—if uniformity is to be expected from us—it is through such an agency as this, where the bishop and his clergy could communicate to each other their thoughts and their feelings, their hopes and their wishes, in a friendly spirit, neither too authoritatively on the one hand, nor too intrusively on the other; but regularly, frequently and confidentially, to the mutual comfort and profit of both parties, and to the great advantage of the Church which both serve.

Notices of Books.

Modern Painters. Vol. I. By A Graduate of Oxford. Third Edition. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1846.

Second and third editions are usually so like the first that it would be a mere waste of time and space to notice them. We are, however, induced to depart from our general rule of confining our remarks to the *editio princeps*, in respect to the work before us, from the circumstance of its having been professedly "revised by the author," as well as from the fact, deducible from the size of the volume as compared with the former editions, that it contains much new matter. If we were called upon to multiply our reasons for thus infringing upon a general and wholesome rule, we might adduce the celebrity of the work; which, in the circles of literature as well as art, has created no ordinary sensation, and which, while it has been hailed on the one hand by acclamations of applause, has been assailed on the other by the most virulent and unmeasured abuse—an equally unequivocal evidence of the importance attached to the opinions it promulges. This violence of vituperation has more especially been directed towards the second volume, which was noticed in our last number, and which, from the religious tone that pervades it, would naturally provoke the hostility of a certain section of the critical press. The author, in the preface to this edition, modestly remarks of the work as it had previously appeared—

"Thinking it of too little substance to bear mending, wherever I have found a passage which I thought required modification or explanation, I have cut it out: what I have left, however imperfect, cannot, I think, be dangerously misunderstood: something I have added, not under the idea of rendering the work, in anywise, systematic or complete, but to supply gross omissions, answer inevitable objections, and give some substance to passages of mere declamation. Whatever inadequacy or error there may be throughout, in materials or modes of demonstration, I have no doubt of the truth and necessity of the main result; though the reader may, perhaps, find me frequently hereafter showing other and better grounds for what is here affirmed; yet the point and bearing of the book—its determined depreciation of Claude, Salvator, Gaspar, and Canaletto; and its equally determined support of Turner as the greatest of all landscape painters, and of Turner's recent works as his finest—are good and right; and, if the prevalence throughout of attack and eulogium be found irksome or offensive, let it be remembered that my object thus far has not been either the establishment or the teaching of any principles of art, but the vindication, most

necessary to the prosperity of our present schools, of the uncomprehended rank of their greatest artist, and the distinction equally necessary, as I think, to the prosperity of our schools, of the unadvised admiration of the landscape of the seventeenth century. ..... Some important additions have also been made to the chapters on the painting of sea. Throughout the rest of the text, though something is withdrawn, little is changed; and the reader may rest assured that, if I were now to bestow on this feeble essay the careful revision which it much needs but little deserves, it would not be to alter its tendencies or modify its conclusions, but to prevent indignation from appearing virulence on the one side, and admiration partizanship on the other."

It will be seen in our previous notices of this remarkable writer that, admiring as we do his wondrous eloquence, high poetic feeling, and profound study of nature, we have not bound ourselves to the chariot-wheels of his opinions, at the same time that we are not prepared to impugn them. Indeed we have felt it but candid to admit that we cannot measure our knowledge of art with his; and, therefore, that it rather becomes us to put our readers in possession of the nature of the work than attempt anything like a critical examination of its theories.

Among the new matter presented to us in this volume we are glad to find some remarks on the works of artists who were merely glanced at in the former editions; and we especially rejoice to quote the following allusion to Mr. Prout, who, at one time, stood almost alone as a water-colour artist, and who, in many excellences of his art, is still unapproached:—

"We owe to Prout, I believe, the first perception, and certainly the only existing expression, of precisely the characters which were wanting to old art—of that feeling which results from the influence among the noble lines of architecture—of the rent and the rust, the fissure, the lichen and the weed—and from the writing upon the pages of ancient walls of the confused hieroglyphics of human history. I suppose, from the deserved popularity of the artist, that the strange pleasure which I find myself in the deciphering of these is common to many: the feeling has been rashly and thoughtlessly contemned as mere love of the picturesque: there is, as I have above shown, a deeper moral in it, and we owe much—I am not prepared to say how much—to the artist by whom pre-eminently it has been excited. For, numerous as have been his imitators, extended as his influence, and simple as his means and manner, there has yet appeared nothing at all to equal him: there is *no* stone drawing, *no* vitality of architecture like Prout's. I say not this rashly; I have Mackenzie in my eye and many other capital imitators; and I have carefully reviewed the architectural work of the academicians, often most accurate and elaborate. I repeat there is nothing but the work of Prout which is true, living, or right in its general impression, and nothing, therefore, so inexhaustibly agreeable. Faults he has, manifold, easily detected, and much

declaimed against by second-rate artists; but his excellence no one has ever touched, and his lithographic work—'Sketches in Flanders and Germany'—which was, I believe, the first of the kind, still remains the most valuable of all, numerous and elaborate as its various successors have been. The second series (in Italy and Switzerland) was of less value, the drawings seemed more laborious, and had less of the life of the original sketches, being also for the most part of subjects less adapted for the development of the artist's peculiar powers; but both are fine, and the 'Brussels, Louvain, Cologne, and Nuremberg,' subjects of the one, together with the 'Tours, Amboise, Geneva, and Sion' of the other, exhibit substantial qualities of stone and wood drawing, together with an ideal appreciation of the present active vital being of the cities, such as nothing else has ever approached."

Our author, referring to architectural painting, instances the works of one of the most distinguished of the recent additions to the Royal Academy—David Roberts, a painter who, we happen to know, is as much and deservedly honoured on the continent as he is at home. Mr. Roberts started suddenly into fame, on the strength of his admirable Spanish drawings, and has gone on steadily but rapidly adding to his reputation to the present day: while, to his honour be it added, he is one of the few favoured sons of genius whom prosperity has not spoiled. Of this artist our "Graduate" observes—

"Among the members of the academy, we have at present only one professedly architectural draughtsman of note, David Roberts, whose reputation is probably farther extended on the continent than that of any other of our artists, except Landseer. I am not certain, however, that I have any reason to congratulate either of my countrymen upon this their European estimation, for I think it exceedingly probable that in both instances it is exclusively based on their defects; and in the case of Mr. Roberts, in particular, there has of late appeared more ground for it than is altogether desirable in a smoothness and over-finish of texture which bears dangerous fellowship with the work of our Gallic neighbours.

"The fidelity of intention and honesty of system of Roberts have, however, always been meritorious: his drawing of architecture is dependent on no unintelligible lines, or blots, or substituted types: the main lines of the real design are always there, and its hollowness and undercuttings given with exquisite feeling: his sense of solidity of form is very peculiar, leading him to dwell with great delight on the roundings of edges and angles: his execution is dexterous and delicate, singularly so in oil, and his sense of chiaroscuro refined. But he has never done himself justice, and suffers his pictures to fall below the rank they should assume by the presence of several marring characters which I shall name, because it is perfectly in his power to avoid them. In looking over the valuable series of drawing of the Holy Land, which we owe to Mr. Roberts, we cannot but be amazed to find how frequently it has happened that there was something very white

immediately in the foreground, and something very black exactly behind it. The same thing happens perpetually with Mr. Robert's pictures—a white column is always coming out of a blue mist, or a white stone out of a green pool, or a white monument out of a brown recess—and the artifice is not always concealed with dexterity. This is unworthy of so skilful a composer, and it has destroyed the impressiveness as well as the colour of some of his finest works. It shows a poverty of conception, which appears to me to arise from a deficient habit of study. It will be remembered that of the sketches for this work, several times exhibited in London, every one was executed in the same manner and with about the same degree of completion: being all of them accurate records of the main architectural lines, the shapes of the shadows and the remnants of artificial colour, obtained, by means of the same greys, throughout, and of the same yellow (a singularly false and cold though convenient colour) touched upon the lights. As far as they went, nothing could be more valuable than these sketches, and the public, glancing rapidly at their general and graceful effects, could hardly form anything like an estimate of the endurance and determination which must have been necessary in such a climate to obtain records so patient, entire, and clear, of details so multitudinous as (especially) the hieroglyphics of the Egyptian temples—an endurance which perhaps only artists can estimate, and for which we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Roberts, most difficult to discharge."

Of Clarkson Stanfield, another architect of his own fortunes—to adopt a somewhat hacknied though expressive phrase—our author observes:—

"He is the leader of the English Realists, and perhaps among the more remarkable of his characteristics is the look of common sense and rationality which his compositions will always bear when opposed to any kind of affectation. He appears to think of no other artist. What he has learned has been from his own acquaintance with and affection for the steep hills and the deep sea; and his modes of treatment are alike removed from sketchiness or incompletion, and from exaggeration or effort. The somewhat over-prosaic tone of his subjects is rather a condescension to what he supposes to be public feeling than a sign of want of feeling in himself; for, in some of his sketches from nature or from fancy, I have seen powers and perceptions manifested of a far higher order than any that are traceable in his academy works—powers which I think him much to be blamed for checking. The portion of his pictures usually most defective in this respect is the sky, which is apt to be cold and uninventive, always well drawn, but with a kind of hesitation in the clouds whether it is to be fair or foul weather, they having neither the joyfulness of rest nor the majesty of storm. Their colour is apt also to verge on a morbid purple, as was eminently the case in the large picture of the wreck on the coast of Holland exhibited in 1844—a work in which both his powers and faults were prominently manifested, the picture being full of good painting, but wanting in its entire appeal. There was no ling of wreck about it; and, but for the damage about her bowsprit,

it would have been impossible for a landsman to say whether the hull was meant for a wreck or a guardship. Nevertheless, it is always to be recollected that, in subjects of this kind, it is probable that much escapes us in consequence of our want of knowledge, and that to the eye of the seaman much may be of interest and value which to us appears cold. At all events, this healthy and rational regard of things is incomparably preferable to the dramatic absurdities which weaker artists commit in matters marine; and from copper-coloured sunsets on green waves sixty feet hich, with cauliflower breakers, and ninepin rocks—from drowning on planks, and starving on rafts, and lying naked on beaches—it is really refreshing to turn to a surge of Stanfield's true salt, serviceable, unsentimental sea. It would be well, however, if he could sometimes take a higher flight. The 'Castle of Ischia' gave him a grand subject; and a little more invention in the sky, a little less muddiness in the rocks, and a little more savageness in the sea, would have made it an impressive picture; it just misses the sublime, yet is a fine work, and better engraved than usual by the Art Union."

We cannot but express our concurrence in the censure implied in the concluding sentence on the quality of the engravings put forth by the Art Union; surely its ample funds ought to rescue it from the reproach in future. But let us revert to a more pleasant theme, and quote the author's remarks on a most interesting fact in the history of Art:—

"It is a fact more universally acknowledged than enforced or acted upon that all great painters, of whatever school, have been great only in their rendering of what they had seen and felt from early childhood; and that the greatest among them have been the most frank in acknowledging this their inability to treat anything successfully but that with which they had been familiar. The 'Madonna' of Raphael was born on the Urbino mountains, Ghirlandajo's is a Florentine, Bellini's a Venetian: there is not the slightest effort on the part of any one of these great men to paint her as a Jewess. It is not the place here to insist farther on a point so simple and so universally demonstrable. Expression, character, types of countenance, costume, colour, and accessories are with all great painters whatsoever those of their native land, and that frankly and entirely, without the slightest attempt at modification; and I assert fearlessly that it is impossible that it should ever be otherwise, and that no man ever painted or ever will paint well anything but what he has early and long seen, early and long felt, and early and long loved. How far it is possible for the mind of one nation or generation to be healthily modified and taught by the work of another I presume not to determine; but it depends upon whether the energy of the mind which receives the instruction be sufficient, while it takes out of what it feeds upon that which is universal and common to all nature, to resist all warping from national or temporary peculiarities. Nino Pisano got nothing but good, the modern French got nothing but evil, from the study of the antique; but Nino Pisano had a God and a character. All artists who have attempted to assume, or in their weakness have been affected by, the national peculiarities of other

times and countries, have instantly, whatever their original power, fallen to third-rate rank, or fallen altogether, and have invariably lost their birthright and blessing—lost their power over the human heart—lost all capability of teaching or benefiting others. Compare the hybrid classification of Wilson with the rich English purity of Gainsborough: compare the recent exhibition of middle-age cartoons for the Houses of Parliament with the works of Hogarth: compare the sickly modern German imitations of the great Italians with Albert Durer and Holbein: compare the vile classicality of Canova and the modern Italians with Mino da Fiesole, Luca della Robbia, and Andrea del Verrocchio. The manner of Nicolo Poussin is said to be Greek—it may be so: this only I know, that it is heartless and profitless. The severity of the rule, however, extends not in full force to the nationality but only to the visibility of things; for it is very possible for an artist of powerful mind to throw himself well into the feeling of foreign nations of his own time—thus, John Lewis has been eminently successful in his seizing of Spanish character. Yet it may be doubted if the seizure be such as Spaniards themselves would acknowledge: it is probably of the habits of the people more than their hearts. Continued efforts of this kind, especially if their subjects be varied, assuredly end in failure. Lewis, who seemed so eminently penetrative in Spain, sent nothing from Italy but complexions and costumes, and I expect no good from his stay in Egypt. English artists are usually entirely ruined by residence in Italy, but for this there are collateral causes which it is not here the place to examine. Be this as it may, and whatever success may be attained in pictures of slight and unpretending aim—of *genre*, as they are called—in the rendering of foreign charactar, of this I am certain, that whatever is to be truly great and affecting must have on it the strong stamp of the native land: not a law this, but a necessity, from the intense hold on their country of the affections of all truly great men: all classicality, all middle-age patent reviving, is utterly vain and absurd. If we are now to do anything great, good, awful, religious, it must be got out of our own little island and out of this year 1846—railroads and all: if a British painter, I say this in earnest seriousness, cannot make historical characters out of the British House of Peers, he cannot paint history; and, if he cannot make a 'Madonna' of a British girl of the nineteenth century, he cannot paint one at all."

There are few persons, who have had the privilege, which we ourselves owe to the courtesy of Mr. Turner, of visiting his gallery, who have not left it lamenting the circumstance alluded to in the following note:—

"One point, however, it is incumbent upon me to notice, being no question of art but of material. The reader will have observed that I strictly limited the perfection of Turner's works to the time of their first appearing on the walls of the Royal Academy. It bitterly grieves me to have to do this, but the fact is indeed so. No *picture* of Turner's is seen in perfection a month after it is painted. The 'Walhalla' cracked before it had been eight days in the academy rooms;

the vermilions frequently lose lustre long before the exhibition is over; and when all the colours begin to get hard a year or two after the picture is painted, a painful deadness and opacity comes over them, the whites especially becoming lifeless, and many of the warmer passages settling into a hard valueless brown, even if the paint remains perfectly firm, which is far from being always the case. I believe that in some measure these results are unavoidable, the colours being so peculiarly blended and mingled in Turner's present manner as almost to necessitate their irregular drying; but that they are not necessary to the extent in which they sometimes take place is proved by the comparative safety of some even of the more brilliant works. Thus the 'Old Temeraire' is nearly safe in colour, and quite firm; while the 'Juliet and her Nurse' is now the ghost of what it was; the 'Slaver' shows no cracks, though it is chilled in some of the darker passages; while the 'Walhalla' and several of the recent 'Venices' cracked in the Royal Academy. It is true that the damage makes no further progress after the first year or two, and that even in its altered state the picture is always valuable and records its intention; but it is bitterly to be regretted that so great a painter should not leave a single work by which in succeeding ages he might be estimated. The fact of his using means so imperfect, together with that of his utter neglect of the pictures of his own gallery, are a phenomenon in human mind which appears to me utterly inexplicable, and both are without an excuse. If the effects he desires cannot be to their full extent produced except by these treacherous means, one picture only should be painted each year as an exhibition of immediate power, and the rest should be carried out, whatever the expense of labour and time, in safe materials, even at the risk of some deterioration of immediate effect."

One of the most striking features of the works of our "Graduate" is the close and accurate study of nature exemplified in almost every chapter of this most original book. We regret that we cannot quote at length his remarks on "Water as painted by the Moderns:" the following extract, however, will serve to justify our position:—

"As respects the form of breakers on an even shore there is difficulty of no less formidable kind. There is in them an irreconcilable mixture of fury and formalism. Their hollow surface is marked by parallel lines, like those of a smooth mill-weir, and graduated by reflected and transmitted lights of the most wonderful intricacy, its curve being at the same time necessarily of mathematical purity and precision; yet at the top of this curve, when it nods over, there is a sudden laxity and giving way, the water swings and jumps along the ridge like a shaken chain, and the motion runs from part to part as it does through a serpent's body. Then the wind is at work on the extreme edge; and, instead of letting it fling itself off naturally, it supports it and drives it back, or scrapes it off and carries it bodily away: so that the spray at the top is in a continual transition between forms projected by their own weight, and forms blown and carried off with the weight overcome; then at last, when it has come down, who shall say what

shape that may be called, which shape has none of the great crash where it touches the beach.

"I think it is that last crash which is the great taskmaster. Nobody can do anything with it. I have seen Copley Fielding come very close to the jerk and nod of the lifted threatening edge, curl it very successfully, and without any look of its having been in papers, down nearly to the beach; but the final fall has no thunder in it. Turner has tried hard for it once or twice, but it will not do. The moment is given in the 'Sidon' of the 'Bible Illustrations,' and more elaborately in a painting of 'Bamborough;' in both these cases there is little foam at the bottom, and the fallen breaker looks like a wall, yet grand always; and in the latter picture very beautifully assisted in expression by the tossing of a piece of cable, which some figures are dragging ashore, and which the breaker flings into the air as it falls. Perhaps the most successful rendering of the forms was in the 'Hero and Leander;' but there the drawing was rendered easier by the powerful effect of light which disguised the foam."

And here, for the present, we take our leave of the "Oxford Graduate;" pointing, however, with something like triumph to the third edition of his book as confirming our original prognostic of its success. The name of the author is still withheld—a proof that he is in no haste to appropriate the wreath his two volumes have won for him. Indeed, it is quite evident, from the tone and aim of the work, that the author is above the influence of selfish considerations. Many of our readers may, perhaps, differ from him in his estimate of Turner, as well as on other less prominent points on which he insists; but we think they cannot but appreciate the extraordinary powers of mind and genius which he has brought to his work, and the manly and fearless spirit with which, for the vindication of modern art, he has opposed himself to the prejudices of centuries.

Epitome Evangelica; being a Selection from the Greek Testament, consisting of Portions of the Four Gospels, chronologically and in part harmonically arranged, and forming a Connected Narrative of the Principal Events of the Life and Ministry of Christ, accompanied by a Clavis and Grammatical Notes. By the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, D.D., F.S.A. London: Longman and Co. 1846. 18mo.

The title-page of this neatly executed little volume so fully expresses its object, that we have only to announce that that object has been fully carried out by the learned and laborious author, whose previous labours on the New Testament have fitted him for undertaking this epitome of the Four Gospels. It is a cheap and useful acquisition to the school-room; the notes, though concise, are such as will really aid the juvenile student in understanding the meaning of the evangelists; while the Clavis will well supply the place of more expensive lexicons, and thus reduce the wear and tear and cost of school books.

Thoughts on Some Important Points Relating to the System of the World. By T. P. Nichol, LL.D. Edinburgh: Tait. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1846.

The interest of this volume consists in the well engraved plates which it contains, representing the appearances of some of the most remarkable nebulæ as seen through Lord Rosse's large telescope; and which are now proved to be clusters of stars, the nebulous appearance not proceeding from diffused or uncondensed light, but from these luminous bodies seeming so near to each other, and being at so vast a distance that the distinct light of each star has been till the present time undiscernible, and the blaze of light from the whole group appeared but as a haze or nebula.

On this, our former ignorance, however, a theory of creation had been founded by men who were more rash than wise, and which has of late been brought into greater notoriety by a very foolish book, "The Vestiges of Creation," the great circulation of which can only be accounted for by supposing that persons have been imposed on by the confidence of its assertions, and, in their simplicity, have mistaken this assurance for science, and have been overborne thereby. So far as we understand their hypothesis it was this:—That our own and every other system was originally nebulous light, without solidity but in rotation, and extending somewhat beyond the utmost bounds of the system. After a time it was supposed that a condensation took place, and one of the most distant planets was thrown off its orbit, indicating the extent of the nebula at that time: another condensation to the extent indicated by the orbit of the next planet would throw off it: and the successive condensations, having thrown off all their planets at their several orbits, the nebula would finally condense in the sun—the original source and now the centre of the system.

It was at best a foolish idea—baseless conjecture to begin with, clumsy bungling at every step of its progress, and nothing but a chimera at the end. Yet it is very well to get rid of it so entirely as we do by the help of Lord Rosse's telescope. Dr. Nichol was anxious to bring the theory to this test, and regarded the nebula in the sword of Orion as the *experimentum crucis;* but, while he remained at Lord Rosse's, the state of the atmosphere did not permit the problem to be resolved:—

"Knowing his lordship's intention to avail himself of all favourable opportunities, during winter, to penetrate if possible the constitution of this wonderful object, and impressed with the issues depending on the result of his examination, I anxiously awaited the intelligence. At length Lord Rosse wrote me the following memorable note:—

"'Castle Parsonstown, March 19, 1846.—In accordance with my promise of communicating to you the result of our examination of Orion, I think I may safely say that there can be little, if any, doubt as to the resolvability of the nebula. Since you left us there was not a single night when, in absence of the moon, the air was fine enough to admit of our using more than half the magnifying power the speculum bears: still we could plainly see that all about the trapezium is a mass of stars; the rest of the nebula also abounding with stars, and exhibiting the characteristics of resolvability strongly marked. —Rosse.'

"And thus (says Dr. Nichol) doubt and speculation on this great subject vanished for ever! Yes: the infinite we had built up, after the fashion of what had become familiar, was yet, with all its greatness, only an Idola, and could fill neither space nor time" (55-56).

Notwithstanding the great names which have occasionally given countenance to the nebular theory, it has always appeared to us as pre-eminently absurd, and as being an hypothesis invented to explain an inexplicable fact, and which does not explain it, and only removes the difficulty to a greater distance to encompass it with other difficulties infinitely greater and far more complicated. The fact attempted to be explained is Creation: the power of God alone suffices to account for it, and no other explanation can be given. A wise man, therefore, will be prepared to investigate natural phenomena, and the laws by which these are regulated, so far as he can trace them surely by observation of nature and comparison of the known laws of matter with each other; and the moment these fail him that moment will he be ready, fully, frankly, unreservedly, to acknowledge the hand of the Creator. He will not shuffle in an ingenious hypothesis to keep the Creator out of sight as long as possible; for sooner or later God must be acknowledged as the only first cause of all things.

Of the heavenly bodies it is to be borne in mind that we know nothing beyond such of their movements as, with our limited powers of vision, we have been able to observe; and of these observations constancy is the characteristic. Such as the motions at present are, such we have every reason to believe these motions have been from the beginning of time—that is, from the Creation: for even the variations which have been observed are periodical, and are compensated by oscillations or returns, though it may be at very different or very distant periods of time. Where every thing appears thus orderly, thus constant, thus balanced, we have no right to place the act of Creation any where save at the commencement of this system, as giving to these heavenly bodies not only existence, but the forms, and the motions, and the relationships towards each other

which they at present bear, and by which long continued observations have assured us that they are governed. We know of no change in the heavenly bodies, and have no right to assume that there has been a change; and we, therefore, must in our present state of knowledge assume that God, in creating the sun, and the planets, and the stars, placed them where they are—of the bulk which we now behold—and impressed upon them those laws of rotation and motion which are now familiar to us through the researches of modern astronomy.

It may seem superfluous to slay the slain; but our remarks apply to all similar hypothesis, and therefore we observe of the defunct nebular theory that, supposing it had any probability, what would be the object gained by it? Laws of rotation must still be presumed, and the virtual and potential existence of matter for condensation into its present form, however diffused in the nebula. And who gave the nebula *these laws of rotation?* Who gave to its contents *these properties and powers?* They have confessedly operated with the greatest certainty and uniformity through the boundless regions of space, and in every one of the innumerable stars of heaven: and whether God implanted the laws which produced this divine order, or was himself the immediate Disposer, would be a question of no real importance, save for this—that in believing the latter, and the true account of creation, we feel *ourselves* to be more immediately *in the hands of God* than when separated by some vague hypothesis, and intermediate periods of change of vast and indefinite extent. And as it is most unphilosophical to attribute the laws of one body to another body, unless it be first demonstrated that they have properties in common, so we cannot allow the fact of changes on the surface of the earth to be adduced as any argument that similar changes have taken place in the heavenly bodies: for, even, if change was the *law* on earth, which we deny it to be, and assert it to be the *exception*, still, until change can be proved to have taken place in the heavenly bodies, we must consider it as non-existing amongst them, especially as unchangeableness is their universal law.

And we may observe, in passing, what reasoning in a circle it has been, to assume from the changes on the earth's surface that there have been such changes as the nebular theory supposed among the stars, and then to assume this very theory which only rested on an assumption, to explain those changes on the earth's surface to which alone it owes its existence.

The inscrutable appearance of the nebulæ invested them with a greater halo of mystery than was associated with the nearer and more distinct of the stars, each one of which we could

separately mark and contemplate. And now that the nebulæ are resolved, we expect that some portion of the same mystery will continue to be attached to these clusters of stars, as though each nebula constituted a system: whereas they are no more dependent upon each other than are the stars in any one of the constellations; nor are they nearer to each other in fact, though, from their very great distance from us, they appear to be nearer. If they are separate suns, each of them must, like the other stars, be sufficiently remote from its neighbours to abide independent of them; and, therefore, so far as our present knowledge of facts warrants us, we may confidently assert that no two of them are nearer to each other than the distance between the sun and the nearest fixed star. This is the only measure we have of the distance between sun and sun. That these stars appear in a cluster, and take such fantastic shapes, proves nothing concerning their real positions with respect to each other: it is the result of perspective and the angle of vision under which we behold them. A fleet of ships at a distance may appear as one mass, yet we know that each has ample sea room, so as not to run foul of any of the rest; and the lights of a great city will appear as a cluster, or even as a nebula, if beheld from a distant height; and so it is with constellations of all kinds. Every star which shines with its own light is probably the centre of an independent system, sufficiently remote from the nearest star not to disturb another or be itself disturbed: and double stars, if such there be, would be in like manner independent. While they were considered as detached nebulæ, it was natural to regard each nebula as a separate system; but the moment they are resolved into stars we must regard them as all other stars; and regard their fantastic appearances only as accidents owing to perspective position.

And there is another point concerning the light of these distant bodies, and the time which would be required for its passage through such immense distances before it could reach this earth, on which we desire to say a few words. We grant the facts of the distance and of the rate at which light would travel; but we do not think that there are any stars the light of which has not yet reached us; or, that we need trouble ourselves with thinking how many millions of years have elapsed since the distant stars began to shine. For we regard the universe as one whole, brought into being by one act of God, and created complete in all its parts by the *fiat* of the Almighty, which needed not time for its execution—which needed but to speak and it was done. It is true that it was done in an orderly manner—each act being the work of its own

day; but this was not because God needed time—it was in order to be intelligible to finite beings, and to typify spiritual things, and to reveal himself. For each act was a complete act, and the perfect thing was brought at once into being: man and all the animals were created in maturity; the plants were full grown and laden with fruits for food; and all the influences of the sun, and moon, and heavenly bodies were at their full—not to begin or produce effects which had not before existed, but to sustain laws to which God himself had already given efficacy—merely to *continue*, in short, that which God himself *had begun*. At the creation, every part of it was instantaneously endowed with the life and energy proper to it, and that *in itself*—not waiting to receive it from another thing, though that other might be the appointed means for continuing that which was given. The trees now depend upon sun and air for their growth; but the first trees were full grown with life—active in every fibre to the remotest tendril. In spring the sun must shine for weeks and months to pump up the sap from the roots to the extremities of a large tree; but in the beginning, as soon as the Word was, all the plants of every kind started at once into their full and proper proportions, and the minutest tendril of every plant was instantly redolent with life: "the trees of the Lord were full of sap." And so it was with all other things: the first man saw the heavenly orbs which we see; and whatever influence they were designed to have upon the earth began then by that same almighty act which called them into being. What that influence may be we do not now enquire; but that everything which is seen may have some influence we believe, and that this forms the chain which binds the whole universe into one, though we may not yet know the manner of it.

And in reasoning concerning the heavenly bodies, we have no right whatever to suppose that they have ever been subject to the judgments of God for sin, to which we attribute not only all the misery but much of the physical change which has taken place upon the earth. The deluge of Noah, as a judgment by water—the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, as a judgment by fire—stand as records of the physical changes brought upon the earth by the sin of man. These come in as consequences of moral delinquency, and are not to be confounded with laws of nature—those laws by which God governs the universe, and the laws which regulate the heavenly bodies, where we have no right to assume that sin has ever come.

The conception of the nebular theory could only have originated in merely mechanical minds. The theory of stratification which now obtains among geologists, as though it were by pre-

cipation from a mechanical solution, has originated in minds of the same order. Dr. Nichol seems to be tenacious still of this error, though he has honourably abandoned that of the nebular theory. The stratification theory, like the nebular, has not a single fact in its support: it is at best mere conjecture. It has, we believe, quite sufficient evidence against it to convince those who reason closely and consistently that it is false. But we can patiently wait for facts more palpable, more conclusive, than those which have hitherto appeared, assured that they will ere long be manifest, and that the theory of stratification, with its incalculable periods for its accomplishment, will then appear as absurd as the nebular theory now appears.

We think that Dr. Nichol rates far too highly the speculations of De Beaumont: they have the boldness, but they have also the inaccuracy, characteristic of Frenchmen. The greater portion of his facts are obsolete already, having given way before more careful examination and more scientific analysis; and, if they were true, the tendency of the whole would be much more to the subversion than to the confirmation of the principles maintained by the modern geologists.

Dr. Nichol's book, however, is a very interesting one, as containing the most recent account of Lord Rosse's brilliant discoveries among the nebulæ; and in those points where we may not exactly agree with him, his book still affords materials for thinking, and facts of the most valuable kind.

The Testimony of St. Patrick against the False Pretensions of Rome to Primitive Antiquity in Ireland. By Henry J. Monck Mason, LLD. London: Longmans and Co. 1846. 12mo.

This is an important documentary volume in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. Its object is to demonstrate that the origin of the Irish Church was Eastern, and *not* from Rome; that it was entirely independent of the see of Rome, until upwards of two centuries after the alleged arrival of Patrick in Ireland, A.D. 432; and that it still maintained that independence, and rejected the Papal supremacy to a great degree, until the independence of the Irish Church was formally surrendered, and the supremacy arrogated by the Popes of Rome was generally acquiesced in, on the arrival of the English in Ireland, in the reign of Henry II. No one but an Irish scholar and antiquary could undertake and satisfactorily execute such a work as the present; which we earnestly commend to the attentive consideration of all who take a deep interest in the important subject which Dr. Monck Mason has so ably investigated, and *demonstrated* by irrefragable evidence.

Grammaire Raisonneè de la Langue Ottomane, par J. W. Redhouse, Employé au Bureau des Interpretes de Divan Imp: Ott; et Sècretaire Interpréte de la Commission Anglaise de Mediation aux Conferences d'Erzroum. Paris: Gide and Co. 1846.

On reading the title of this article many light-literature searching readers would be inclined to turn to the next article, without troubling themselves about the grammar of a language which may never be of any service to them, and in which they take no interest; while the philologist may be inclined to pause at this page to ascertain the difference in the construction of this important eastern language—the remnant of a once powerful nation, whose might made all Europe tremble and Christianity quake.

This simple language of shepherds, devoid of indigenous abstract terms, and generally poor in words of pure Tartar origin, the influence of the nation by which it was spoken in the affairs of three continents has raised to the highest state of cultivation—a result facilitated and accelerated by the beautiful and simple structure of its grammar, to develope which has been the self-imposed task of Mr. Redhouse, the first Turkish scholar of his day. Mr. Redhouse, in commencing his task, has struck out for himself a new system, more consonant with the genius of the language of which he treats; rejecting the formula of the Latin grammar with which the Turkish has not one rule in common; but which was adopted in a greater or less degree by all who have written on it, partly from the lingering prejudice of boyish days, partly from a mistaken view of rendering it more comprehensible to readers, but mostly we fear from ignorance, and the want of a mathematical mind capable of striking a new path out for itself. From this category we must except the author of the first attempt at a Turkish Grammar, Mininski, whose work, although attempted on this principle, may till the present time be considered the best that has appeared, despite the numerous attempts made by adventurers in the province of letters, anxious to profit by the excitement offered by eastern affairs, and the facility afforded of visiting parts of it hitherto little more than mythically known.

Hindoglou David, Jaubert, Boyd, and others, have attempted a work for which they were not qualified; and their books, which as far as grammars can be so, are in their way light, pleasant reading enough, shew a deficiency in that philological and analytical turn of mind, which, combined with great perseverance and industry, is alone adapted to such undertakings. Vignier has narrowly escaped success, and that escape is regretted by our author. It will be seen that, with the present exception and that of Major Boyd, none of our countrymen

have attempted this difficult task, although the commerce of Great Britain in the Turkish dominions, both in imports and exports, by far exceeds that of any other nation.

On first glancing over the title page we were almost inclined to quarrel with our author for having employed a foreign language as a medium of communication instead of his own; but when we reflected on the little encouragement which has been given to students of this tongue till lately by Government, and the entire absence of it at our Universities, joined with the apathy evinced by British residents in the Turkish dominions in respect to the language of the country in which it is their fate to live, we can no longer blame Mr. Redhouse for so far taking care of himself and his publisher as to write in a language which every one knows, or professes to know, and of which certainly no philologist is ignorant; and appears, though he does not allude to this subject in his preface, to take the cosmopolitan view of the question, and make his work rather generally than particularly useful.

Having dismissed the mere matter of course and less scientific portion of his work—of letters, their value, and combination—in the first two chapters, he passes a step further, to syllables and words, concluding his first part with a subject as yet not treated of by any Ottoman grammarian—"euphony," the keystone and proof of the degree of civilization and cultivation to which this language has raised itself from its pastoral origin. We do not here deny that an unwritten language may not be euphonious in speaking; but this language demands attention in that respect also with regard to its orthography; to render which clear, the letters are divided by our author into hard, soft, and neuter; and a strict attention to this hint will teach the student where the accentuation or ictus, so as to form a sort of iambic rhythm, must be placed on any doubtful word, and determine the spelling or its variation from a general rule or its derivative.

We give the author in his own words:—

"We have seen above the euphonic difference of Ottoman words; consequently, it will be easy to comprehend the preference given to certain consonant letters over others in the orthography of words in which a discretion is permitted, and in certain vowel sounds where the orthography is settled, which is not the case in words adopted from the Persian and Arabic. The whole secret consists in seizing the tone of the word, after which it will be easy to find the pronunciation of each syllable, and in a measure the manner in which it should be written."

The analyzation and softening of double consonant letters, which our author treats of in this chapter, forms one of the most beautiful modulations of this language.

The second part treats of etymology, and contains the eight parts of speech, for the Ottoman language has no article; consequently, that great stumbling block, genders, which our author dismisses summarily, simply stating a few rules of gender for Arab derivatives; but, as in Turkish, no word is inflected to gender, it would be idle to go deeply into a research, useless to the student: on the contrary, as regards the verbs—the most simple and beautifully systematized of any language in the world—he enters into the fullest detail, and sums up with a table which the want of the necessary Arabic types alone prevents us from extracting.

The nature of the Turkish verb differs from that of all other languages; and, what is the more remarkable, while the Arabic verbal root is the most irregular of any language, the Turkish is perfectly nomalous throughout; while the Arabic has many conjugations, the Ottoman has but one. The masculine and feminine forms of the Arabic verbs form a contrast to the conciseness of the Ottoman, where the intercalation of a syllable represents a sentence in our language; as, for instance, "to render it impossible that two persons be looked at mutually" is expressed by the word *bakishdurlememak*—the root being *bak*; the imperative termination, *mak*; and the rest, syllables intercalated at pleasure, giving at once a reciprocal, causative, passive, impossible sense. The numerous tenses on the contrary in this language all, however regularly formed, give it an immense power, accuracy, and delicacy in conversation and writing, enabling the most minute nuance of sense to be expressed without circumlocution. These Mr. Redhouse has elucidated in a most clear and elaborate manner, giving sometimes as many as three different interpretations, *pour mieux preciser le sens.* The whole is furnished with the proper *harakets,* or vowel sounds, which our author wisely prefers to the charlatan system of his predecessors, in attempting an imitation of the sound of the Ottoman words in European character—a difficulty insurmountable, inasmuch as we have no equivalent sounds in any European language. Some have endeavoured to approximate, by a mixture of the vowel sounds of German, French, English, and Italian, a system that *au bout de tout* is defective, and presupposes the knowledge of those languages by the student, and a judicious explication of them; whereas Mr. Redhouse only expects him to know a little French.

This division of the work we may consider as the elementary part of it, the third and fourth parts containing the derivations. Words of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic origin are successively and systematically treated of under the titles of nouns, ad-

jectives, and verbs, for those parts of speech are in Turkish primitive or derivative; words of science are drawn from the Arabic, as also many abstract terms; while the elegant similies and poetical expressions are borrowed from the Persian. To avoid tautology and repetition of the same sound, absolute synonymes—we may say almost, if not quite, unknown in English, and entirely so in French, German, and Italian—are used: thus a *door* is expressed by the Tartar derivative *kâpoo*, the Persian *der*—which, by the bye, is probably connected with the English word *door*, the root of Persian and English being one—*θύρα* (Greek); thüre (German); deur (Dutch); door (English); dür (Persian); to use the German orthography and the Arabic *Bab*, are all applied to the Downing-street of Constantinople Pashakapoosee, *Bab aalee Dür aalee*: it is true, there required some delicacy and discrimination in using these words, in order to avoid a language unworthy of, or above, the subject.

Having dismissed the question of Turkish and Persian derivatives, the author passes to the Arabic, which he describes as trés ètendue et trés—systématique et presque totalement en usage dans la langue Ottomane.

749. Tout mot Arabe est regardeè comme derivè d'ùne racine litérale.

This method of dividing the chapters into short paragraphs cannot be surpassed in a work of logical reasoning, or as our author calls it, "Grammaire raisonnée:" for such ought every grammar to be, and such are very few grammars. Here we find an axiom or rule, and so concisely expressed that it would be impossible to spare a word; if we go to the next paragraph we find the rule laid down expanded upon the basis given, and a chain of deductions proceeding to the interminable word "feaial," to follow which through all its phases would not only require type for the purpose, but also an extract of the whole of the third and fourth chapters, covering forty-nine sides, to extract which in a review, even were it possible, would not be fair to the author, and almost amount to an infringement of copyright. This may be said to be the pearl of the work; for heretofore it was supposed, and the supposition was correct, that, to become a fair Turkish scholar, a competent knowledge of Arabic and Persian was also necessary, or in attaining which a great deal had to be learned not indispensable to the ultimate object the student had in view. This is here contracted into fifty-four sides, which give the student the cream, without obliging him to drink the skimmed milk with it; which, from its quantity, often so weakens the stomach as to create an nausea and an antipathy. During a long residence in the East we

felt ourselves severely the want of a work of this sort, and were well nigh giving up the task from the difficulties thrown in our way by bad grammars, and the necessity which they imposed of making axioms and deductions for ourselves, having vainly sought for this help in the above mentioned grammars: we found a few facts, but so disjointed—such a *rudis indigestaque moles*—that we were fain to return to our old system of fagging out a more logical system on our own account. This system, in the hands of Mr. Redhouse, is all we can require. Conversant with the three principal eastern languages, and possessing a perfect knowledge of the leading European tongues—resident since his youth in Turkey, and the author of a dictionary of foreign (Arabic and Persian) terms, used in the polished written language of the Porte, in which language they explained for the use of the *employées* of the Porte, and which was ordered by the Sultan to be published at the Government press at his own expence—this joined to an industry truly German, Mr. Redhouse already enjoys a reputation in Ottoman literature which it is to be hoped he will extend to Europe.

The fourth division of his "Grammar" treats of syntax, and construction, followed by an appendix in which is given—first, a Turkish phrase more or less long; secondly, a translation in French; followed, thirdly, by a commentary which we can no better explain than by quoting his own words—"un commentaire analytique et synthétique accompagné de renvois aux règles grammaticales que y ont guidè la construction des differents mots et phrases."

The whole system puts us in mind of the books of Roman law, which we find divided into books, titles, sections, and paragraphs; with this exception that the § are numbered from 1 to 1018 for more simple reference.

Having thus endeavoured to shew the system and nature of this work, we will boldly go on to recommend it as the most useful that has appeared: and it is to be sincerely hoped that, at at this period of enlightened Christianity, when we see the servants of the Church training the wild voices of paganism and infidelity, this language will not be neglected, without which nothing can be done in those countries, not only among those professing Islam, but also among many sects of *soi disant* Christians, professing a barbarous belief—a true libel on the name they bear.

Of what inestimable advantage would it be to have a professor's chair at the two English Universities filled by such a man, who might read at Cambridge in the October and Lent, at Oxford in the two summer terms, and in London after the beginning of the Oxford long vacation. Could the expence be of any consequence—seeing, as we do, professors at both who have

ceased to read on account of the smallness of the attendences *(vide Parliamentary Report)*; but whose salaries are far from being grudged? No: considering the mighty stake we have in Turkey and in peace, both spiritually and commercially, we must say that we think £500 or £600 a year would be by no means mispent in such an object, where so much is given for lectures never delivered, and for others never attended, on the mere supplementary branches of other sciences. Let us remember the adage of Charles the Great:—"Che sa bene quattro lingue vale quattro nomini;" or speculate on the cunning principle of the Mahommedan divine, that he who knows the language of him of another faith or nation is the better able to guard against his wiles.

Christ's Hospital may be well proud of its *élève*, who repays with such interest the valuable capital bestowed upon him at that excellent institution, which has not its superior in England.

Codex Friderico-Augustanus: sive Fragmenta Veteris Testamenti è Codice Græco, omnium qui in Europa supersunt facile Antiquissimo, in Oriente detexit, in patriam attulit, ad modum Codicis edidit CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF, Theologiæ et Philosophiæ Doctor, Theologiæ in Academia Lipsiensi Professor, &c. Lipsiæ, 1846. London: imported by Williams and Norgate. Imperial Quarto.

THIS splendid publication is a most important accession to sacred literature, for which biblical students are largely indebted to Professor Tischendorf; who has performed his editorial labours in a manner worthy of the reputation which he had previously acquired by his beautifully executed fac-simile editions of the Greek Septuagint and of the New Testament, which he had successfully traced and transcribed from the celebrated palimpsest (or re-written) manuscript, preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, and known to scholars as the "Codex Ephremi," from its containing certain treatises of Ephrem, a deacon of the Syrian Church at Edessa, which were written over more ancient writings, containing the Old and New Testaments in Greek.

The fragments of the Old Testament brought from the east by Professor Tischendorf, and now published, consist of forty-three folios, or eighty-six pages, beautifully lithographed after the original; each page containing four columns, of forty-eight lines in a full column. These comprise portions of the books of Chronicles, the second book of Esdras, Nehemiah, the entire book of Esther, Jeremiah, chap. x. 25, to the end of the book, and chap. i. 1, to chap. ii. 20, of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. The manuscript is written, in quaternions or gather-

ings of four folios, upon very thin vellum, made of the skin of the species of antelope commonly to be met with in the deserts of Libya, Egypt, and Arabia. These folios are in very large quarto size, so large indeed that the skin of an antelope sufficed only for two folios. The manuscript is written in uncial or capital letters, with tawny-coloured ink, of various degrees of clearness, and (Professor Tischendorf is of opinion) exhibiting traces of four different correcting hands; the earliest of which is contemporary with the writing of the original manuscript, but the three others are of later date. On comparing the Codex Friderico-Augustanus with the most ancient uncial Greek MSS. known to be extant, and especially with the Codex Ephremi (of the fifth century), and with the Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum (written either towards the close of the fourth or early in the fifth century), Dr. Tischendorf gives the palm of superior antiquity to the manuscript which we now introduce to the notice of our readers, and which must have been written early in the fourth century. The necessarily high price, at which this fac-simile has been published, must place it out of the reach of ordinary Bible students; but it well deserves a place in the libraries of the British Museum, and of the several universities and colleges in Great Britain and Ireland. Future editors of the Septuagint Version will, doubtless, collate it for the various readings which it may contain.

The Last Day. London: Nisbet and Co. 1846.

Of all the volumes to which the present year has given birth this is one of the most unpretending in point of size, but it is second to none, not only in importance of subject, but in the solemn and earnest eloquence and poetic power with which its unquestioned truths are enforced. None but a poet as well as a Christian could have written it. Beyond the pages of holy writ we never met with any volume which appealed so powerfully to human nature on its nearest and dearest interests. The author is evidently a practised writer, and perfectly well versed in the Scriptures on which his little volume is based. Indeed, by a beautiful arrangement, every page has its confirming texts displayed in medallions in the margin. Regarded as an embellished book it is a perfect triumph of the press. Independently of an emblematic title, printed in colours, the pages have deep ornamental borders; while no two consecutive pages are alike in colour or pattern. At the same time there is nothing glaring or gaudy in the style of embellishment, but all is chaste and subdued as befits the solemn subject. The

book, as we have said, is a small one; and, had it been one of ordinary claims on our notice, would have been dismissed by us in a few lines instead of a page or two which we now devote to it, in the way of quotation; for we cannot deny our readers one or two specimens of our author's style and handling of his subject. The first we hold to be peculiarly appropriate to an age of scientific research, and in which we too often find man in his presumption holding up his feeble taper to religion when he should walk implicitly by her light. The passage refers to a scientific meeting overtaken by the *Last Day*:—

"The grave assembly has met. These are staid men and learned. They have dived into the mysteries of nature, and have told her secrets to mankind; and laid bare her treasures, making the world rich in science and in arts. But, ah! ye men of wisdom! Have ye been wise in the fear of God? Have ye seen the star in the east, and sought the Saviour? Searchers after truth, have ye found Him who is 'the way, and the truth, and the life?' Or have ye, in the pride of feeble philosophy, wrestled with the truths of revelation, and pronounced them weak, when ye have been yourselves overthrown? It may be of such perversions of truth that ye are guiltless; but 'He who by His spirit hath garnished the heavens,' who 'made a decree for the rain and a way for the lightning,' who 'speaketh, and out of the south cometh the whirlwind, and cold out of the north.'—He is at hand to 'weigh the wisdom of the proud,' and to charge them with their idolatry. Hath not the chemist bowed down to his retort, and to his crucible? Alas! he hath tried all the secrets of matter with a test; but hath he proved the secret of his own heart's wickedness with the touchstone of truth? Hath not the astronomer lifted up his eyes to the heavens, and lost his 'own soul' amid the wandering of space? Hath he not worshipped the stars rather than their Creator? He who measures the distances of the planets, hath he considered that further than the 'Georgium Sidus' from the earth is the heart of the unregenerate man from God? Hath not the mathematician worshipped the science of his pride, and said—'I have found truth—I can demonstrate it. Religion may be very well; I deny it not; but who is there that can prove it?' Man! mighty in wisdom! heard ye not that cry? 'He cometh who shall prove all things!' and 'all the proud, and all that do wickedly shall be stubble, and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts.' Woe unto the wise that have not sought Him that made 'the seven stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into the morning, and maketh the day dark with night, and calleth the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth—the Lord is His name.' Then the wise of the earth answer and say—'We will seek Him.' But the thunders of the last day respond—'it is too late.' Yes: 'the wise men are ashamed—they are dismayed and taken—lo! they have rejected the word of the Lord, and there is no wisdom in them.' Thus saith the Lord—'Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither

let the mighty man glory in his might: let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and honoureth me, that I am the Lord which exerciseth loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness, on the earth, for in these things I delight, saith the Lord.' Yet glory to God! there are still awaiting His coming a remnant of the magi who have brought their choicest gifts unto Christ, and sanctified them—who hold their talents 'as those who must give an account,' and these shall not be ashamed, but shall 'meet their Lord in the air, and so be for ever with Him.' Henceforth they shall drink of the fountain of all wisdom, and the thirst of their souls shall be appeased. In spirit shall they wander along the paths of immensity, and they shall visit the stars of light, where truth has no veil. All things shall be proved to them, for they shall see with their own eyes, and be satisfied that God 'is all, and in all."

Take another sketch equally graphic and full of poetry:—

"A ship is resting on the ocean; it is the middle watch; there is not a breath of wind; the sails flap on the masts. The wheel is useless in the steersman's hands; there is a great calm; the waters are still, as though in expectation of some coming event. The moon looks down silently on the fair deck of the stately vessel; all nature seems to listen; the sailors of the watch can no longer tell the story of former dangers; silently they gaze upward at the quiet sky, and little heed they that their last peril is at hand. Oh! in a moment, in a twinkling of an eye, the bright blue sky hath become black, the face of the golden moon has changed to blood—a tempest lashes the angry waves! It is the last storm. The ocean is writhing in its dying agony; the fiat has gone forth and there shall be no more sea! What of the night, mariner, what of the night? Again there is light in the heavens; the blood-red moon hath passed away; the streaks of a dawn, brighter than ever yet illumined the horizon of the once again stilly ocean, blend with the fires of a burning world. It is 'the last day!' The waters sink; the dry land appears; the dead of the battle and the wreck awake again to life; and the ocean-murders which the waters have covered, as with a shroud, are revealed; the dead are living witnesses against their murderers. Mariner, what of the morn? There is no more sea. Lo! the ships of a thousand navies add their wrecks to the fires of the last day. Their crews stand before 'the great white throne,' and the 'workings' of many days shall be a fearful 'reckoning.' Oh ye whose business has been in 'the great waters,' ye who have 'gone down to the sea in ships and seen the wonders of the Lord,' have ye glorified Him? Ye who have staggered to and fro like drunken men in the storm, and been at your 'wits end,' when He hath, in answer to prayer, said to the waves 'peace, be still,' have ye praised Him? Praised Him in a life devoted to his service, from whom cometh help? Has Christ been the anchor of your souls? Has your compass pointed Zion-ward? Ah! ye who now walk the deck in the pride of seamanship remember such will be the questions, master and mariner, captain and ship's company, must

answer to their own souls and unto the 'judge of the whole earth,' at the 'last day,' when there shall be 'no more sea.'"

We are quite sure that these quotations will justify the devotion of more than ordinary space to so small a work, which, in conclusion, we heartily commend to our readers, for its vigorous eloquence, purity of style, felicity of illustration, and above all the soundness of its doctrine.

Awful Disclosure, being Extracts translated from the Moral Theology of Alphonsus Liguori, who was canonized in the year 1839, *with Remarks thereon.* By the Rev. R. P. Blakeney, B.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1846. 12mo.

This is another important documentary volume, with which the clergy cannot too soon make themselves acquainted; and, as these extracts from the Moral Theology of *Saint* Alphonsus Liguori are accompanied by the original Latin text, no Papist can justly complain that his sentiments are misrepresented. We well remember the outcry raised by the Romanists when the abominable principles contained in Dens's "Theology" were exposed some years since; especially when it was proved that that work was sanctioned by the titular Romish Archbishop of Dublin, and was the established conference-book of the Romish clergy in the so-called diocese of Leinster. "But" (Mr. Blakeney has truly remarked) "a worse than Dens is here! one, who is more open, explicit, and less guarded in the exposition of Roman Catholic principles. The Moral Theology of Liguori cannot be repudiated." (*Introd.* p. viii.) The work was published at Naples, in 1755, in two volumes quarto, and was dedicated to Benedict XIV., who sent the author a complimentary letter in reply.* In the process for the beatification of Liguori, the cardinal-reporter of the congregation of Rites declared "that the theologians, who had examined his manuscript and printed works, had found nothing censurable in them."† Consequently they contain the system of morals approved by the modern Church of Rome. The following brief enumeration of the topics, which Mr. Blakeney has adduced in the very words of Liguori, will show how absolutely opposed the tenets of this so-called saint are to the pure and holy morality taught by Jesus Christ and his apostles. Rome prohibits the free use of the Bible, proved by extracts from Liguori. Liguori teaches the lawfulness of dissembling or concealing the faith; and the lawfulness of equivocation for a just

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* Lives of St. Alphonsus Liguori, St. Francis de Girolamo, &c. p. 55, note. London: Dolman. 1839. 18mo.

† Ibid. pp. 54, 55.

cause (this topic is illustrated at considerable length); the veniality of sin in the man who swears with the intention of fulfilling an oath, and not with the intention of laying himself under an obligation. A large portion of the volume is given to the subject of confession: such portions of Liguori's *moral* theology as are too *immoral* to be exhibited in English, are necessarily given in Latin only. Our readers will bear in mind, that it has been officially declared at Rome, that the works of Liguori contain "*nothing censurable.*" All the immoral and profligate principles, taught in his "Moral Theology," therefore, are approved by Rome. But what says the divinely inspired apostle John? (We quote the English version as it appears in the popish translation of the New Testament.) "*There shall* NOT *enter into it*" [the new or heavenly Jerusalem] "*anything* DEFILED, OR THAT WORKETH ABOMINATION, OR MAKETH A LIE." (Rev. xxi 27). Yet has the modern Church of Rome enrolled Liguori, the teacher of equivocation, perjury, and everything that is abominable, "in the catalogue of saints, enjoining the universal Church devoutly to worship their memory yearly upon their natal day."*

Elements of Physics. By C. F. PESCHEL. Translated from the German, with Notes, by E. WEST. Three vols. 12mo. Longman.

IT is a two-fold advantage in translated works when the translator is not only acquainted with the language of his original, but is familiar with the subject on which it treats; and this advantage the volumes before us possess in an eminent degree. With regard to the author it is almost needless to inform our scientific readers that he is the Principal of the Royal Military College at Dresden. Mr. West has enhanced the value of this work by his notes, and the woodcuts and diagrams illustrative of the subject are very neatly and clearly executed. The body of information comprised in these three closely printed volumes is enormous. The last portion is devoted to the investigation of the *Physics of Imponderable Bodies*, in the handling of which very difficult and delicate subject the author exhibits peculiar acumen; giving a candid and careful consideration to the theories of others, while on points on which celebrated philosophers are opposed, he has contented himself by stating their conflicting opinions, modestly withholding his own. Translations into our language of works on science cannot be too much encouraged, and we earnestly hope that the success, as a publishing speculation, of the volumes before us may be such as to tempt other labourers into the same useful field.

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* Lives of St. Alphonsus Liguori, &c. Introduction, p. xviii.

Farewell to the Pope! or, Reasons for Renouncing the Church of Rome. By J. J. MAURETTE, late Priest of the Parish of Serre (Arriège). With an Introduction by the Rev. J. CUMMING, D.D. London: Edmonds. 1846. 12mo.

"WHILE many Protestant divines" (Dr. Cumming remarks) "are unhappily apostatizing to the Church of Rome, and numerous Romish priests are vigorously spreading their pernicious errors among our people, it is some compensation to those who deplore these calamities that in France and Germany the tide rushes in an opposite direction. In France, especially, whole communes have recently cast off the superstitions of the Papacy, and embraced the glorious truths of the blessed Gospel. Not a few of the priests also have not only renounced the apostacy in which they have been nursed; but, in the face of persecution and reproach, have given irresistible reasons for the better faith that is in them." (*Introd.* p. iii.)

Among these is the Abbè Maurette (now, we understand, an ordained minister of the Reformed Church of France), whose little work has so justly excited a great sensation on the continent. It contains an eloquent, simple, and in most points truly satisfactory statement of his reasons for abjuring the system of the modern Church of Rome, and for his embracing true scriptural Christianity. We had marked various passages for quotation, which we have omitted, because we think our readers will prefer to read them in their proper order and connexion, especially as the book is neither large nor dear, and is well translated into English. The Abbè Maurette's "Farewell to Rome" appears to be eminently adapted for circulation in those districts in which the emissaries of Popery are most active in their efforts to ensnare the ignorant and unsuspecting to embrace the unscriptural and anti-scriptural dogmas and superstitious practices of Popery.

Letters on Tractarian Secession to Popery; with Remarks on Mr. Newman's Principle of Development, Dr. Moehler's Symbolism, and the Adduced Evidence in Favour of the Romish Practice of Mariolatry. By GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B.D. Prot. Association. London: Dalton. 1846.

WE have always the greatest pleasure at falling in the way of writings by this veteran in the ranks of orthodoxy, who old as he is has lost none of his fire, none of his willingness to stand forth as a champion of the faith against any new assailant; or, as a true and loyal soldier of Christ, to denounce and defy any regenade who has deserted his standard and joined the ranks of the enemy. Mr. Faber's writings, too, have the charm of

being well timed and seasonable, without any tincture of personality or asperity. He writes with the earnestness of a man who has an important object before him, which object he has much at heart; but he always writes as a Christian and a gentleman, feeling his own responsibility and respecting the feelings of others, and knowing that he will soon be called to give an account before God and in the presence of those he addresses both for the one and the other.

These letters were begun in consequence of the perversion of a young man at Cambridge who was connected with the writer by ties both of family and friendship; and they were continued so as to take a wider range than was at first intended, in consequence of the notice which the two first attracted, when published in the "Christian's Monthly Magazine," and as a tract for wider circulation: and they are now collected into one volume, printed in a cheap form by the Protestant Association, with the writer's revision and some explanations and additions; especially a preface and the concluding remarks.

It is in no ordinary degree satisfactory to take up the work of a practised writer on a topic which he well understands. Every sentence in such a work is to the point, and it is almost sure to be a point gained. He knows where the strength or weakness of an argument lies, and knows also his own strength: he does not, therefore, grapple with a difficulty without being certain of mastering it: he does not make an attack upon a position without expecting to carry it. And Mr. Faber withal is so candid a man, and has so often shown his candour by modifying his first opinions, that we feel convinced he never assails an opinion without being thoroughly convinced that it is erroneous, and will be ready also to give all the weight he conscientiously can to the arguments of his opponent—that he is contending for the truth, in short, and not merely for victory.

The point on which Mr. Faber seems to feel most indignant, in speaking of Mr. Newman's conduct, is the dissimulation of professing to be in communion with the Church of England for so many years after the time when, by his own avowal, he was in heart a Papist. It is difficult to avoid speaking in terms of the harshest kind of such conduct, although it may be explained by the sure tendency which any tampering with Rome invariably has to render a man Jesuisitical and dishonest, in these respects, who may still scorn a dishonourable course of proceeding in worldly affairs, or in anything save religion, where correct thinking would render a man most especially scrupulous. It is in fact one of the signs of its being the mystery of iniquity that such should be the consequences, and it ought to

act as a caution against tampering with Rome and her agents; since there is in all cases the risk of their sapping the foundations of simplicity and honesty, and generating a spirit of subterfuge, equivocation, and falsehood, by destroying all personal responsibility, and inducing men to confide in the guidance, and decisions, and absolutions of the Church, irrespective of their own faith, and holiness, and charity. And Mr. Faber shows that the same kind of dissimulation follows Mr. Newman in his new position; for he neither admits all the doctrines which the Church of Rome holds, nor teaches as that Church enjoins; and he professes many doctrines which Rome has repudiated in her most accredited decisions.

"We must never forget (says Mr. Faber) the broad assertion of the council of Trent—that both faith and practice, *as defined by themselves*, had *always*, without any variation, existed in the Church of God. The assertion itself is not a mere dogmatical enforcement of unevidenced infallibility: it is the assertion *of a fact*. Hence, as the assertion of fact, it must be subjected to testimony, like the assertion of any other fact." And, accordingly, all the former advocates for Rome have endeavoured to produce historical proof that their faith has been the unvarying faith of the Church in all ages. But now this position is not merely abandoned, but another position is taken up in the theory of "Development;" the very ground of which is that the faith of the Church *has not been the same*—has not been unvarying—but has from time to time adopted opinions, rites, and practices from heretics and from the heathen, which were unknown to the primitive Church, and that Rome is to be justified and commended for having done so.

"In fact, the *appeal to antiquity* on the very just principle of Tertullian's canon, which constitutes the argument (of former writers) is *now openly relinquished*, both by Mr. Newman and Mr. Moehler; and we are at present called upon to receive all the *dicta* of Trent, not on the asserted ground of the Tridentines themselves, but on the totally different ground of an odd mixture of 'Development and Romish Infallibility.' I may add, that even *before* the adventures of these two last mentioned gentlemen in the hazardous field of demonstration, the often claimed TESTIMONY of the early Church in favour of Popish peculiarities had been acknowledged to be *unproduceable* by the very efforts which were made to *account for* its NON-APPEARANCE. Sometimes the *Disciplina Arcani* was resorted to, which, it was alleged, forbad the committing of high doctrinal truth to writing; where, of course, what had never been *written* in early times, could, in *writings* of that period, never be found. And, sometimes, with most amusing incongruity, we were told, that we may be quite sure, that, in mood and in form, they *must* have been *noted* down in numerous primæval

works which have now unhappily perished. Take which of those solutions you please (for *both*, SIMULTANEOUSLY, you *cannot* take); and add to them Mr. Newman's 'Plan of Development,' and Dr. Moehler's 'Proof of Romish Infallibility,' from the asserted strict and literal identity of Christ and his Church: still, the very attempt to *account for* the IMPOSSIBILITY OF PRODUCING EARLY EVIDENCE, is a palpable *acknowledgment* that no such evidence exists" (Preface xvii).

This work may be considered as a valuable addition or supplement to the "Provincial Letters," published by Painter in 1843, and which exposed in detail most of the errors found in the "Tracts for the Times," and of which this treatise on "Development" may be regarded as the natural consequence. In this his last publication, Mr. Faber very properly and satisfactory expresses his adherence to all those principles and views which have been brought forward by him in the preceeding volumes; and more especially those which have been most controverted, relating to the exposition of prophecy.

"On the same honest principle of action, if, from the perusal of several works of contemporary living authors, I *now* believed myself to be wrong, I would with equal fearlessness openly avow my conviction to that effect.....At my time of life, to open afresh the prophetic controversy is not to be thought of.....Hence I must be content with saying, that were the authors alluded to severally differ from me and occasionally censure me, I have not seen, even where the greatest pretensions are made, the slightest reason to abandon my exposition and to adopt that of another in preference. While I thus express my full conviction in regard to our several labours, I may notice a circumstance not a little remarkable. With the exception of the two curiously jarring classes of Preterists and Futurists, there is a general expositorial convergence, so far as the anticipation of some fearful crisis is concerned, to times not very distant from the present. Nay, what is still more remarkable, the same anticipation seems extensively to prevail on purely secular and political grounds. The proverb tells us, that *coming events cast their shadows before them.* May this hitherto favoured nation not madly call down the storm upon its own head by apostasy repeated and continuous!" (272).

Margaret Russell: an Autobiography. London: Longman. 1846.

IN these teeming days of the press, when every third man, woman, and, we may add, child is an author, and when consequently we are inundated with trash of every description, much which is merely dull, and not a little which is pernicious, it is something to light upon a volume, which, like the present, stands out in agreeable relief from the crowd of competitors for public favour. There is in the book before us much that challenges the grave attention of the reader—much that indicates a mind

above the level of ordinary writers—much to amuse, and not a little to instruct. It is not altogether free from affectation in its style, which is occasionally stilted and laboured. Nevertheless it has the redeeming merit of purity of thought, keenness of perception, and careful study of that darkest of all problems—the human heart. That to which we are disposed to urge the gravest objection is a morbid taste for the horrible, which, be the book a genuine autobiography or not, and we have our doubts on this point, might have been forborne without prejudice to the moral it designs to inculcate. There is, on the other hand, much of graceful thought, poetic feeling, and occasionally a power of diction not often found in works of this order. We will justify our estimate of the author's power of depicting human character by quoting a sketch of what the author styles a *formalist*—one of those ascetics who stand grim sentinels at the gate they should throw open, and who repel when they should invite. It is such gloomy fanaticism that has chilled the zeal of many a young heart on the threshold of religion, and driven it to seek, in the gaieties of dissipation, that cheerfulness which properly belongs to, and is ever the offspring of, true piety. But let the author speak for herself:—

"On the death of my mother, to whom I owed all the good that entered into my composition, I was at once transferred to the care of the oldest of my maternal aunts. Although a person who, in her own opinion, exercised an important influence, both by precept and example, in her own immediate neighbourhood, yet so perverse were the principles upon which she acted, and so constantly were her efforts to inculcate lessons of piety counteracted by the method she took to impart them, that it would have been difficult to say what real good she did, or what specific purpose she fulfilled in the scale of being. She was one of those who are content 'to act religion instead of doing it.' Her love, if indeed she could ever condescend to love what she termed 'corrupt humanity,' was not heart-warm; there was no pulse of life in it. Her charity was the mere charity which ministers to the wants of the body, while it leaves those of the mind uncared-for; and in this her means would not allow her to indulge. That a generous sympathy for the distress of the afflicted, generally, and a forbearance even towards those who are sufferers from the consequence of their own evil passions, were necessary portions of the creed she professed, seemed never to have occured to her. If she visited the sick she left the cottage of the labourer more desolate than she found it; for she gave only that of which the heart of the sufferer was full—prayer; while she took away that of which it was most barren—hope; the twofold hope of the sinned against and sinning—the hope of sympathy on earth and of mercy in heaven. If she entered the Sunday-school, it is true that the children were awed by her presence; that they put on a graver aspect, and lifted up their little voices in the Sabbath song of praise with a more

solemn intonation; but the image of the Deity in their minds was in a moment transformed from a God of love to a God of fear by the sudden apparition of this—to them—severe herald of his displeasure.

"In her own household the same cold, harsh measures were pursued. For the house itself, a gloom seemed to rest on everything, animate and inanimate, within its walls. And as for the servants—God help them!—I pitied them from my heart. Like the inhabitants of Chorasm, they were driven to worship with a scourge. Not only their actions, but their words, their looks, their dress—nay, if possible, their very thoughts were ruled over with a strictness of supervision that would have done honour to the inquisitor."

With this quotation we dismiss a volume in which we assure our readers they will find much to instruct as well as to amuse.

Observations in Natural History: with an Introduction on Habits of Observing as connected with the Study of that Science. Also a Calendar of Periodic Phenomena in Natural History; with Remarks on the Importance of such Registers. By the Rev. L. Jenyns, M.A. London: Van Voorst. 1846.

Falstaff was not only witty himself, but the cause of wit in other men. This is not only an instructive book, but it will produce instruction, by teaching its readers how they may collect new facts, and add to the stock of knowledge which we already possess; and enlarge, and methodize, and perfect the details of that interesting science of which it treats—a science co-extensive with the earth's circumference, varied as are its mountains and woods and plains, diversified by every change of region or temperature or climate, and equally perfect, equally attesting "the hand that made us is Divine," in the most minute as in the most stupendous of the objects of its research. Such a science as natural history does, above all other pursuits, require for its attaining to perfection the co-operation of numbers, in all parts of the earth, and at all seasons of the year, following as far as possible the same method of observation, and the same order of classification, that the novelty and importance of each correct observation may be at once apparent, and it may take its true place in an universal system, and advance general science.

"The author of the present work, when engaged a few years back, in preparing notes for a new edition of White's 'Natural History of Selborne' soon formed a larger stock of matter collected upon his hands than it was thought desirable to use on that occasion. This led to the idea of embodying a considerable proportion of this matter in a separate work, such as is now offered to the public."

But the present volume is not at all of the desultory imme-

thodical character of White's "Letters" which were suggested merely by accidentally meeting with this or that specimen at the time of writing: nor is the present work intended to supersede or clash with that of White, but rather to be its companion—supplying that method and classification which White did not attempt, and which could not be forced into such a work as his. And it is also designed to increase the number of observers, and to teach them to observe to as good purpose as he did, that many Whites may arise to instruct posterity as agreeably as we have been instructed by him, and every hamlet which has been equally favoured by nature may become as known to fame as Selborne.

"It is doubtless in a great measure owing to the influence which White's 'Natural History of Selborne' has exercised on the present generation that the science has had so many followers in this country of late years. It is not that his work carries us any great way in unravelling the mysteries of Nature; but it is the spirit which it breathes that so strongly recommends it to our notice. He has induced others to follow up the same sort of life which had such charms for himself; and to him we are indebted for many volumes, besides his own, of which the authors, by their own acknowledgment, were first excited and trained to habits of observing by the perusal of his work.....They have learnt to attach a value to little points, which formerly would have been passed over as unimportant, or perhaps not observed at all" (10, 11).

On these "little points" it is that the advance of science now depends: yet, it must also be remembered that the minutiæ of a trifler are not the "points," alluded to; but they are the lynx-eyed, close, characteristic observations of one whose mind has been trained to accuracy in the school of science; and who does not note every accidental occurrence, like a mere idler, but only such facts as will prove luciferous or fructiferous, though he himself may not be able to perceive all the light that is in them, and may not reap all their fruits.

The introduction, of forty six pages, treats on the habits of observing, and is full of practical good sense, the result of a life actively employed in that branch of science, concerning which it treats: emunerating the various points which are likely to occur in various situations, and specifying those to which the attention should be particularly directed. Some useful remarks are also made on the best manner of searching for facts in natural history, insisting on the necessity for great patience on the part of every observer, and recommending repeated observations of the same phenomena under the same circumstances, and also the practice of visiting the same spots repeatedly, especially at different periods of the year.

St. Pierre used to say that he never allowed a single day to pass without acquiring some further information, and in proof of the opportunities which may be found everywhere he says—"One day in summer, while I was busied in the arrangement of some observations which I had made, I perceived on a strawberry plant, which had been accidentally placed in my window, some small winged insects so very beautiful that I took a fancy to describe them. Next day a different sort appeared, which I proceeded likewise to describe. In the course of three weeks, no less than thirty-seven species, totally distinct, had visited my strawberry plant: at length they come in such crowds and presented such variety that I was constrained to relinquish this study, though highly amusing, for want of leisure" (45).

The volume itself consists of observations on nearly all the English quadrupeds, each under a distinct head; observations on birds in general, as to their song, migration, nests, and other habits; and notes on particular species, under about seventy heads—Reptiles, Fishes, Insects, Worms, and Mullusks follow in order; and the whole is summed up in a tabular form as a "Calendar of Periodic Phenomena, in Natural History," with an "Alphabetical Arrangement of the Phenomena in the foregoing Calendar," and a "General Index."

It would be superfluous to add anything in praise of a work on natural history, by one, who is so well known as the "Editor of White of Selborne." But we have thought it our duty to make our readers acquainted with the contents of the volume, and what it professes to be; so that all those that are in want of such a guide themselves, or who wish to put a good book of the kind into the hands of their children, may know where to find one which will not disappoint their expectations.

The Catholic Doctrine of the Second Advent of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By the Rev. F. Close, A.M. London: Hatchard and Son. 1846.

This little volume consists of four sermons preached in the parish church of Cheltenham by the revered incumbent. The view adopted by the author on this subject may be gathered from his declaration:—

"We reject as unscriptural and simply fictitious all ideas of a renovated earth and a finite temporal reign upon it: we assert the Catholic doctrine of the destruction of this great globe by fire, and the eternal happiness of God's saints in the presence of Christ in a new and better world when time shall be no more."

Mr. Close expounds his views in a clear, simple, and forcible

manner; and brings many and strong texts of Scripture to bear upon his point; but the same may be said of others, and some of them among the most eminent divines of our Church, who take the opposite side of the question. And, after all, we would ask, with reference to each party, *cui bono?* A belief or disbelief in the doctrine of a Millennium cannot supply or withdraw, enforce or weaken, a single motive to Christian conduct. Of the second advent of our blessed Lord, no man who acknowledges the authority of the Bible, and whatever be the manner of his coming—whether he shall find us among the quick or the dead—the rule of life and faith laid down for us by the same high and holy authority is the same. Wherefore, then, renew a controversy that, like every other dispute, can only issue in a sea of words, by which those who ought to be united as one man are often separated for ever? Controversy is like an explosion of gunpowder, scattering to the extreme of a circle all that is within its influence. Surely, we have had enough of division in our Church already within the last few years. The question as to whether a sermon should be preached in a white robe or a black one has issued in schism, and apostasy. We have enemies enough at our gate to warn us of the necessity of union within for our common protection. An unholy alliance of foes is watching our divisions in the anticipation of a triumph, which may God in his infinite mercy disappoint!

The Classical Pronunciation of Proper Names, established by Citations from the Greek and Latin Poets, Greek Historians, Geographers, and Scholiasts, and including a Terminational Synopsis of Analogy, Etymology, &c. With an Appendix of Proper Names, carefully accented. By THOMAS SWINBURNE CARR, Esq., Classical Master in King's College. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

"THE object of the present work (says the author in his preface) is to determine the pronunciation of classical proper names solely on the basis of classical authority—including, of course, metrical quotations, orthography and etymology. Where direct classical authority fails, recourse must necessarily be had to *analogy*; and, if any rational system can be devised, it may be considered as, in some measure, assuming the character of classical authority." In establishing the basis of this work upon the comprehensive principles here indicated, Mr. Carr certainly did not find the ground preoccupied, or the utility of his labours abridged by those of his predecessors. Smetius in his "Prosodia" (1559) appears to have been the first to determine, systematically and *ex professo*, the quantity of

names, both common and proper, by metrical quotations; but the author confined himself to names whose quantity could be substantiated by quotations from the Latin poets. Besides this limitation, which necessarily excluded a vast number of proper names, the work of Smetius, even in the edition lying before us (1705), though boasting of its superior accuracy, is literally overrun with typographical errors and corrupt readings.

The "Catholici Indices" of Labbe (who died in 1667), though smaller in size, is a much more extensive collection than that of his predecessor Smetius; for he added many thousand words, "collected by assiduous labour and various reading from the Greek and Latin historians, from glossaries and learned grammarians, from the principal poets of both languages, and especially from Athenæus, Pausanias, Strabo, Stephanus," &c. Considering this careful investigation of original sources, it is unfortunate that Labbe has not appended the *authorities* on which he has established his accentuation; for, where demonstrative evidence might be produced, the reader can hardly be expected to repose implicit confidence in the *ipse dixit* of the most accurate prosodiast.

The "Nomenclator Poeticus" of Lancelot Sharpe is a more recent publication (1836), and compiled with considerable care. The metrical authorities are duly appended; but the writer has limited himself to the insertion of such "proper names as occur in the Latin classic poets, from B. C. 190 to A. D. 500."

Walker's "Key to the Pronunciation of Classical Proper Names" can hardly be considered as an accession to the literature of this subject. The writer was profoundly ignorant of the languages he affected to investigate, and of every principle by which the accentuation of proper names could be determined. The names of Smetius, Labbe, Ainsworth, and Lempriere formed the magic circle beyond which his imagination never wandered; and the idea seems never to have struck him that the ultimate standard of appeal was to be found in the literary monuments of antiquity still existing. When, however, his authorities deserted him, or disagreed with each other, then he began to talk absurdly about "consulting the English ear," recognizing the "analogy of the English language," and steering a middle course by "forming a kind of compound ratio of Greek, Latin, and English." On this point our author justly observes that "any compromise between the dead and the living, between popular usage and classical authority, would lead to the most ridiculous results; for there is scarcely an error in the accentuation of proper names for which a voucher could not be produced from some respectable English writer: for instance

Andronĭcus[1], Beltĕrus[2], Cleomĕnes[3], Cythĕris[4], Eumĕnes[5], Hippocrene[6], (Trisyll.) Hyperĭon[7], Imuās[8], Lūpercal[9], Selacĭa[10], Serŭpis[11], &c.

The work before us appears to fulfil all the conditions which could be required in a guide to the pronunciation of proper names: when the quantity of proper names could be determined by quotations from the Greek and Latin poets, such *metrical quotations* are appended. In other cases, when the pronunciation could be settled by the Greek orthography, exhibiting the long or the short vowels (ε, η and ο, ω) or the dipthongs (ει, ου), the original forms are cited from the Greek historians, geographers, glossarians, &c. Again: in defect of other evidence as to the accentuations, proper names, which are compounds, are resolved into their simple elements, and the quantity thereby determined: or, in case of their being simple words, the *derivation* is frequently appended, and the quantity ascertained in a manner equally satisfactory. When *analogy* was left as the only resource, the author has shown how this *analogy* was to be determined (Preface, p. vii.); and, with a view to this as well as to etymology he has constructed with great care, and appended to the work, "a Terminational Synopsis of the Quantity of Proper Names according to Etymology and Analogy." We need hardly say that the proper names throughout are arranged alphabetically.

Among the appendices to the work will be found the "formation of patronymics and gentiles," the "translation of Greek proper names into Latin, with examples," and "exercises in classical pronunciation and etymology." To these must be added a "vocubulary of *Scripture Proper Names* carefully accented." To such of our clerical readers as are in the habit of pronouncing Zabŭlon with the penultimate long (Zabūlon), upon the authority of the Greek form Ζαβουλων, though contrary to the Hebrew original, we would particularly recommend a careful perusal of the "Preliminary Note," prefixed to the Scripture proper names. The writer has shewn that in all proper names, not *originally* Greek, the diphthong ου can in no wise determine the quantity of such proper names. This he has proved by numerous examples of proper names translated from Latin into Greek; and he has also given a reason why this, of necessity, should be the case. As this is a difficulty which has not only puzzled Labbe in his "Indices," but is constantly misleading Greek scholars in their pronunciation, we think that

[1] Shakespeare, [2] Milton, [3] Dryden, [4] Dryden, [5] Hughes, [6] Cooke, [7] Shakespeare, [8] Milton, [9] Shakespeare, [10] Milton, [11] Milton.

the author deserves some credit for a concise and satisfactory solution.

As the correct pronunciation of classical proper names will always hold its rank as one of the external, and not the least undecisive tests of scholarship, we can recommend the present work to scholars as a guide in every respect worthy of their acceptance. It is divested of all useless verbiage or needless parade of learning, and we certainly consider it an accession to our standard literature.

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1. *Methodism As It Is.* London: Ward and Co.

2. *Wesleyan Methodism Considered in Relation to the Church.* By the Rev. R. Hodgson, M.A., Evening Lecturer of St. Peter's, Cornhill. New Edition. London: Hatchard and Son.

As these two pamphlets treat the same subject under different aspects—the one pourtraying Methodism in all its *rise*, as an offshoot from the Church of England, and the other detailing its *economy* since it became a separate system—we have not scrupled to place them in juxta-position. Both appear to have been compiled from the most authentic sources; both are written in a calm and dispassionate spirit; and, taken together, they furnish the general reader with as much information respecting the historical development and internal organization of Methodism as he may feel disposed to acquire.

The author of "Methodism As It Is" has detailed to us every particular relating to the disciplinary apparatus and financial resources of Methodism. He has introduced to us an acquaintance with the powers and privileges of Conference—of district-meetings, mixed, special, or financial—quarterly meetings, special circuit meetings, meetings of leaders, local preachers, and trustees. The composition and functions of these administrative bodies are stated with consciseness and perspicuity; and the details, if occasionally dry, are relieved by racy anecdotes of provincial Methodism, sufficient to relax even the gravity of a reviewer.

As the author has compressed his remarks within very narrow limits, he has made us acquainted with the *results* rather than the working of the system. From various portions of the pamphlet we learn that the Wesleyan Conference territorially covers every parish in England with 1,685 ministers under its orders, 15,000 local preachers, and 30,000 leaders, stewards, and trustess, with 468,313 members of society acknowledging its sway, and perhaps 2,000,000 hearers affording their countenance. The immense amount of their chapel and other real property

has been estimated at more than three millions sterling; while the annual revenue of the body, from every source, is probably not much less than a million. The income of their missionary society for the year 1845-6 was more than 112,000*l.*; in 1840, by a mighty effort, 171,687*l.* of chapel debts were extinguished; and the Centenary Fund fell little short of a quarter of a million. The product of the weekly pence and quarterly shillings [these are *minima*] contributed in the classes—of the yearly and July collections—suffices for the maintenance (in far greater average comfort than any other body of Christian ministers) of more than fifteen hundred ministers, with their wives and families: for perhaps no *married* minister receives less than an equivalent of 175*l.* per annum, and perhaps none more than 350*l.* The Theological Institutions at Richmond and Didsbury contain seventy-four students; the Kingswood and Woodhouse-grove schools provide for the education of two hundred pupils; Proprietary Schools have been established at Sheffield and Taunton; the last return shows that their Sunday-schools are attended by 500,000 scholars; and of the 700 day-schools which it was determined to form at the close of 1843, more than one-half have been already called into existence.

The author of "Wesleyan Methodism Considered in Relation to the Church" has undertaken to investigate the "causes which led to their separation, as it existed in the time of Mr. Wesley, and subsequently under the auspices of the Methodist Conference, and the principles upon which that separation has been respectively attacked and defended." We believe that in so doing, Mr. Hodgson has addressed himself to a task, the delicacy and difficulty of which would have tested not merely the ingenuity but the moral courage of many of his brethren. For the wonder is not that he has conducted his argument to a respectable issue, but that he has escaped without signal failure. Though a considerable period has now elapsed since the first appearance of this pamphlet, we believe that his historical sketch of the rise of Methodism in reference to the Establishment, compiled with a "strict regard to documentary evidence," still remains unchallenged and unimpugned.

After a graphic sketch of the moral and religious state of this country about the middle of the last century, the author proceeds to examine the various "Irregularities" by which Mr. Wesley was ultimately led to form a "fraternity within the Church"—adopting a discipline "differing from that of the Church, unrecognised by its ecclesiastical superiors, and exempt from their control and jurisdiction." Amongst these "irregularities" may be classed his "extra parochial labours"—

his introduction of field-preaching and lay-agency—the formation of religious societies not committed to the clerical superintendence of the ministers in whose parishes they had been formed—his assuming the full powers of Presbyterian ordination—with other isolated acts, down to the year of 1784, when he enrolled in the High Court of Chancery the "Deed of Declaration," an instrument which established a legal definition of the term "Conference," and gave coherence, unity, and stability to the whole system. After discussing these points, the writer proceeds to examine the Conference, after the death of Mr. Wesley, relative to the "administration of the sacrament" in their own chapels. After reprobating the prejudices which led the dominant party of that period to exclude Mr. Wesley's followers from the benefits of the "Toleration Act," enjoyed by the Dissenters, the author details the sentiments of Mr Wesley relative to the Church of England, with his final and solemn injunctions against seceding from the Establishment. To the whole is appended a "Theory of Union" by the author, which, to say the least, is ingenious and original.

Without entering into any discussion on the various points treated by our author, from which our limits and our design equally preclude us, we must say that he has conducted his inquiry in a fair, candid, and manly spirit. His style is animated and flowing—his diction transparent and vigorous—his argument logical and consecutive. By viewing the successive phases of Mr. Wesley's "Irregularities" in a "line parallel with the circumstances of the case, and the motives and convictions under which he himself avows that he acted," the author has imparted a dramatic interest to the narrative, presenting us with his doubts and fears, his mental struggles and spiritual rejoicings.

"Votiva vehuti descripta tabella."

Without committing ourselves either to the argument or theory of the author, we can recommend this *brochure* as an "impartial draught," which few will read without interest and none without profit.

Clarke's Foreign Theological Library. Vol. III. *Hagenbach's History of Doctrines.* Vol. I. London: Seeley. 1846.

This volume reaches from the Apostolic age, down to the Reformation, to be followed by another in which the doctrines peculiar to the Reformation will be in like manner handled. We regard it as a very valuable accession to the library of a student of theology, for whose benefit it is designed rather than for that of the general reader. And even the student should

know well what he is about in taking up such works as these: he should be well grounded in doctrine himself; or he will be carried off his feet and find himself in deep water before he is aware, and may flounder about for a long time before he recovers his footing, and may even be swept away and carried down the stream. Not that we have observed anything which is wrong in the portions of this work which we have turned to; but that the writings of the fathers themselves, and that the most orthodox among them, require to be read with discrimination, otherwise we may become first bewildered and then heretical—seeing each one of them as generally addressing an exaggeration of some truth which had thus become falsehood or heresy; and, in meeting it, was often tempted to an exaggeration on the other side, which a little further straining would render heretical. Such books should be studied as a whole to avoid partial views, and should only be studied by those who have already a firm grasp of orthodox doctrine; and such will be strengthened and enlightened both by the text and the references in this very learned compendium.

The introduction is designed to guard against partial views by presenting, in the course of thirty pages, a synopsis of theology in general, and its progress during the different periods of Church history; after which each period is taken up separately, and its peculiar characteristics are pointed out. The first period extends to A.D. 254, and is regarded as the age of apologetics; and from the various apologies and writings, a more familiar and intrinsic purport also, the doctrine and practice of the period are deduced—confirmed, of course, by continual reference to authorities. The second period is regarded as the age of polemics, extending from the year 254 to the year 730, treated in like manner under its various subdivisions of doctrine, theology, christology, sacraments, and future things. The third period is regarded as the age of systematic theology, or scholasticism in the widest sense of the word, and, beginning with John Damascene, extends to the era of the Reformation, A.D. 1517. Of such a work we cannot pretend to give a sketch, being itself so condensed: we can only give a sample, and take for this purpose the commencement:—

"The incarnation of our Redeemer, and the introduction of Christianity into the world, may be considered as the germ of the history of doctrines. The object of all further investigations is, in the positive point of view, to develope this germ; in the negative, to guard it against all foreign additions and influences. Accordingly we assume, as an apologetical axiom, that Jesus Christ brought to light something which, in relation to the past, was new and original—*i. e.*, a revelation;

and, in relation to the future, is theoretically perfect, and does not stand in need of any correction or improvement. This is the principle on which the history of doctrines proceeds, and according to which we judge of all its phenomena. We cannot, therefore, separate his doctrine from his person. "For the peculiar and spotless relation in which Christ, as the Son of God, stands to the Deity, as well as the spiritual and moral regeneration which from himself, as the Redeemer, should flow to the whole human race, form the germ and central point of his doctrine" (p. 32).

A Manual of Classical Mythology; or a Companion to the Greek and Latin Poets: designed chiefly to explain Words, Phrases and Epithets, from the Fables and Traditions to which they refer. With a Copious Lexicon-Index. By THOMAS SWINBURNE, CARR, Esq., Classical Master in King's College. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

WE have often wandered to the "snowy top of cold Olympus," and formed an acquaintance with its inhabitants, whether gods, demigods, or heroes—sometimes in the glowing descriptions of the classical poets—sometimes in the racy dialogues of our early mythologists—often in the well-thumbed pages of our classical dictionary, and not unfrequently in graver dissertations, where each succeeding theory respecting the ancient theogony destroyed its predecessor, as if incapable of "bearing a brother near the throne."

The work, however, before us has a character distinctively its own: it recalls us from the comparatively unprofitable speculations of preceding writers, and applies the whole subject of "Classical Mythology" to the illustration of the Greek and Latin poets, on the same plan as Dr. Adam has already adopted in applying the subject of "Roman Antiquities" to the illustration of the Latin classics in general. We hail this attempt, not only for the practical object which it has in view, but the valuable aid which it affords to the memory in its prosecution; for sure we are that neither the larger outlines nor the minuter details of mythological lore will ever be forgotten, when once associated with the terse and elegant phraseology of the Greek and Latin poets. If the author has taken Dr. Adam's plan as his model, he has certainly improved upon it in the execution; for the arrangement is more connected—the renderings of classical phraseology are given with greater discrimination; and, though the illustrative matter is equally copious, it is never allowed to interfere with continuity of the text.

The "Lexicon-Index" appended to this work is an elaborate specimen of the author's industry and research: it extends to no less than one hundred and twenty pages, double columns,

forming a complete *resumé* of all the classical illustrations occurring in the text, with concise renderings and explanations, as well as the etymology of the various names and epithets. The index, in fact, forms a compact "Classical Dictionary;" for compression has been carried to its utmost limits, yet without producing obscurity. One feature in this "Manual," as stated in the preface, claims our especial approbation. "To the *morale* of the work the author has paid particular attention, by excluding whatever was objectionable, either in sentiment or expression; and if, in this respect, he has conformed to a higher standard than is usually set up in 'Classical Dictionaries', the subject appeared to him to be of sufficient importance." We have compared the promise with the performance; and, to our idea, the author has completely succeeded in divesting mythology of all its grossness. This is no slight praise; for the moral tendency of a work, designed for the instruction of youth, is of greater importance even than its scholarship.

Upon the whole we can conscientiously recommend the present "Manual" not only as an indispensable text book for schools and colleges, but as a valuable book of reference for more advanced scholars who, though emancipated from the *curriculum* of their earlier studies, still feel no objection occasionally *antiquo se includere ludo.* It abounds with classical observations and concise criticisms, backed up by the most competent authorities, ancient and modern; and, as a practical "Companion to the Reading of the Greek and Latin Poets," it is certainly without a rival.

The Works of Frederick Schiller. Historical. History of the Thirty-Years' War complete—History of the Revolt of the Netherlands to the Confederacy of the Gneux. Translated by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. London. Bohn. 1846.

We regard this volume as the first of the most important of the works which Mr. Bohn has selected for his standard library, because the works of Schiller are not so well known to the mere English reader as they deserve to be; and this form of publication, as excellent as it is cheap, puts this admirable writer within the reach of the whole English public.

We earnestly hope that Mr. Bohn's spirited exertions will prove not only a present but also a permanent satisfaction, by the standard library obtaining the patronage which its excellence deserves.

W. E. Painter, Printer, 342, Strand, London.